

1st June 1946]

[Sri P. Natesan]

request you to convey our sorrow to the members of the bereaved family."

* SRI KALA VENKATA RAO:—"Sir, Almighty God seems to be harsh towards the members of the Legislative Assembly from the Chittoor district. Only recently we lost one of the best workers of the district in the death of Sri T. K. T. Tatachariar. Again comes the sad news that our good friend Mr. Ramakrishna Reddi of the same district died to-day in a nursing home in this City of Madras. He has died in harness. He came here for this meeting, and even before we could adjourn, he is no more. Mr. Ramakrishna Reddi, though he belonged to the Justice Party, was an Independent. As an Independent, he represented the Rayalaseema in the Central Assembly for a term. Later on he joined the Congress, and I had very good personal contact with him. He worked very well for the Andhra Province. He had been quite genial in temperament, very sincere in his opinions, and steadfast in his loyal support to the Congress. He was recently elected as the Vice-President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, and that shows the amount of confidence that the workers of Andhra have got in him. It is hardly 48 hours since we last saw him, and to-day we do not see him any more. I hope, Sir, that his soul will rest in peace, and that the cause that he espoused will prosper, as that alone will satisfy him."

* SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON:—"It only day before yesterday that I saw Mr. Ramakrishna Reddi in the nursing home, and he promised he would be attending this Assembly yesterday itself. But to-day news has come that he is no more. But we cannot help it. It is God's will. The loss that his untimely demise has caused is very great. He was a pillar of the party, and he had been a very good patriot not only for his district, but for the whole Province. He was an influential man using his influence for the benefit of the people, and a true leader of men. His demise is certainly a loss not only for the party but also for the whole Presidency. With these few words, I associate myself with the remarks made by the members here. I hope we will try to be as good and patriotic as he had been. Let his soul rest in eternal peace."

SRI R. VENKATA REDDI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the sorrowful news conveyed to the House has come to me as a shock, and it is all the more so when he is personally known to me. Especially so soon after the death of another friend of mine, to lose the most useful, the most energetic and the most patriotic among the lot is a great loss. His loss is not only to the district, but also to the Province. It was but a few days ago that he took ill while attending the sessions of this House, and it was only recently that he entered a nursing home in Royapettah. The next day, I was told that it was only a reaction due to an injection that was administered and that he was recovering from it. I had really no idea that the end was so near, and I could only think that it was the mysterious hand of God that was laid on one of my respected and revered friends. I knew Sri T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi from

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

EDITOR



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"Do Our Troops Want More Brothels"?

The *Calcutta Diocesan Magazine* states under the above caption how in Calcutta "at the moment, in the very heart of the residential areas, respectable people are being asked to turn out of their houses by the authorities in order to make way for brothels." The Journal further says:

The area affected lies between Marquis Street and Ripon Street. Residents have been visited by the police accompanied by prostitutes, and told that their homes are required 'for brothels for the military.'

Already the scheme has begun to take shape. Objections made in recent months by local residents to this immoral use of certain houses have had no effect. Fresh houses are being turned into brothels already. There are indications that the building next door to Saint Mary's Home and Hospital for Aged Women is to be used as a place for the medical examination of prostitutes.

The paper very properly demands that the whole scheme be dropped and asks:

When our troops are quartered in their own country, are brothels multiplied on their behalf? In Chester, in Bristol, in Plymouth, in Bath, in York—in a dozen other lovely old English towns, do the benevolent authorities go round clearing decent folk out of their homes in order to plant brothels in the heart of the town?

While referring at some length to this disgraceful affair, *The Guardian*, the well-known Christian weekly of Madras, observes:

On the merits of the question, we have no hesitation in cursing the method with 'bell, book and candle.' But let us not forget that all this is being done before the eyes of Hindus and Muslims whom our devoted missionaries and evangelists are working to convert into

Christianity. Many of them, as is pointed out by Mr. Bately in the columns of our contemporary, doubtless suppose that, patronised as it is by 'Christian' soldiers, it represents Christian standards.

Our contemporary appeals to British women of India and to women in Britain to see that "the reprehensible practice is stopped at once" and calls upon Christian bodies "to move in the matter and if necessary, make trouble till the whole scheme is dropped." We join with our Christian contemporary in condemning the obnoxious policy followed by the authorities in the matter. *The Guardian* states "that it has been assured that the military has nothing to do in the matter." If that is so, it is incumbent upon public-spirited citizens to find out the person or department responsible for it and to take effective steps to stop the evil.

S. K. L.

Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee

It is with deep regret that we record the passing away of Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee at his residence in Calcutta on Sunday, the 6th December, 1942, in his sixty-ninth year. His death creates a void in the public life of the country which it will be difficult to fill.

After a brilliant career as a practising lawyer he had served as a judge of the Calcutta High Court from 1924 to 1936 and acted more than once during that period as Chief Justice of that Court. He was knighted on the eve of his retirement from the Bench. He was subsequently appointed to act as Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive

Council in the vacancy caused by the absence on leave of Sir N. N. Sircar, the permanent incumbent. He also acted as Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal. The communal system introduced in the present constitution of India as also the folly of the Secondary Education Bill brought him to the forefront in the public life of the country and he threw himself heart and soul in the movement against these obnoxious measures. He took a prominent part in the counsels of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and the Provincial Hindu Mahasabhas in Calcutta and Patna.

In all these spheres of his public activities, as a lawyer, a judge, a public servant, a public man, he won universal esteem and admiration for his great abilities, independence of character and impartiality as also for his winning manners and charming disposition. We offer our sincerest condolence to the bereaved family.

S. K. L.

Muslim Students and the Convocation of the Dacca University

Sir Mirza Ismail delivered the Convocation Address of the Patna University on November 27, 1942 as also of the Dacca University on December 2, 1942. In his speech at Patna, Sir Mirza, among other important matters, spoke about India's essential unity and exposed the ridiculous absurdity of the position taken up by Mr. Jinnah and his entourage on the two-nation theory. This view also received emphasis in his speech at Dacca. Both his addresses were thoughtful and would be read with pleasure and profit by enlightened people all over the country. Muslim students of the Dacca University, however, took a different view of Sir Mirza Ismail's address at Patna. As a mark of their protest Muslim candidates, who had registered themselves for attending the Convocation to receive their diplomas, absented themselves from the function and groups of Muslim students picketed and prevented Muslim members of the Executive Council of the Dacca University, Muslim teachers and Muslim students of the University from attending the Convocation. Khan Bahadur Dr. M. Hasan, Vice-Chancellor and Khan Bahadur Nasiruddin Ahmed, Registrar, somehow managed to be present. As reported in the Press, only a few Muslims were present at the function and it is significant that this was the first time in the history of the University when the Chancellor was not able to be present at this annual function. His

Excellency in a message expressed his regret at his inability to be present owing to sudden indisposition.

S. K. L.

Sir A. H. Ghuznavi and Khan Bahadur S. M. Jan's Condemnation of Dacca Muslim Students' Conduct

Both Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, who is also President of the Central Mahomedan Association, and Khan Bahadur Sheikh Mohammad Jan, Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, have set an excellent example by condemning in the strongest terms the behaviour of Muslim students of the Dacca University towards Sir Mirza Ismail, in statements issued to the press immediately after the Convocation Address at Dacca was over. "By insulting one of their eminent co-religionists," says Sir A. H. Ghuznavi, "they have not only insulted themselves but tarnished the fair name of Dacca." He adds:

I wonder what Sir Mirza had done to merit this sort of reception at the hands of his own co-religionists. In his Convocation Address at the Patna University, he passionately advocated the cause of Indian unity and the building up of one strong Indian nation. Well, Sir Mirza was not alone in holding such a view. There are many other Muslims who hold similar views—men, who would prefer a strong, peaceful and United India to an India whose people are constantly at war with each other. By upholding Indian unity Sir Mirza did not, I believe, give offence to any political party in this country.

Khan Bahadur S. M. Jan in his statement says:

Student community in India in general and Muslim students in particular, will hang down their heads in shame at the behaviour of some Muslim students of Dacca in not only boycotting the Dacca University Convocation addressed by such an experienced statesman and illustrious educationist as Sir Mirza Ismail, but also in resorting to picketing at the gates of Curzon Hall in order to prevent others from attending the meeting in protest of "one nation theory advocated by him." Free and honest expression of thought is one of four freedoms for which Allied Nations, according to President Roosevelt, are fighting. If we lost it on domestic matters, all our advocacy for self-determination in strict sense of the term according to some Muslim Leaguers or in wider sense as understood by United India, goes to the wind. One may believe in Pakistan and regard himself as belonging to a different nation, but he cannot coerce others to agree to what they do not believe or compel them not to hear what they want to hear.

I hope representative student organisations all over India, irrespective of party affiliations, will condemn with one voice these tactics of Fascist origin, so that these may not be repeated again in our public life, and though we may not gain full economic freedom which we all desire in order to build up happy India, we may

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lose what we have already got, namely, free expression of our views and elementary human right to convince others by arguments and free discussions, without which all progress of the world may come to an end.

It is gratifying to observe Muslim leaders condemning the improper conduct of Muslim students at the Dacca University.

S. K. L.

Benares Hindu University

At the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Court of the Benares Hindu University, held on the 28th November, 1942, the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, made an important statement on the work of the University. In view of the difficult situation created at the University as a result of the wave of excitement and indignation that swept the country on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other political leaders, Sir Sarvapalli's statement will certainly reassure to a certain extent the public mind about the future of the University. The University buildings were requisitioned by the Government under the Defence of India Rules and for a time, Sir Sarvapalli says, it seemed that they might not be able to start work for an indefinite period. Happily, we are told, the University has been able to resume its activities and is now getting on smoothly. As the financial prospects for the year do not appear to be hopeful, efforts are being made to control the expenditure, of course, in conformity with the obligations that the University owes to its students and teachers. A distinguished Committee has been appointed to report on the academic and financial sides of the University.

S. K. L.

University Convocation Addresses

During the last few weeks Annual Convocations of a number of our Universities have been held. The Convocation Addresses delivered at these functions deal with some of our most pressing educational and other connected questions. These require the closest attention of the authorities, educationalists and public men in the country alike. Unfortunately, the stress of more exciting events monopolise the attention of most of these people. The result is that educational problems demanding immediate consideration and solution are treated with the scantiest notice. We desire to refer, though only very briefly, to some of these matters with the object of inviting the serious attention of people interested in safeguarding the future welfare of the country and its people to the need of tackling

them without any delay. Sir C. V. Raman delivered a most interesting address at the Convocation of the Madras University held in the latter part of November. He very appropriately described the production and diffusion of knowledge "as the greatest industry, the key industry of a nation," and among other things stressed the value of research in basic sciences. His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore delivered the Convocation Address of the Annamalai University at Chidambaram on the 9th December last. His Highness made an appeal for co-operation among the universities with a view to avoiding unnecessary duplication of work along with an uneconomic use of the resources available to them. This is certainly a weighty suggestion and deserves consideration.

In this connection the Maharaja of Travancore urged the need of larger and more liberal educational endowments and commended to the notice of the generous public the munificent endowments made by Palit and Tagore in Bengal for the advance of education.

S. K. L.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Plea for Indian Independence

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, made an impressive speech at the Convocation of the University, held on the 29th November, 1942. In making a passionate plea for Indian independence, Sir Sarvapalli registered a vigorous and spirited protest against the recent pronouncements and policy of those responsible for the Government of India, both in this country and in Britain. It was impossible for those who had not experienced foreign rule to realise, the speaker said, how deadening this was to the soul of a country. He added that a nation that had produced such culture and such men, as India had produced for centuries, had a right to independence to shape her own future in keeping with her past: India was not always to be a passive instrument of outsiders' wills and forces. While pointing out how India had always stood against isolation and narrow sectionalism, Sir Sarvapalli stated:

India never stood for national and cultural isolation. Her spiritual heights rest on a basis that embraces all humanity. Wherever men love reason, shun darkness, turn towards light, praise virtue, despise meanness, hate vulgarity, kindle sheer beauty, wherever minds are sensitive, hearts generous, spirits free, there is your country. Let us adopt that loyalty to humanity instead of a sectional devotion to one part of the human race.

S. K. L.

Sir Mirza Ismail on Indian Unity

Sir Mirza Ismail delivered the Convocation Address of the Patna University on November 27, 1942 and of the Dacca University on December 2, 1942. In both his speeches, the speaker referred to a number of important educational problems and made thoughtful suggestions. These, no doubt, require careful consideration. But more important than his discussion of these subjects was the manner in which he met the views of those who urged that India was not, and could not be, one nation, and that a permanent conflict of interests existed which made impossible any singleness of consciousness and constitution. In his speech at Patna Sir Mirza said:

If there is any real message that I have for you, especially to the young men with whom our future rests, it is just this that, throughout this country, we must not, in any sense whatever, be separate: ours must be the virtue, ours the power and glory, of a single nationhood. . . . To me, India, one Nation, is a most inspiring thought and a most reasonable one. I see, too, all around the growth of this consciousness. This is the land of all of us, to whatever race or creed we may belong.

While emphasising this point in his Dacca speech Sir Mirza observed: "In unity alone there is freedom and in freedom alone lies real life and happiness," and added: "The destiny of India is unity." The speaker very appropriately referred to the obstruction put in the way of educational progress during war-time. In this connection, he cited the laudable example of Britain, where even during the war, far-reaching plans of educational advance are being considered, and said:

The postponement of educational advance would be specially unwise in India where we are only at the beginning of the education of the masses, and when the so-called higher education is so far below the level of what the education for Indians in India should be. Personally, I feel that in India, it would be tragic from every point of view to restrict expenditure on education and other forms of social services on the plea that India is at war.

The tragedy to which Sir Mirza Ismail refers in his speech at Dacca, is being actually enacted in this country by stinting educational expenditure and limiting educational activities in every conceivable way.

S. K. L.

War-time Education in China

At the Annual University Convocations held during the last few weeks, more than one speaker referred to the inspiring example of China for pushing forward educational advance during the war. As Mirza Ismail points out, notwithstanding the sufferings of a deadly struggle

which has now lasted for five years she has not relaxed her educational efforts. The terms of her educational appropriations as laid down in the draft constitution for China give eloquent testimony to her remarkable enthusiasm for educational uplift. Article 137 of the Constitution runs thus:

Educational appropriations shall constitute no less than 15% of the total amount of the budget of the Central Government and no less than 30% of the total amount of the provincial, district, and municipal budgets, respectively.

While imploring that there should be no relaxation of educational effort on the plea of war, the Maharani of Travancore in her speech at Guntur eulogised in impressive terms the achievements of China in the matter. Her Highness said:

The future opens up a vista of infinite possibilities, and we are noticing all around us and even in the midst of the prevailing turmoil the result of what can be done by courageous enthusiasm and nation-wide effort. The chronicle of what is being achieved in the Chinese Universities is one of epic grandeur. Assailed from the air and on land, the apparatus and even the furniture of the Universities were bodily shifted and taken from place to place by students and teachers alike so that even in the midst of the clash of arms and the assaults of the dive-bomber and the machine-gun, the boys and girls of China were not deprived of the mental and spiritual training which was their due.

The Rt. Hon. Dr. M. R. Jayakar also in his Presidential Address at the All-India Educational Conference held at Indore on the 27th December last commended to its notice the example of China.

S. K. L.

Mr. Edward Thompson on Censorship of Indian News

The nature of censorship that is being exercised by the authorities in Britain and India against a proper dissemination of news about India as also the character of the campaign that is being carried on with a view to smashing the Congress have very naturally aroused deep resentment in the minds of right-thinking people. One gets an idea of the extent of this censorship from a letter from the pen of Mr. Edward Thompson, the well-known British writer, who makes a spirited protest against these dishonourable devices in the columns of the English weekly, *The Spectator*. Mr. Thompson writes:

We know only the little we are officially told, which for the last few weeks has been much less than has happened. If there should happen something which left lasting hatred between us and India there is no reason why we should hear of it till long afterwards. Jallian-walabagh was in April, 1919, and knowledge of it seeped out in December; even the Secretary of State, as Arthur

Henderson remarked, had not known the facts. All mails, news, wireless, all sea and air passages are now rigidly controlled, and no one not hundred-per-cent, approved by the India Office can leave England. The cables and radio tell India exactly what is considered good for her to know, which in the case of Burma and Malaya later revealed discrepancies with the events and have left a dread that India if attacked would not be defended as we should defend Britain, but be merely a military base. . . .

Mr. Thompson concludes his letter by asking, "What will it profit us if we succeed in smashing Congress—and lose also our chance of a civilised friendship with India hereafter—and immensely drag out this war, its blood, sweat, tears?"

S. K. L.

Sir M. Visveswaraya on Development of Indian Industries and Post-war Reconstruction

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation held in Bombay, on the 20th December last, Sir M. Visveswaraya made a very important pronouncement on war-time development of Indian industries and post-war reconstruction. Sir M. Visveswaraya makes a scathing criticism of the policy followed by the authorities in the matter, makes a number of practical and well-considered constructive suggestions, and calls upon the people in every district and region to organise appropriate councils, committees or other corporate bodies according to local circumstances "to promote self-help and joint effort among themselves." He shows how the authorities "have all along shown a rooted antipathy to the growth of industries"; points out how such important heavy industries as locomotives, automobiles, aeroplanes, internal combustion engines, manufacture of dyestuffs, shipping, steel and heavy engineering and chemical industries generally, "have failed to materialise through failure of Government support,"—in fact, in some of which, schemes, worked up by private promoters at great expense and trouble "have actually been obstructed by Government from the very inception"; and discloses that while development in India has been discouraged, foreign exploitation has been encouraged at very great sacrifice of the resources of the country, causing incalculable loss to India. A Consultative Committee of Economists with several Reconstruction Committees was set up more than a year ago by the Government of India but no information is available to the public as to what these bodies have so far done. Sir M. Visveswaraya says:

"The extraordinary feature in the situation is that Government have been hindering instead of helping industries. They have no policy or plan, no unified conception of what they are doing or what they propose to do, in a manner which gravely affects the purchasing power of the 400 millions of our population."

With a view to averting the possible danger of international economic war as soon as the war is over, and to give the country adequate protection Sir M. Visveswaraya urges the appointment of a representative Central Council of business men, experts and leaders in science and politics to watch the trends and make preparations to meet all possible obstacles and opposition. The proposed organisation may be called a 'Development Board' or an 'Economic Council' and may take the place of the existing Consultative Committee of Economists on Post-war Reconstruction. In view of the promised transfer of political power to Indian hands when the war is over, Sir M. Visveswaraya calls upon the people to give the subject proper consideration. This will assuredly enable them to gain knowledge, capacity for initiative and sufficient self-confidence to put their resources and opportunities to the best use and lay the foundations of a prosperous future for themselves and the large masses of population in their neighbourhood.

S. K. L.

Beveridge Scheme to Secure 'Freedom from Want'?

At the instance of the British Government in Britain, Sir William Beveridge has drawn up a scheme to guarantee "freedom from want" to every man, woman and child in that country by a single state social insurance. The scheme is described as follows in a message from London, dated December 1, by Reuter:

Sir W. Beveridge proposes this assurance as of right and not charity but on condition of service and contribution. His plan would ensure a basic minimum income to everyone in need, irrespective of the cause of the need, with adequate benefits for unemployment, sickness, accident, widowhood or retirement through age. This 'national minimum' income is designed to encourage, not to stifle, individual incentive to earn more than the minimum social security. And the benefit must be associated with measures to enable the people to regain normal earnings as soon as possible—training of the unemployed and treatment of the sick and disabled in order to make and keep men and women fit for service to the community.

Sir William Beveridge in the course of a subsequent note elucidates the scheme in the following words:

The Atlantic Charter, among other aims, speaks of securing for all, improved labour standards, economic

advancement, and social security. The Security Plan in my Report is a plan for turning the last two words—social security—from words into deeds; for securing that no one in Britain, willing to work while he can, is without income sufficient to meet at all times, the essential needs of himself and of his family.

Sir William Beveridge's scheme has not yet been considered by the British Government. Neither has it been discussed in the British Parliament. But it has been discussed very widely and has evoked widespread approval and admiration both in America and Britain. The *New York Herald Tribune* remarks that "it will mark a stimulating and exciting step in the development of our ideas of democratic future." Mr. Edward Murrow, the commentator of the Columbia Broadcasting System, describes the Beveridge Report as "the first major effort to translate the words of the Atlantic Charter into deeds." We are told that the United States of America counterpart to the scheme will be forthcoming from President Roosevelt when the United States Congress meets in the present month. Sir M. Visveswaraya refers to Sir William Beveridge's report in his speech at the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation held in Bombay on the 20th December last. He suggests that considering that in this country unemployment and short employment in rural areas are a century-old phenomena, and destitution and poverty are a marked feature of human habitations in many parts of the interior, the Economic Council proposed by him to be established should be entrusted with the work of conducting proper enquiries and recommending suitable remedies for affording adequate relief.

S. K. L.

Appeal to the Viceroy to End Indian Deadlock

A *Reuter* cable from London, dated the 27th December, runs thus :

Officers of the National Peace Council have sent a cable to Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, urging him to mark the extension of his term of office by a "fresh effort with Indian leaders to end the present deadlock." Among the signatories are Sir Arthur Eddington, the President; the Bishop of Birmingham, Doctor E. W. Barnes; the Chief Rabbi, Doctor J. H. Hertz; Lady Parmoor and the Dean of Canterbury, Doctor Hewlett Johnson.

In his address at the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, held in Calcutta on the 17th December last, Lord Linlithgow discussed at some length the situation arising out of the present political deadlock in India. His Excellency, however, made an entirely wrong approach to the problem. The

Viceroy ascribed the deadlock to absence of agreement between the parties, the conflicting claims of communities, and repeated all the other old arguments that had been put forward, times without number, by the British Premier, the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy himself and their reactionary and anti-Indian supporters against any change of the present Indian policy. Influential and weighty opinion in America, China, England and India has alike been insistent in their demands that a liberal and generous policy should be followed to bring to an end the Indian deadlock. Lord Linlithgow said in the course of his speech referred to above : "Believe me when I say that if in ten months' time or so, I can help to bridge these gulfs which I have spoken of, I shall live a happy man." The utterances of the British authorities, the fantastic misrepresentation of their propagandists in America and elsewhere, the way in which they still cling to the old theory of Empire, and the manner in which the administration is being carried on from top to bottom in this country, do not give any hope that there is any prospect of a proper settlement of the Indian problem in the near future.

S. K. L.

Price Control in India

Prices in India have been moving steadily upward since February, 1941. There was a sharp rise in prices immediately after the declaration of the war, and by December, 1939, the weekly Index Number rose to 135.9. A period of generally declining prices however set in, and by February, 1941, the Index Number fell to 109.7. The rise which has begun since then went up to 155.2 by June, 1942. During the past few weeks there has been a steep and in some cases abnormal rise in the prices of food-stuffs and essential commodities.

The indication of prices by Index Numbers in this country is in itself fallacious. No Index Numbers for retail prices are compiled in India. Those compiled for wholesale prices are defective because, in these days, the prices are widely fluctuating within very short periods. There is practically no stability in wholesale prices and it very widely differs from the retail prices.

The price control machinery of the Central Government and of the Bengal Government has failed to check the rising prices although it secured some amount of success in the early months of the war. The Government of India had convened six Price Control Conferences which passed numbers of resolutions expressing

their pious wish to control prices, but nothing tangible has so far come out of them. For example, the First Price Control Conference held on October 18 and 19, 1939 reached the following conclusions among others :

(1) That the list of essential commodities already notified was adequate.

(2) That in the case of imported goods and those that were of all-India importance, the basic price at the first stage should be fixed centrally, and in the case of other goods by the Provinces.

(3) That the normal basis should be "replacement cost."

(4) That it was desirable to develop a "price intelligence service."

In the Second Conference held on January 24 and 25, 1940, the need for co-ordination of activities was emphasised.

The Third Conference was held on October 16 and 17, 1941, and the foremost attention was paid to the cases of cotton cloth and yarn, prices of which had soared as a result of the freezing order against Japan. Plans for the production of standard cloth and control of distribution of yarn were discussed. The wheat problem had also by that time assumed serious proportions, and the then Commerce Member of the Government of India, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, who presided over the Conference, had observed that "It might be possible, or even necessary for the Central Government to intervene at any stage if there was a tendency for a rise in the price of wheat." More than a year has elapsed since this Conference. The standard cloth is not yet to be seen. The control of yarn has failed, and atta still remains a very dear commodity procurable with difficulty and at an unusually high price in spite of the appointment of a Wheat Commissioner for India and a revision of the maximum prices for wheat. Very little has been done to co-ordinate supply with demand by providing better transport facilities leading to a better distribution of this commodity to meet the demands from different areas in the country.

The Fourth Conference was held on February 6 and 7, 1942. In this Conference, it was recognised "that the accommodation of traffic to the most efficient use of the limited transport facilities available was a consideration of great importance and that the control over distribution in co-ordination with transport arrangements might have to take precedence over control of prices. A distinction was drawn between commodities (like wheat) which were subjects of all India distribution and others (like rice and bajra) which, broadly speaking, had to move only within certain zones. To deal with the

latter, the idea of Regional Price and Supply Boards, to work in close relation with Regional Transport Boards, was evolved."

By the middle of December, the Director of Civil Supplies, Bengal, had sent a telegram to the War Transport Board, Government of India, drawing the latter's attention to the "serious shortage in the supply of wagons for the transport of coal to Calcutta." Until a week before the telegram was sent, only one-third of the requisite number of wagons was being placed at the disposal of Bengal by the Controller of Coal distribution. This number had been increased to some extent on a representation from the Directorate of Civil Supplies, Bengal, but the total number of wagons available every day is considerably short of the minimum requirements of Bengal. This shows that there is very little co-ordination between a Provincial Directorate of Civil Supplies which is required to control prices and the War Transport Board which is to provide wagons for the movement of essential commodities.

The Fifth Conference held on April 7 and 8, 1942, emphasised the "vital importance of linking control over distribution with price control."

In the Sixth Conference held on September 7, 1942, the present Commerce Member said :

"It is clear that so long as the controlling authority does not control the supply of commodities and their distribution and is not in a position to sell in the market large quantities through recognised trade agencies at the controlled rates, the legal maximum cannot be made effective over a large range of the market. Control over supplies and distribution are, therefore, essential and vital corollaries to effective price control."

From all these proceedings, it is clear that the Government of India was aware of the futility of attempting at price control without making transport facilities available for the distribution of essential commodities all over the country. They failed to arrange and encourage the manufacture of wagons when there was still time to do so, and the Member-in-charge of Transport permitted a reduction of 147,000 wagons, which were available for loading, within a period of 15 months. In April, 1941, 661,000 wagons were loaded on Class I Railways, which came down to 514,000 only in June, 1942. The Transport Member has warned the public only a few weeks ago to be prepared to suffer the consequences of a further reduction in the supply of wagons.

Transportation difficulties is not, however, the only cause of rise of prices. It has been caused by numerous factors including increase

in note issue, shortage of supplies, lack of production of machinery and tools in the country leading to the establishment of new industries, lack of production of wagons and steam ships for facilitating inland transport, shortage of supplies, transportation difficulties over all the three types of routes, viz., rail, road and water. And lastly, the most disturbing factor has been that of hoarding and speculation. Had the Government of India undertaken the task of regulating supply with demand by increasing manufactures and replacing imported goods in the case of essential commodities and by co-ordinating supply with transport facilities by rail, road and water, the abnormal rise in prices should have been offset. But the failure of the Government of India to implement the decisions of the Six Price Control Conferences and the very weak and faltering nature of the "emphatic" wishes expressed at these Conferences will prompt the public to think that they have hardly anything to expect from the present Government of India. The example of China will make it clear that a truly National Government is an essential prerequisite before any attempt at an effective control of prices of commodities essential for the civilian requirements can be made.

Price Control in India and China Compared

The causes of the high rise of prices in China are practically the same with India, viz., "increase in note issue, hoarding, speculation, shortage of supplies, lack of production tools and transportation difficulties." The Chinese Government endeavoured to regulate the demand and supply of essential commodities. The production and distribution of iron, steel, cement, cotton yarn, cotton piecegoods, oil, fuel and paper have been placed under control. Besides these, controlled articles, the sale of salt, sugar, tobacco, liquor, tea and matches have been placed under Government monopoly. The Government has created a fund of 45 crores of Chinese dollars for price stabilisation purposes. Part of this sum is being used for purchase and redistribution of commodities and part is being utilised in granting loans to the producers of essential commodities. A machinery for co-ordination was created in February, 1941, i.e., soon after the Second Indian Price Control Conference was held. A summary of how China has attempted to solve the problem of price control is given below. The source of our information is the brilliant work "China after five years of war" published from Chungking.

In February, 1941, an Economic Council was formed in the Executive Yuan with a Secretariat and eleven sections in charge of political affairs, food, commodity, trade co-operatives, wages, transportation, finance investigation, inspection and military affairs. The duty of the Council is to plan and to administer price stabilisation activities on a nationwide scale, while all Government organs concerned were to be responsible in their own sphere of work. Although functions of the Council have been absorbed by the National Mobilisation Council since May, 1942, this arrangement is still in force. For instance, the Ministry of Food is to control prices of food supplies; the Ministry of Economic Affairs the prices of industrial and mining products and daily necessities; the Ministry of Social Affairs labour wages; the Ministry of Communications the railway, water and animal transportation charges; and the Foreign Exchange Control Commission of the Ministry of Finance the prices of imported goods and their relations with foreign exchange. Last of all, the Joint Board of the Four Government Banks is to handle matters dealing with the price stabilisation fund. Until last May, the Economic Council was the highest organisation in price control, being responsible for planning, co-ordinating, directing and supervising the activities of all subordinate organs in the country. It maintained an economic police to investigate cases of hoarding and profiteering.

No such co-ordination among the different Government departments under the direction of a Central Council, has even been attempted by the Government of India.

The Economic Council made an exhaustive study of the demand and supply of commodities, the sources of their production, their price relations and other economic factors. As soon as the Council learned of a rise in the prices of certain goods, in wage or freight charges, it immediately informed the Government organs concerned to take effective counter-measures. Based on reports from its field-workers, the Council revised price-levels as a basis for stabilisation by local authorities.

In India, no definite economic policy appears to have been pursued in the fixation of prices. In most of the cases, market price has ruled higher than the controlled prices. The Government of India seems to be serious about controlled prices only where purchases by the Government and the U. K. C. C. are concerned.

Since the inauguration of Commodity Administration of the Ministry of Economic Affairs in May, 1942, a stricter control of commodities has been enforced. Divided into the departments of general affairs, supervision, control and finance, the administration is financed with a capital of \$450,000,000 from the price stabilisation fund. The organisation of the new administration was motivated by two objects. They are to effect a rational supply of daily necessities and to lower commodity prices by eliminating hoarding and profiteering. A great part of its work is to investigate and to register all daily necessities with regard to their production, distribution and consumption.

No such stabilisation fund has been created in India and no attempt at the registration of daily necessities with regard to their production, distribution and consumption is known to

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have been made although the Government of India is better supplied with economic statistics.

In China, control was to start with fuel for household purposes and clothing materials and some other items. In India, price control was started with nothing and has ended in nothing.

An important task of the Administration is to establish storage-houses in different places to keep agricultural and industrial products. This has been a good way to safeguard against any possible shortage of commodities and to keep a constant flow of articles from the producers to the consumers.

In the cotton and wheat areas of India, some attempt at the establishment of warehouses has been made, but in Bengal nothing has been done in this direction in spite of repeated demands from the public.

All Cotton Mills must get their allotted quota of yarn. The production and supply of cotton was first regulated followed by the control of yarn and piecegoods. The Administration has set standards for the quality, prices and production of cotton cloth.

Not to speak of such organised control over the manufacture and sale of cotton yarn and cloth, the Government of India have been unable to bring out their much advertised standard cloth in the market in spite of their attempts during the past one long year.

An important step in China to stop profiteering is the institution of Government monopolies on articles of daily use. In India, the reverse is the case. Large business houses with enormous fortunes made during these three years, have turned out to play the role of monopolists as a result of the short-sighted policy of the Government of India pursued in regulating trade, commerce and industry under the Defence of India Rules. Export, import and transport restrictions imposed by the Government of India has steadily ousted large number of smaller competitors out of the field of competition, virtually conceding monopoly powers to large concerns and thus placing the helpless and unprotected consumers in their hands.

India and China both have a population of 400 millions each. The resources of China are much poorer than those of India. In spite of all her limitations, China has succeeded in controlling rising prices with a stabilisation fund of 450 million dollars but India with all her resources, has been unable to do anything tangible in this direction because she has no National Government responsible to the people.

Appeal of the American Publicists

The following appeal to the American public to express their opinions freely on the question

of Indian freedom appeared recently as a full page advertisement in the *New York Times*:

Is India America's business? Yes, because we need India's millions on our side against Japan. The people of India do not want Japan. They want freedom. If they can be assured of freedom, they will fight against Japan as China is fighting.

How can the Indian people be assured? Not by words and not by promises. They fought bravely through the first World War, believing that they would be given freedom through an orderly process of reforms to begin immediately after victory. They waited two years and nothing happened. Then they began their own long struggle of which today is only a part. They will not believe promises again.

Action is required, not promises—and action now, before it is too late. All is not well in India. The independence movement is only beginning in full force.

Our Chinese allies are greatly disturbed and are anxious for the allied cause in Asia.

We believe that the present situation in India is unnecessary and can be changed. We believe that it must be changed for our common cause, victory for the Allied Nations.

The Indians themselves have declared that they are ready for fresh negotiations looking toward a government of all parties and religions as a step toward a federal union which might be like that of the United States. We do not prescribe what that government should be but the variety of India's people should not be an obstacle to their union in independence, in view of our own experience as a nation. We are confident that all Indian elements will participate in a provisional government which would be modelled on a federation.

The time for mediation in India is now.

Japan is busy exploiting the apathy of a people sinking into hopelessness and sullen rebellion. The leaders of the people who alone might rouse them and unite them into resistance are in jails.

It is idle for the United Nations to wait, expecting that to happen which cannot happen unless it is planned and provided for.

We are in grave danger lest the disasters of Burma and Malaya be repeated in India with even more effect.

That Indian readiness to negotiate is unchanged is proved by Gandhi's expressed desire to meet the Viceroy before he was imprisoned and again by his recent appeal from prison. It is only to the benefit of the Allied Nations to take advantage of this reasonable attitude shown not only by Gandhi but by other Indian leaders as well.

We therefore urge upon President Roosevelt and upon Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek that they recognize the interest of the United Nations in the Indian dilemma and that they use their good offices to ask the British Government and the National Congress of India and other leaders to open new conferences, with mutual determination to find that way of action which will most speedily bring India into the ranks of our allies by beginning now the programme of her independence.

We urge all those who are in sympathy with this statement to express it in all ways open to free American public opinion.

Among the signatories to the appeal are:

Roger N. Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union; Bruce Bliven, Editor, *The New Republic*; Clare Booth; Louis Bromfield, Author; Pearl S. Buck, Novelist; Stuart Chase, Economist; Dr. Sherwood Eddy, former Y. M. C. A. National Secretary in India; John Erskine, Author; John Gunther; Henry I. Harriman,

former President, U. S. Chamber of Commerce; Professor William E. Hocking, Harvard University; Paul Kellogg, Editor, *Survey Graphic*; Dr. Frank Kingdon, President, Union for Democratic Action; Freda Kirchwey, Editor, and Publisher, *The Nation*; Alfred M. Landon, former Governor of Kansas; Professor Robert M. MacIver, Columbia University; Bishop Francis J. McConnell, former President, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Professor Frederick L. Schuman; William L. Shirer, journalist; Upton Sinclair; Norman Thomas, Chairman, Post-War World Council, New York; Richard J. Walsh, Editor, *Asia*; Walter White, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People; Dr. Mary E. Woolley, former President, Mt. Holyoke College and many others.—*The Hindu*. (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.).

America has solved the problem of minorities. It is her experience that racial, religious or cultural differences cannot be any obstacle to union in independence.

Price Control for Whose Benefit?

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member of the Government of India, made the following observation at the opening of the second meeting of the Advisory Panel of Accountants held in New Delhi on December 7 last:

Since the loss of Hong Kong and Malaya and other far Eastern countries has brought out all the more clearly the importance of India as an arsenal for the United Nations and has emphasised the necessity of increasing the volume and variety of supplies which she is sending to the various theatres of war. As a result, the demand for goods is becoming more pressing day by day and the range of articles over which those demands are in excess of available supplies is constantly becoming wider. Government has often to reserve a very large portion, if not the whole, of the capacity of an industry for its own needs, and the field in which the statutory and executive control of Government over the sources of available supplies is exercised is becoming ever more extensive. The result of all these factors is that the method of inviting tenders and giving contracts on the basis of those tenders is being progressively replaced by a system of settlement by negotiation and this has brought with it new and complex problems in the solution of which you can give us valuable help and advice.

profiteering only when the Government is purchaser and not when the purchases are made by the consuming public? One important reason for the shortage of supplies in the case of certain manufactured articles has also been revealed in his speech.

Christian's View on Indian Deadlock

The Christian Society of Friends in London observed in a statement:

It is unreal to say that the Indians must first agree among themselves before any advance can now be made and at the same time refuse the means whereby they may come to an understanding.

"We feel indeed that the Christian Mission world is deeply concerned at all such refusals to allow direct efforts at reconciliation.

"We urge, therefore, the removal of the present ban on conversations between the interned leaders and responsible third parties. We urge this as citizens but we urge it much more as Christian people. We earnestly urge co-operation from our fellow Christians in promoting steps towards understanding and impressing on the Government that the policy of closed door is contrary to Christian public opinion.—*Asiatic Bazar Patrika*.

Lord Linlithgow prevented the attempt at reconciliation between the Congress and the Muslim League through the mediation of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar. The latter's request for permission to see Mahatma Gandhi after his consultations with Mr. Jinnah was turned down by the Viceroy and his reasons for this refusal was most unconvincing. It is difficult to believe that the Viceroy does not realise the impossibility of running the Administration at least in six provinces without the help of the Congress. It is only a truism to say that no constitution however cleverly devised can be worked in India without enlisting the support of the Congress to it. His refusal to permit one, who is genuinely eager for a solution of the present deadlock, to meet Mahatma Gandhi in prison rather smacks of a tendency to bolt the door of negotiations. Negotiations with Congress leaders in prison is nothing new in India.

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Howrah Station have also been announced to have been made.

During December last, Government made some arrangements for the evacuation of people from Calcutta. A Civil Evacuation Officer was appointed and some bamboo sheds were erected in some places—spending a substantial sum on them. The Government did not think the publication of the news of evacuation as likely to be of any value to the enemy. Conditions regarding evacuation then and now have hardly changed. Threat of invasion is as distant today as it was a year ago. Then why this hush-hush about evacuation this time? *The Statesman*, the foremost British-owned daily in India, has strongly condemned this evasive and illusory method of approaching reality. The real testing time has at last arrived and the public has a right to know what the Government has done during this long period of one year in effecting a peaceful and orderly evacuation of the City. They never grudged the Government money for making these arrangements. The public want more substantial things from the Civil Defence Minister than his flying visits to Delhi and to the Sealdah Station.

There is no doubt that people are leaving the City without waiting for the Government to do their part of the job. The Bengal Government themselves desired that "non-essential" people were unwanted in the City and should better go out. They have nothing to complain or hide if such people move out, it was their duty to assist such people in evacuating. But when the time for evacuation came, the Government were conspicuous by their absence and the people did not wait for them.

A Government which is unable to assist its people in a situation like the present one, can hardly expect the people's moral sympathy and aid. Prompt and sympathetic actions, not press notes and *communiqués*, build up public morale.

Mr. Haddow's Discourse on Indian History

Mr. R. R. Haddow, a British Merchant in Calcutta indulged in the luxury of lecturing on Indian history in his speech delivered at the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. Most possibly he came across a school text-book on Indian History written by some English author within the framework of a given school curriculum which his boy might have been reading. The last chapter of the book on the rise and fulfilment of the British Power in India probably fascinated him and he could not resist

drifts and kanikis. It is stated by the deputationists that the "ostensible reason for the creation of this corporation is that it will save shipping space, remove the shortage of supplies, make equitable distribution and make price control more effective." The deputationists argue that all these grounds are without substance and that the move "on the part of the East African Governments is a move on the part of the European settlers in East Africa to elbow out the economic existence of the Indian settlers in those territories." They urge on the Government of India to put themselves in communication with the Governments of the East African Colonies and call upon them to stay their hand and do nothing till the matter is fully thrashed out between the two Governments.—*A. P.* (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.).

The U.K.C.C. is thus to have a sister monopoly corporation very soon. The U.K.C.C. was constituted for trading in the Balkans, but in a short time it spread out its grip to India through the Middle East. Now the E.A.I.C. is going to be formed to oust Indian business from Africa.

Evacuation of Calcutta after the Raids

The New Delhi *communiqué*, published after the first three raids, declared that there had been "no evacuation" of people from Calcutta. A number of telegrams of mutual congratulations passed among the high officials and functionaries cheering up one another and the public. Sir J. P. Srivastava, Member for Civil Defence in the Governor-General's Executive Council went to the length of declaring that "there is no truth whatsoever in the reports that Calcutta is emptying out both by road and rail. Yesterday afternoon the people were going about their businesses as usual and the streets were full of crowds with no thought other than making the most of Christmas festivities." In his overzealousness he forgot that this year there was no attraction for the Christmas festivities owing to the absence of Circuses and Carnivals, and to the absence of Hindus and Muslims could not be expected to have had gone to the churches for making a "Merry Christmas." With Sir Srivastava's statement was published in the same paper an announcement that arrangements had been made for the Sealdah Station to control crowds there. Instead of berths would be booked for First and Second Class passengers indicating that not only the poor working class people but also the rich in the city who could pay first class fares were also getting out, and "on the B. & A. Railway arrangements have been made for regulating the sale of tickets for City Booking Offices according to the fixed quotas so that only a limited number of tickets may be sold everyday corresponding to the maximum capacity of the respective trains." (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.).

Special arrangements for entrance into the

acknowledgment of a fact and a reality. The unity had, however, been authoritatively admitted many times before this by Britishers themselves and cannot now with any show of reason and commonsense be in any way questioned or disavowed. With reference to the question of minorities it cannot be said that His Lordship does not know that they have been assured all legitimate, reasonable, and possible safeguards of their political, cultural and religious rights, by the Indian National Congress as well as the majority community and Indian leaders. But they can never agree to an arrangement which reduces the majority, in fact, to a very ineffective minority and favours the very exaggerated claims of certain minorities and minorities of minorities to stand against all progress and reform.

S. K. L.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan

Deep regret will be felt all over India at the sudden death of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan at Lahore at midnight on the 27th December last. He was Premier of the Punjab since the inauguration of the new constitution from April, 1937. Born in June 1892. Sir Sikandar was educated at the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, and subsequently at the University College, London. He was a member of the Punjab Legislature from 1921. He held the post of Temporary Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of the Punjab in 1929, became Revenue Member, Punjab Government, 1930-35, twice acted as Governor of the Punjab for temporary periods (in 1932 and 1934), and was for some time Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. He had to his credit some active military service, having fought during the last war. As Premier of the Punjab, Sir Sikandar gave evidence of his great abilities, tact and skill, both as administrator and politician. Sir Sikandar advocated a spirit of toleration and good understanding between the communities. He showed his earnestness and sincerity in the matter by inaugurating a campaign for the creation of a better communal atmosphere in his Province. In a social gathering, held under the auspices of the authorities of the North-Western Railway, to further the objects of this movement, almost immediately before his passing away, Sir Sikandar made an appeal to the services, particularly responsible officers, to create a better communal atmosphere by their thoughts and deeds within their offices. He advised the officers to approach their problems not in a

communal spirit but as Punjabis determined to do justice to all irrespective of the community to which they belonged. If they succeeded in creating a better communal atmosphere within their offices he was sure, he added, that they would bring about communal unity much earlier than through mere social gatherings and that would undoubtedly pave the way for the attainment of their political rights. The Premier said that they should strive for equality of rights for all Punjabis and their ideal should be a free Punjab in a free India. Sir Sikandar never agreed to serve as a gramophone to Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League. He opposed dismemberment of his country and stressed the unity of India.

S. K. L.

Relative Incidents of Venereal Diseases Amongst the British and Indian Troops in India in 1940

From the *Annual Report on the Health of the Army in India for the year 1940*, it appears that the ratios per 1,000 of strength of the British ranks and the Indian troops who are suffering from venereal diseases are as follows:

Venereal diseases	Admissions	
	British	Indian
...	58.1	18.9
Gonorrhoea	30.9	7.5
Soft chancre	8.9	1.4
Syphilis	12.7	6.1
Other cases	5.6	3.9

Relatively more than three Britishers are suffering from venereal diseases for every Indian. The greater incidence of these diseases among the British troops is a constant feature of the Army Health Reports.

J. M. DATTA

Appointment on Communal Considerations in Mughal India

In the Puja Number of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali writes an article on *Mughal Administration in India*, in which he says:

"In the appointment of high officers no communal considerations were allowed to sway the judgment of the Emperor, Ability was held to be the only qualification for office (antiques ours). Even Aurangzeb would not allow his judgment to be warped by such prejudices. On a petition by one of his proteges, for official preferment, on communal grounds, he wrote as follows: 'What connection have worldly affairs with religion? For you is your religion and for me is mine. If the rule suggested by you is established it would be my

duty to extirpate all Hindu Rajahs and their followers. Wise men disapprove of the removal from office of able officers."

Those Muhammadans, who in season and out of season, clamour for their *hissya* in Government services—be it the A. R. P. or any other civil appointment, who established the rule of communal promotions, and prefer transfer of officers from one district to another on communal considerations in Bengal,—are they greater well-wishers and guardians of Separate Muhammadan interests, (if any) than the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb himself?

J. M. DATTA.

Food Supply in Bombed Calcutta

A year ago, the Bengal Government had expected that there would be difficulty in food supply if Calcutta were bombed. Discussions were held on the establishment of food depots in the City. They had got one year's time to translate the decisions into action. But after the raids have begun, no arrangements for food supply appear to have been made. Grocers' shops in the local markets are rapidly getting depleted and prices already tremendously high are going further up. What the Government are considered to be their duty one year ago, certainly remains so when the real emergency has arisen. Transport difficulty in Calcutta is one main reason for maldistribution of food in the City markets. When the casualties are so small, cannot a part of the large number of buses and lorries herded together in A. R. P. sheds be released for moving foodstuffs? These can return to their bases when the Siren goes.

Air-Raids on Calcutta

Calcutta has been raided by Japanese planes five times during the end of the month. The news of the bombings released to the public were meagre, vague and on fourth occasion it was extremely belated. The *communiqué* admitted that the bombing was indiscriminate and that there were some casualties, but no details were given. This belated publication of the news and its meagre and vague nature was resented even by the *Statesman* whom the Government cannot possibly charge with carrying on political propaganda. On December 25, the *Statesman* drew attention to the lack of precision in the official *communiqué* which gave a "comprehensive picture" of Calcutta's first three air-raids and commented:

Precision in official announcements, always desirable, is the more so when the facts described fall within the common man's direct experience.

On December 27, it made the following comment on the Government's abject failure in releasing news of the raids promptly and precisely:

Something requires to be done, and done urgently, about Calcutta's air-raid publicity. The authorities have had a full year to prepare. It had been assumed, before this month's bombing began, that they had a workable plan ready for putting reliable information promptly before the public. Hitherto little evidence of plan has been discernible, and more evidence of muddle of a sort which earlier evoked condemnation in places whose time for preparation was less. After the fourth raid, on Christmas Eve, more than 12 hours elapsed before any official information regarding it reached local newspaper offices; the announcement then was of the most meagre sort, only about 40 words. The raid had ended at a comparatively early hour; but newspaper staffs, who, as they work by night know something of what then happens, were unable to obtain the authorities' permission to publishing in the morning city editions even a bare announcement that a raid had occurred. Papers were thus distributed to the city's population devoid of any reference to the fact uppermost in most minds. This is ludicrous; it puts the Press in an almost unendurable position, and the Press has its own duties to fulfil to the public.

Nor is this the only point for criticism. Photographs passed for publication by one authority in one newspaper have been rejected by another authority for another newspaper. As we have previously remarked, a *communiqué* issued from New Delhi after the third raid was, to the knowledge of Calcutta's citizens, false in two important particulars; for that the New Delhi authorities, 800 miles distant, cannot be held primarily blame-worthy. This kind of confusion cannot go on. It is bad for morale, which authority should be vigorously concerned to uphold. The public for months past has been exhorted against believing rumour. Most of them have no wish to do so, their spirit is firm, and their good sense may be relied upon. But when authority fails to put forth reliable information promptly or in adequate amount about outstanding local happenings, it is inevitable that rumours should gain some currency.

Came To Do Good But Did Pretty Well

Lord Linlithgow paid a short visit to Calcutta this Christmas to deliver his address in the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. He tried to give a new twist to the present political deadlock. He said that the gentlemen present were familiar with the suggestion that the troubles of India were due to Great Britain's refusal to part with power. He explained that 'exactly contrary was the case' and said:

Those troubles were due to Great Britain's readiness to part with power. It was because agreement could not be reached between the conflicting interests in the country as to who was to take over the responsibilities, which Great Britain was only too ready to transfer to Indian hands, that the deadlock had arisen. It was

from no reluctance on the part of the Government to transfer power.

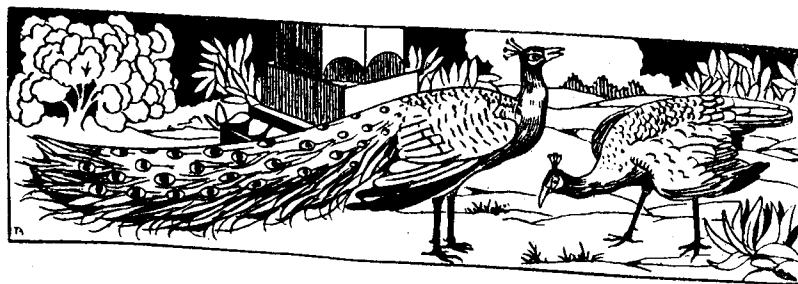
A Viceroy should not have the short memory of the public. The Cripps' Negotiations broke down specifically on Clause (e) of the Draft Declaration which negatived any transfer of power for the duration of the war. The attempt to reach an agreed formula on Defence with the help of Col. Johnson failed. The simple Defence formula put forward by the Congress would not be accepted by the British Government for the simple reason that they were *unwilling* to transfer *real* power. Sir Stafford Cripps went over to the Congress to induce it to accept power, and the Congress showed its readiness to accept, only if it were worth accepting. Scores of questions and explanations arose *after* the breakdown.

The Viceroy reiterated that Great Britain's help would always be available. The Indian people may well beg to decline with thanks the offer of the British to help us and say,—they came to do good but did pretty well. Save us from our Saviours.

Where Are They?

The citizens proper of Calcutta have taken the air-raids with *sang-froid*. Panic has been created among the floating population of the city and amongst the profiteers and racketeers who have so long flourished here under official patronage. It is these people who have fled from the city by "all means of locomotion including their legs." The National War Front and the Public Relations Committee, which spent large amounts of tax-payers' money for "keeping public morale intact," do not seem to be functioning though the bombers have arrived.

The Government should now see that the people who want to remain at their posts in Calcutta are not compelled to leave the city for want of food and other essential necessities. They are moving too slow in this direction. The two costly bodies mentioned above may now be disbanded and their funds utilised for this purpose.



B. B. Roy

Mr. B. B. Roy, Assistant Editor of the *Statesman*, has passed away. He was a successful Professor. He also came out as a brilliant journalist. His political views were moderate. His writings were well-reasoned, argumentative and bore a stamp of scholarship. He was a bachelor. May his soul rest in peace.

New Definitions of Serving Humanity

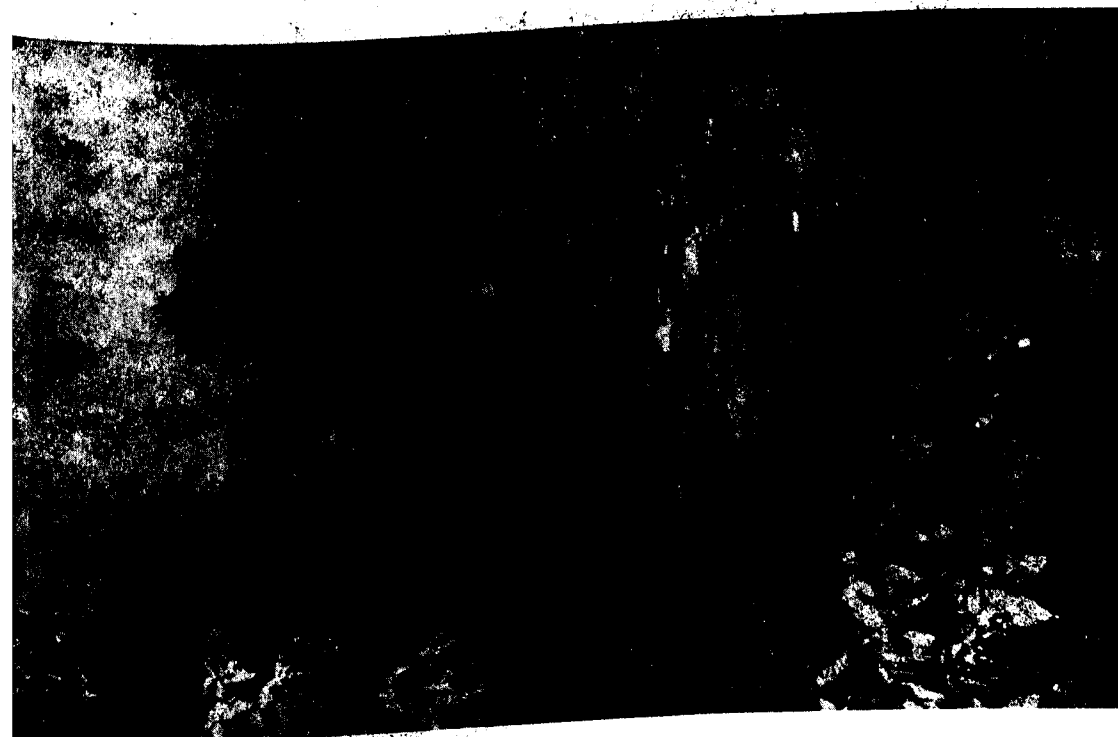
Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin of the Muslim League gave a new definition for serving humanity in his Calcutta Id Re-union speech on December 20. He said:

You cannot serve humanity unless you have power, which means ruling power. True service can only be rendered when the reins of Government are in the hands of Muslims, and this is the reason why the Muslims of India consider it their Islamic duty to obtain what is called Pakistan.

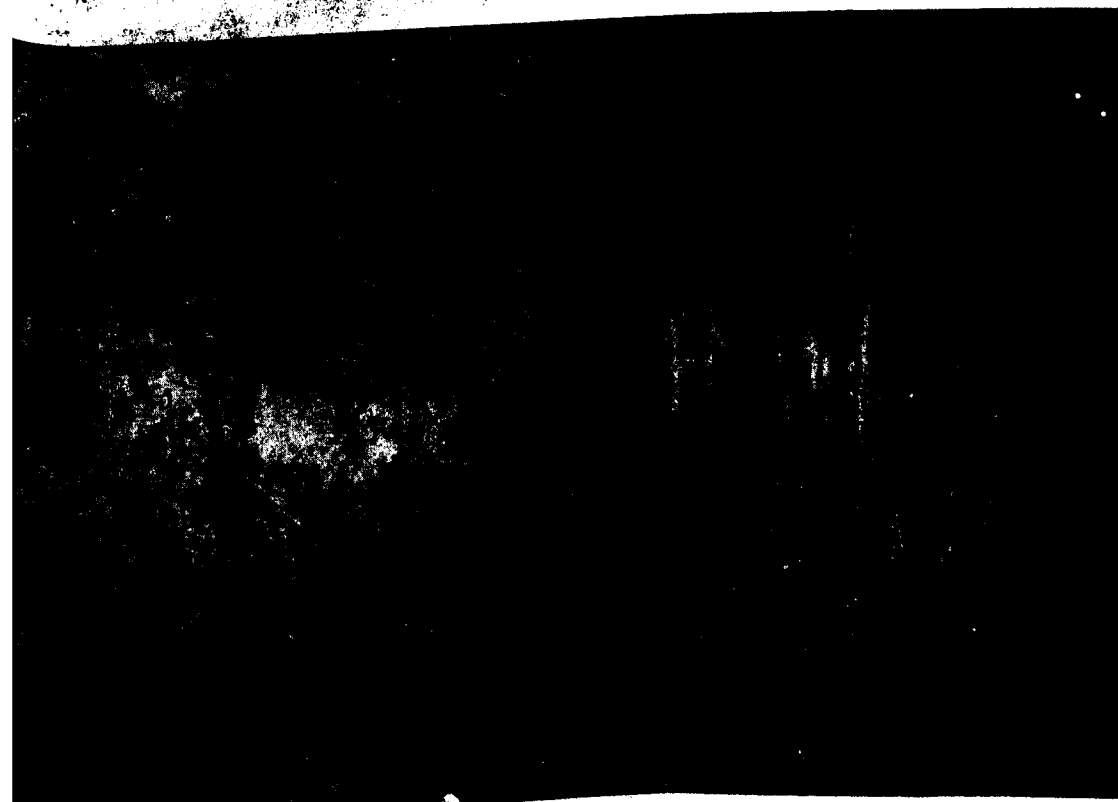
Three days earlier, Mr. Haddow of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce very eloquently spoke of the "mildness and humanity" of the British rule and expressed the "wish of the British community in India to continue to be of service to the country and to assist in its progress."

Mr. Haddow desires to be of service to the 400 million people of India by the consolidation of British power in the country, while at the same time Sir Nazimuddin of the British Government's pet Muslim League wants to do good not only to the Indian people but also to the people outside its borders by the consolidation of Muslim power in India. For this reason the creation of a Pakistan is considered by him as essentially necessary.

Sir Nazimuddin's definition of serving humanity includes the Muslim League's claim to rule the world with minority protection for itself, and this protection should come from the kith and kin of Mr. Haddow when Sir Nazimuddin would like to elbow out of India!



Brooks babbling through forests lend enchantment to the sylvan scene
Copyright photographs by St. Nihal Singh



Sal or Shorea Robusta, to give it the name bestowed upon it by botanists
one of the most valuable woods in India's far-flung forests, grows profusely
over a large portion of northern India

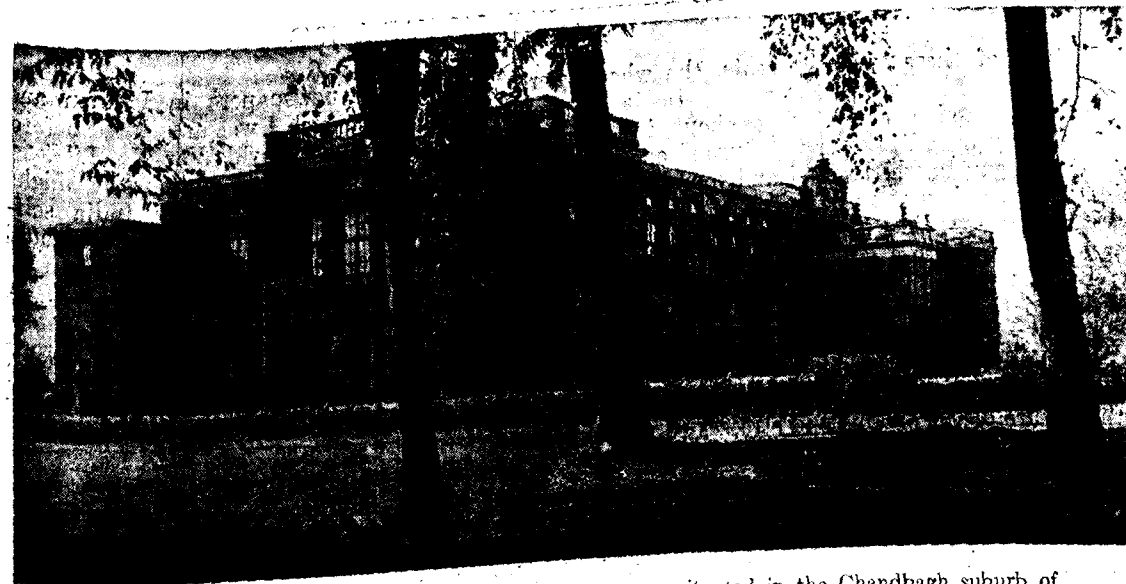


The nerve-centre of India's forestry. The Indian Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun.



Deodar sleepers from the Himalayas, floating on Jumna's breast, on their way to a Punjab timber depot.

Copyright photographs by St. Nihal Singh



Originally meant for the Forest College, this structure, situated in the Chandbagh suburb of Dehra Dun, now serves as the main building of a so-called "public school".

Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh

INDIA'S FOREST ECONOMY DURING AND AFTER THE WAR

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

FOR forty months war's broad, brilliant beam has played upon India's forest economy. It has penetrated into the deepest, remotest recesses of her jungles. It has lit up her sources of strength. It has been ruthless in revealing weaknesses.

All this for a reason. Wood can—and does—exist without war: but no sanguinary conflict can be carried on without it for any length of time.

The demands made by this war upon India's forest resources have been of a two-fold nature:

(1) Wood that may be termed "nailable" has been needed. The word in quotation marks is pregnant with meaning. It was minted by a Briton who has been longer in the Forest Service than any of his fellows—Sir Harold Glover, the Chief Conservator of the Punjab Forests. Vast quantities of wood that a carpenter can quickly and easily nail are required for a thousand and one purposes directly and indirectly connected with war.

(2) Equally insistent is the demand for what may be called "quality" woods. Articles made wholly or partly of wood, used in warfare, must be able to withstand stresses and strains of the severest kind.

Compared with the "nailable" type of timber, the quantities of "quality" woods required are small. Wide as well as exact knowledge of silviculture is, however, needed for obtaining the right kind for a particular purpose. In some cases selection must not be confined to a given species, but each piece must be subjected to the minutest, most searching, scientific examination before it is passed on to the carpenter or fed into the machine.

II

A concrete instance will give one who is not a specialist in this subject an idea of the severity of the strain to which certain articles made altogether or partly of wood for war purposes have to bear. When, the other day, I was being conducted over the Indian Forest Research Institute, situated some five miles from the house in Dehra Dun in which I am writing this article, my attention was arrested by a huge wheel. It looked like a Ferris wheel such as may be seen in amusement parks. When the wheel is rotated with ever-increasing speed, excitement-seekers occupying seats suspended from its outer rim find themselves violently shaken about and only by gripping the arms, handles or rings, as the case may be, can keep from falling out.

Instead of these swinging seats, the wheel at the wood-testing workshop of the Institute had a few wooden cases lying about in it. When, for my benefit, power was turned on and the wheel began to whirl round and round, these cases, loose as they were, knocked against each other and also against the sides of the wheel. It was plain, even to a lay person, that each box was being pounded in a different place every second and that the hits came from a different angle and varied in intensity.

Mr. V. D. Limaye, in charge of the Section, told me that I had been witnessing something in the nature of the strains and stresses to which wooden articles made for certain war purposes are subjected. By this and other tests equally or even more severe, Indian woods had been selected to take the place of those imported from one country or another before the outbreak of hostilities, some for use for war purposes, others in industry.

III

Now as to the extraction of wood—of a number of woods—from our forests for a particular purpose or purposes vital to the defence of our country—vital to our material well-being:

Did India possess timbers that would make her self-sufficing, at least in respect of defence? That question does not seem to have been pondered in the pre-war period by persons who controlled our destinies. If it was asked, no systematic, certainly no successful, effort was made to solve it satisfactorily.

The conditions that now prevail may not have been anticipated in their entirety. What military strategist could have dreamt that a time would come when the Japanese would be in occupation of Burma, the Andamans, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and other islands and islets in the Pacific? What naval observer could have foreseen that the Nipponese would be tearing across and burrowing under the surface of the bays, seas and oceans that lave the shores of Ind? What expert in the use of the air arm could have prophesied that a day would dawn when the wasps in the service of Britain's former ally in the Extreme East would be infesting our skies—that from the blue vault of heaven bombs would be rained down upon our shipping in some of our lagoons and rivers, not to speak of the bounding main margining our Motherland?

Writers on warfare in Britain and elsewhere had, however, been aware of the overweening German ambition for the domination of the East. Time and again the scares (as we thought then)

were headlined in newspapers in London and the provinces with which I was associated before, during and after the "World War No. I."

Persons who controlled our forests might have exerted themselves to make India self-sufficing in respect of timber as far as she could be, in at least the zone of defence, just in case this nightmare became something of reality. A day might come, they might have anticipated, when the ambition of military despots in Europe and possibly elsewhere might constrict or seal up the peace-time avenues of imports and throw India back upon her own internal forest resources.

Men who dominated the forest services could, without asking anybody's leave, exploit wood in the bole. They could grow any wood that was "growable." Great, indeed, were the possibilities. Our forests are flung over an immense area widely varying in climatic conditions.

No provision seems to have been made for finding or growing woods that might, at any moment, be needed for aeroplane construction or the making of ammunition boxes and many other undeniable requisites of war and war industries. That being the case, it would be stupid upon the part of any thinking person to assume that any great effort would have been put forth towards making our manufacturing, building and allied industries independent of articles in which wood entered to a greater or smaller extent that were being imported, many of them in large quantities, either fully or partly made, or in the form of raw materials. Despite our vast forest wealth and vaster forest potential, we were helplessly—almost hopelessly—dependent upon the outside world (within which, for years, has been comprehended Burma) for timbers for meeting many of our military, naval and aerial requirements as well as numerous civil needs.

IV

Research thrives only if it fructifies man's life. What scope was there for fructification?

Suppose the foresters in the Government of India's pay, or those in the employ of provincial administrations, had scoured India's woods and found timber that would be useful for aeroplane construction? What practical good could that success have accomplished in the pre-war period? Not only was there no such industry in the country, but persons who projected it were dubbed as visionaries instead of being encouraged or even subsidized.

In the field of industry conducted solely on an economic basis, what encouragement did foresters receive? The research carried on by

the pioneers at the Institute at Chandbagh, a suburb of Dehra Dun, and later at its present site, two miles or so further west, was crowned—in some cases abundantly crowned—with results calculated to be of the greatest practical value. To what use did industry actually put many of them?

There was the Paper Pulp Section, for instance. A scientist from the United Provinces (M. P. Bhargava), aided by one from the Punjab (Chattar Singh) did a great deal of work in converting Indian woods, including bamboos into paper of one quality or another, for one purpose or another. To supplement the laboratory tests, the Government was persuaded by the President of the Institute to find the money to set up a plant for the production of paper on a semi-commercial scale. Paper was produced. It was paper that compared favourably with the imported article of like grade and like price. Was there a single moneyed individual or a person with the capacity to organize finance, who troubled to set up a mill or mills in which commercial operations on a large scale could be conducted with wood in the Himalayas and other localities suggested by the Institute? I am yet to hear of such a venture.

Much the same can be said of the plywood industry. A plant for its manufacture was set up at the Institute years ago. Considering the amount of wood of this description that was being imported year by year till the outbreak of hostilities, many factories for the manufacture of plywood should have gone up in all parts of India. They, however, did not, in the pre-war period.

I could multiply these instances were there space. Nor would such multiplication serve any purpose that those I have given will not.

What heart could the scientists in the various branches and sections of the Institute put into their researches? All credit to them that they persisted, despite the depressing conditions all about them.

V

War's fierce flame has burnt away much of the piece-time complacency, at least for the moment. The forty months during which the

conflict has raged is, as measured in the wood-world, only the twinkling of an eye. No new timber could be produced in so short a period except under the spell of magic. There has, however, been a hunt—in some cases almost a mad hunt—through silvicultural areas. This hunt, made by persons possessed of scientific equipment and no small mental and physical vigour, has yielded remarkably rich results.

Mention was made a short time ago of some of these by the Member of the Government of India who has India's forests in his portfolio—the Hon'ble the Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, a



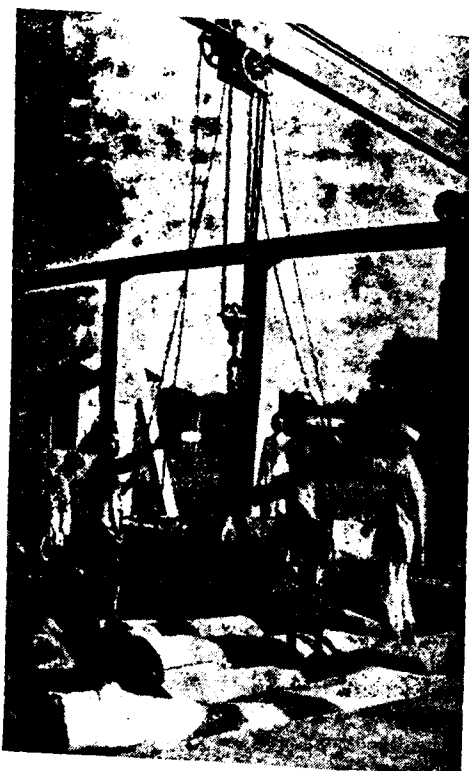
"The first forest school in the Empire"
Established in 1878, it is now used for training forest rangers
Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh

new recruit to the Governor-General's Executive Council. Speaking at the Conference of the Board of Forestry that he convened recently at the Forest nerve-centre at Dehra Dun, he outlined the progress made. That Institute had "proved that India has suitable timber for use in aircraft, which was considered out of the question a year ago." Its Wood Technology Section had "tested ammunition boxes, crates for sola topis, propellers, spars for plywood, glue joints, parachute containers and a number of other special articles completing nearly half a million tests." It had devised "hard-wood dowels for roof-trusses and bridges, saving a considerable amount of metal and money."

The Institute had been producing oils from chir pine and developing processes which have enabled a firm "to produce disinfectants for our troops." It had worked out processes for extracting "ephadrine from ephedra, acetone from derris and medicinal tar from pines."

The way found by the Institute "to defeat armies of white ants" had been "adopted by the Supply Department and seasoning in kilns"

had "proved its value and gained in popularity." A cold settling adhesive and new glues from indigenous products had been evolved to replace casein and other types of cements needed for naval and other uses. A large variety of plywood containers had "been constructed at the Institute as substitutes for metal containers, ranging from one-pound tins and canisters to sturdy 50-gallon drums for road tar." Approved by the Army, they were "being produced by several firms for keeping oils, greases, dry-goods and medical stores."



Testing a method of seasoning wood at the Institute
Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh

The Paper Pulp Section of the Institute was "making a bulk supply of paper for various military uses and map paper for the Survey of India, in addition to investigations connected with natural and synthetic dyes, water-proof paper and specifications for cardboard containers for Ordnance and Medical Stores."

Much of this accomplishment could easily—should—have been made without the spur of war. I am glad, however, that it has been made and gladder that the Institute is going ahead with its good work. The last time I was taken over it I was greatly interested in the experiments

that the seasoning specialist—Aziz-ur-Rahman, an M.Sc. of the Lucknow University, was making to enable pencil factories in India to secure plentiful supplies of suitable wood.

VI

The Board of Forestry at which this speech was made had brought to Dehra Dun, Mr. Burman, the Minister-in-charge of the Forests in Bengal, and Mr. Ilahi Baksh—his "opposite number"—from the western corner of the country—Sindh. There were forest officials from the major provinces and from little Coorg.

This conclave afforded me a good opportunity to discover how far India has become self-sufficing in respect of the Forest Service personnel. At the apex was Stanley Herbert Howard, B.A., occupying the dual office of President of the Institute and Inspector-General of Forests in India. Two branches of the Institute were captained by Indians—the Botanical by Dr. K. D. Bagchee and the Chemistry by Dr. S. Krishna. No Indian has ever risen, so far as I can learn, to be the head of the Entomological, Silvicultural or Utilization Branch. Several Sections of the last-named Branch are, however, under Indians—Wood Technology (Dr. K. A. Chowdhury); Wood Preservation (Dr. Narayanamurti); Wood Seasoning (Aziz-ur-Rahman); Wood Testing (V. D. Limaye); and Paper Pulp (Chattar Singh).

Of the two institutions at Dehra Dun maintained for training in forestry, only the junior one had an Indian director. This was the Indian Forest Ranger College, headed, since a few years back, by C. R. Ranganathan.

In the provinces not a single Indian occupies the position of Chief Conservator of Forests. In only one of them—Bihar, which saves on the Chief Conservator—was there an Indian head of forestry—Lakhpat Rai Sabharwal, who, till lately, was the Personal Assistant to the President of the Institute. The present Personal Assistant (Gurdial S. Singh) was trained at Oxford and has served mostly in the Bombay Presidency.

VII

What of the future?

My feeling is that the men at the top have little time or energy left, when they have finished their day-to-day work, to devote to the consideration of ways and means for speeding up progress. Those whom they control or direct are, I fear, wholly absorbed in duties connected with the extraction of timber and silvicultural

CONSCRIPTING THE BIBLE

operations and cannot give to development the attention it deserves. pave the path with gold can get up to it, or who can secure subventions from one province or another.

This is the time when thought should be directed towards safeguarding the future. Plans should be worked out for a more searching scrutiny of our forest wealth, the more intensive utilization of our forest resources and the investigation of possibilities for development. Schemes should also be evolved for making forestry the hand-maiden of industry, so that our people may be enriched by the utilization of the forest products and especially the "minor products" (to borrow a term from the forester's lingo).

I am particularly disquieted as to the training to be given to would-be foresters. There is no nexus between the two institutions that exist at Dehra Dun. From the Ranger College—one college in name only, so far as I can see—one can graduate into the one in which men are trained for direct appointment to positions in the "superior" service.

Why should the portal to these prize-posts in the Forest Service be so narrow? Why should the way be made so forbidding?

Only the fortunate few whose fathers can

an acquaintance of mine whose high authority in these matters I respect, worked out for me, the other day, the cost incurred upon a "trainee" (a term that is fast becoming popular). The figure was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 12,000 for the two years' course and contingent expenses.

I have known young men to get through the forestry course at Oxford for less than that amount, passage both ways and practical training on the Continent included. If I remember aright, a Rhodes Scholar receives only £700 for his two years' tenure.

The training of Indians in forestry was begun in 1878. Conservation work had already been started.

What a commentary upon the forest policy and administration that to the fog end of 1942, when I am penning these words, not a single Indian was, in the estimation of the powers that be, fitted to conduct the college for training his young countrymen for entry into the "superior" forest service!

CONSCRIPTING THE BIBLE

By PROF. SATISH D. KALELKAR, M.A., (Oxon)
Benares Hindu University

WONDERING why Gandhiji's 'Appeal to Every Briton' failed to produce the reaction that his faith in the innate goodness of human heart expected and in order to understand the working of the mind of the man who is today at the helm of affairs in Britain, I recently went through Mr. Winston Churchill's *World Crisis 1911-14* and a popular and authentic *Biography* of his by Mr. Rene Kraus who has been "engaged in European politics as a journalist and diplomat for almost twenty years and who has known Mr. Churchill and other British statesmen personally for many years."

All through the book one gathers the impression that the biographer, like his hero, considers the Indian political problem too insignificant for serious discussion; he is concerned with India only as a training centre and polo-ground for young Churchill, and expresses the

same disrespectful sentiments for everything Indian, as do the majority of American newspapers which have allowed themselves to be poisoned by the formidable but false British propaganda. To give but one instance, Mr. Kraus refers to the late Shapurji Saklatwala the first Communist M.P., of Britain in the manner of a 'white American' and calls him "the coffee-coloured comrade" to whose "endless tirade nobody listened"!

I had always admired Mr. Churchill not so much because, as a warrior, writer, prophet and statesman he had captured the imagination of England while still in his twenties and of the world in his middle age, as for his frank admission of enthusiasm for empire-building. Mr. Churchill is frank; one can say with considerable degree of confidence that he is pro this and anti that. One feels great difficulty in under-

standing a Halifax, but one knows one's Churchill and places him accordingly. As long ago as in 1919 when Mr. Churchill was the Head of the War Office, he never made bones about supporting anti-Bolshevik action in Russia. His frankness was perhaps based on his intuitive knowledge that only a few years before, Lenin "had passed by the House in Westminster and pointing to the 'stronghold of democracy' had said to his companion: 'There is our real mortal enemy.'" (I wonder how many of our Communist friends in India know this!) In 1919 Mr. Churchill was very much alarmed by the possibility of a communistic general strike, and the support he offered to the anti-Bolshevik activity in Russia was based on his conviction that Britain was in immediate danger. He therefore took the precaution of circulating among the commanding officers a secret document enquiring about the readiness of the troops to maintain communications in the event of a communistic general strike. The Labour paper *Daily Herald* which has since aligned itself with the policy of "Socialism at home and Imperialism in Colonies," somehow obtained a copy of that secret circular and revealed it to the public with a hue and cry. But Mr. Churchill remained unperturbed as ever; his only answer was "Admitted"!! It is a person of this type that one understands easily and it was for this reason that leaving Mr. Amery alone, I tried to understand the mind of the present British Prime Minister who is extolled as the "great adversary of barbarism fighting the fight of humanity."

It will not be irrelevant diversion if we go back to 1901 in order to understand the psychology of the person to whom among others, Gandhiji had made the 'Appeal to Quit India,' and who counts most in British politics today. Speaking before the Cambridge University Carlton Club in 1901, *inter alia* Mr. Churchill had said:

"We do not grow enough food to keep ourselves alive. We have an enormous industrial population crowded together in great cities far removed from the natural agricultural life of man, and dependent for their daily bread entirely on the condition of trade. The food we eat, the clothes we wear, indeed our very existence depends on our power to hold our own in colonial and foreign markets. If we are undersold, or out-matched or arbitrarily excluded, we perish." (Italics mine).

The speech is significant; it tells us what is at the back of their mind when the British statesmen talk about "fighting for democracy" and describe Mr. Churchill as "the great adver-

sary of barbarism fighting the fight of humanity." Tested by Mr. Churchill's own views, all the jargon about Britain fighting for human freedom boils down to fighting for retaining the "power to hold our own in colonial and foreign markets." That is why Gandhiji insisted that if India is the stake in this war, we should be told so.

There is yet another interesting incident which shows Mr. Churchill's frank selfishness and a false sense of patriotism. At the end of the Boer War when Mr. Churchill was being lionised as a great hero, he availed himself of the favourable moment and went across the Atlantic on a lecturing tour. At his New York debut he was most cordially introduced by the great humorist Mark Twain; but the audience which was full of Irish nationalists staged an anti-British demonstration. In Chicago, the Irish made the lecture almost impossible. When they burst out in demonstrations for the Boers, Mr. Churchill tried to take the wind out of their sails by announcing "If I were a Boer, I would certainly have fought against England." Here perhaps his conscience got the better of him! Mark Twain who was no Irishman and had no axe to grind, explained the American standpoint to him. The Boer War, he said in substance, was an imperialist campaign. Pat came Mr. Churchill's proud answer: "My country, right or wrong."!!

After the performance of Sir Stafford Cripps, Indians need no further proof to be convinced that it is typical of the British statesman that once he becomes one of the called and chosen in the Government he mixes a little water with his radical wine. Mr. Herbert Morrison's suppression of the *Daily Worker* for a year and a half is an instance in point. Mr. Churchill is no exception to this. Some thirty years ago when he was harassed in the Parliament about the "Chinese slave labour in South Africa," his notorious reply was:

"The contract under which coolies are employed may not be a desirable contract and not a healthy contract, but it cannot, in view of His Majesty's Government, be classified as slavery in the extreme acceptance of the word without some risk of terminological inexactitude."!!

If Mr. Churchill were forced to comment on the present political status of India which the Congress describes as slavery, *mutatis mutandis* he would give an identical reply as his favourite Mr. Amery who is tied to his boss by the 'old school tie' has already been doing. But the greatest of all characteristics of the

ruling class of Britain is their capacity for self-deception which foreigners would be excused to describe as arrant hypocrisy. Is it really so very difficult for the Britisher to imagine that when their statesmen talk glibly about their Christian Mission in Asia, the Asiatics get as exasperated as do the Europeans when they hear Japan talk of her "Mission of Peace in China"? A Chinese friend of mine at Oxford once told me that if ever he became the dictator of China, the first thing he would do would be to kick the Christian missionaries out, who put Empire before Christ. "The Bible, apart from its universal truths, is full of nonsense and it is certainly antiquated," he said. "Still, I can understand dogmatic Christians trying to plan life according to the teachings of the Bible. But what infuriates me is the British capacity for freely employing the word of their Lord to justify their most unchristian doings. It is said, Devil may quote scriptures, I have no doubt he does."

Mr. Churchill's patriotism does not stop at "my country, right or wrong"; it seeks justification from the Bible for the shameless exploitation of other countries. We have evidence for this from Mr. Churchill's *World Crisis 1911-14*. After the well-known Agadir Crisis which very nearly plunged the world into the Great War that came three years later, Mr. Churchill was spending a few days with Mr. Asquith the Prime Minister who was deeply impressed by the fiery zeal of his young colleague. This is how Mr. Churchill describes the eve of his becoming the First Lord of the Admiralty.

"The day after I had arrived there, on our way home from the links, he (Asquith) asked me quite

abruptly whether I would like to go to the Admiralty. He had put the same question to me when he first became Prime Minister.

"I said 'Indeed I would.'"
"That night when I went to bed, I saw a large Bible lying on a table in my bedroom. My mind was dominated by the news I had received of the complete change in my station and of the task entrusted to me. I thought of the peril of Britain, peace-loving, unthinking, little prepared, of her power and virtue, and her mission of good sense and fairplay. (Italics mine).

"I opened the Book (the Bible) at random, and in the 9th. Chapter of Deuteronomy I read: 'Hear O Israel, thou art to pass over Jordan this day, to go in to possess nations greater and mightier than thyself, cities greater and fenced up to heaven. . . .

"Speak not thou in thine heart, after that the Lord thy God hath cast them out from before thee, saying, For my righteousness the Lord hath brought me in to possess this land: but for the wickedness of these nations the Lord doth drive them out from before thee."

"Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart dost thou go to possess their land; but for the wickedness of these nations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee, and that he may perform the word which the Lord sware unto thy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob."

Mr. Churchill ends this narrative by remarking: "It seemed a message full of assurance." His Christian conscience was satisfied that the imperialist war that Britain was planning to wage, was in reality a Christian Mission!! The 'Chosen People' of Britain were only humble instruments in the hands of God punishing wicked nations!

No wonder Gandhiji's 'Appeal to Quit India' had no effect on the British statesmen who believe that they are the 'Chosen People' of God.

Truth, they say, is the first casualty in a violent war. We may add: the Bible is the first to be conscripted.

POST-WAR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION: CERTAIN QUESTIONS

By BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

It is no exaggeration to say that one of the most important causes of the present war is to be found in the failure of the victors of the last war to handle the post-war problems with sagacity and statesmanship and to rebuild the post-war world on sounder lines. The world will perhaps realise now at the cost of another devastating war that it is, after all, impossible to have lasting peace without redressing legitimate grievances; that it is also futile to extort war indemnity from the defeated enemy; that it is dangerous even for victors to try to profit economically out of such a war at the cost of the vanquished, for such an attempt would ultimately recoil on its author. The lesson seems to have been at least partially learnt and various Governments including the Government of India have already

created ministers for post-war reconstruction or have appointed post-war reconstruction committees. The public is generally not taken into confidence in such matters and we do not, as a rule, get any inkling of what goes on in these secret conclaves. But there are indications that in spite of this terrible lesson the mistakes of the last war may, to a certain extent, be repeated again. We may therefore tentatively put the following questions:

I. Post-war economic reconstruction would depend for its success on a satisfactory solution of the political problem. It is difficult to find out in which direction the causal relation goes, but it is at least certain that economic and political reconstruction must go together. It is yet to be seen whether this all-important question can be satisfactorily answered by the victors, when the war ends.

II. Post-war economic reconstruction would obviously be facilitated or hampered by the way in which economic relations develop now between the allies. What are the main features of the existing relations? What would be the nature of the legacy to be borne by the post-war world?

One of the most important features of the economic relations that existed during the last war was that the world was sharply divided into two groups, one consisting of creditors, another of debtors. The creditors tried to realise their dues, first, to the fullest possible extent, and second, in cash money (*i.e.*, gold) as far as possible. As a natural reaction to this, present transactions are made, first, often with a hope that everything perhaps need not be repaid, the creditors thus paying for a moral cause, and, secondly, the transactions are often made in goods and not in money. The second feature is more important of the two. As the *Economist*¹ writes:

"In the long run, the most important element in the generous and broad-minded attitude of President Roosevelt and his colleagues towards the debts of this war is not the inference that—because these debts represent only one side of the account in a common world effort for freedom which should be liquidated finally according to the criterion of 'equal sacrifice'—they may not have to be paid in full as they stand. The really significant point is the basic principle of Lend-Lease itself, namely, that goods must be paid for by goods."

Judged from this viewpoint, the world seems to be yet moving towards disaster. Granted now the benefit of the principle that goods must be paid for by goods, we find differ-

ent relations in different cases,—a fact which may lead to difficulty.

(a) The relation of the British Empire and other belligerents *vis-a-vis* the United States of America is at least partially based on the principle of Lend-Lease. Any discussion on this topic must be tentative in character, as the full extent of the Lend-Lease help is not yet known, nor the way in which repayment would be taken yet determined. But if the basic principle of Lend-Lease is nothing but goods paying for goods, we might say that the British Empire has, to a certain extent at least, built up economic relations with the United States on this principle. It, however, goes without saying that all the units of the British Empire do not stand on the same footing.

(b) This is, however, not the case within the British Empire itself. Great Britain has, during the war, heavily drawn on the deep reservoir of her empire resources, so much so that many countries are now rapidly changing from the position of a debtor to that of a creditor. As the last war saw the turning of the scale with regard to the United States, this war has seen the definite emergence of Canada as a creditor country. The financial position between England and Canada would be clear from the following table:²

(MILLION DOLLARS)	
Net cash deficiency to March 31, 1942	.. 1,872
U. K. sale of gold to Canada	.. 250
Official repatriation	.. 714
Private repatriation	.. 126
Conversion of sterling balance to loan	.. 700
Conversion of sterling balance to gift	.. 1,000
	2,790

Thus Canada provided Great Britain with a balance of 920 million dollars, which in the words of the Canadian finance minister should be sufficient to take care of Britain's dollar deficit until some time early in 1943. Australia, South Africa and India have not yet reached this position, but the accumulation of huge sterling balances in the hands of these countries is sufficient proof that they are delivering goods to Britain on credit. We are not here concerned about the merits or demerits of the scheme; the important point is that the principle adopted here bears no resemblance to the new principle of goods paying for goods but has close

1. *Economist*, July 29, 1942, p. 109.

2. *Economist*, April 25, 1942, p. 571.

similarity to the old principle of buying goods on money-loan account. India, for example, is not being told that the goods now supplied to England would be repaid by goods at some future date. Instead, sterling balances are being earmarked to her account, with the result that the repayment, if and when made, would be on money basis. In fact, it was openly argued by the Canadian finance minister that the Canadian gift of 1000 million dollars to Great Britain was as much a "hard-boiled business" as an act of altruism. This is, to say the least, moving on old and dangerous grooves.

We therefore see that apart from the direct exploitation as often resorted to by Germany, the present war has given rise to two main types of economic relationship. The first is dangerously similar to the methods of the last war and has emphasis on the monetary aspect. The second is a novel one which perhaps has its origin in a better realisation of the ultimate principles of international trade and therefore lays stress on goods rather than on money. This is definitely better, but as we shall presently see, it has not yet been free from potential dangers. Unless the statesmen and economists become alive from now to these dangers, there is no hope that post-war economic reconstruction would, by itself, be a success.

Let us begin with the dangers of the money-principle. It is not necessary here to elaborate in detail the economic problems of the last twenties. Suffice it to say that any such money-payment must raise two sets of difficulties. First, it is a question of securing a sufficient balance for making the payment, which must ultimately come from an enlarged national income. A favourable trade balance is obviously the most important factor in this case. The second problem is that of transfer, for it is almost a miracle to effect such huge transfer without an economic breakdown. Without entering into the vehement controversy that has existed among economists on these points, we might say that the post-war world experienced difficulty on both these counts. The payment extorted from Germany mainly came from the loans given to Germany by the allies. It was also seen that in order to enable the debtor to pay, she must be assisted to build up an export surplus, which again means that the creditors, such as Great Britain, France and the United States, must consume more goods produced by their debtors at the cost of their own industry. The creditors of the last war tried to stop this infiltration of goods from

the debtor countries by various devices, such as the American Hawley-Smoot tariff, the Ottawa agreement and so on. The result was a complete economic breakdown and the Great Depression. If the units of the British Empire now demand similar payment in money, the result may be equally disastrous for the world. It will not only be harmful for Great Britain but more so for her creditors. These creditors are on the whole relatively backward in the industrial sphere and if repayment in money means that these creditors will have to consume more of British goods, it will not only mean a slump in the creditor countries but their industrial effort would be harder hit—perhaps thoroughly shaken—than the British industry in the post-war period.

We now turn to the other principle. Goods paying for goods appears to be a sounder policy as it tries to avoid the dangers inherent in the other principle, but it is at present fraught with other dangers of no less magnitude. We have seen that the other principle affects in the first instance the course of international trade and secondly the international and national price-levels. That is to say, it affects the national industrial structure of the debtor country only indirectly through the mechanism of trade, exchange and price-levels which receive its direct impact. But if goods are to be repaid by goods on the grand scale, it is not much of a prophecy to say that the creditor country will not only have influence over the foreign trade, exchange and price-levels of the debtor country but would also wield an extensive, if not a complete, control over the entire economic structure of the debtor country. It is therefore only natural that there should now be a demand for freer trade. It was one of the points of the Atlantic Charter that free trade would be restored to the fullest possible extent after the war. It is interesting that when free trade meant the ruin of creditor country, protection was in high demand. But when there is no possibility of recovering loans except through freer trade, a cry has been raised for the abolition of trade barriers. But there is no practical difference between the two, for in the present context both are instruments in the hands of the creditor country to exploit the debtor country.

This is clearly unsatisfactory. Post-war economic reconstruction must, in order to be successful, be based on an honest effort for world welfare. Such economic imperialism masquerading under the cloak of generosity would be a greater disaster than open economic

exploitation. The first task of an economist in these circumstances is to find out a technique through which transfer can be made without any economic breakdown, even the debtor country receiving substantial assistance for stabilisation. This is obviously a long-term affair and here the politicians can materially come to the assistance of the economist by creating conditions for lasting peace and an atmosphere of goodwill. But apart from the question of politics, it is also necessary to evolve, as suggested, a satisfactory technique. The goods-principle is surely more helpful than the money-principle in this respect, but it cannot be successful if it also turns out to be another instrument of economic imperialism. So it is necessary, in the first place, to prevent it from degenerating into an instrument of economic imperialism. Secondly, the goods-principle cannot function successfully if the money principle is not tackled satisfactorily so that the financial relations based now on the latter principle may not react unfavourably on the other principle and thus be a cause of another breakdown. Considered realistically, this means

that apart from a solution of the economic problems of the United Nations *vis-a-vis* Germany, we shall have also to solve the problems arising out of the peculiar economic relations between different units of the British Empire before we can tackle the Lend-Lease question. There are no indications that the governments are fully alive to these potential dangers, but time has come when they should wake up to their responsibilities.

It may be added that this is only one aspect of the international side of the question. The war has led to the discovery of many new techniques of control also in the national sphere. It is quite likely that these controls would not disappear in the post-war world but may be conveniently utilised for harnessing economic forces for human welfare. International reconstruction must also depend on national policies and national economic structures. A complete discussion of the problem must take into account all the complex and interacting forces in their entirety.

AKBAR AND INDIA TODAY

By PROF. P. A. WADIA

THE enthusiasm with which we are celebrating the Akbar Quatercentenary is perhaps symbolic (1) of the demand for a *unified* India (2) of the growing self-consciousness on the part of our people and their desire to live their own life at its best so that India may contribute its own quota to the accumulating heritage of human culture. For culture knows no distinction of colour or creed. The West is found to be as savage or barbaric as the East was once supposed to be; and this in spite of 20 centuries of Christian teaching and influences—and Christianity is more a product of the East than of the West. Nay even the Homeric Gods on their Olympic Heights would have burst with laughter if an Aristotle after visiting the modern world had reported to them about what he had seen of those unnatural and diseased growths of the City State which men call Empires and how he had found a man called Churchill who had proclaimed that he was unwilling to preside over the liquidation of this huge protuberance of the body politic.

Our enthusiasm for Akbar and for the

glories of his political achievement is perhaps a measure of our longings for unifying India under a single national government. For, whatever a common administrative machinery and a common administrative language may have done for us in unifying the country to-day through a century of British Rule, the fact remains that a machinery imposed from without, and administered by a government of alien rulers whose interests never entirely coincided with the interests of the people of India could not achieve what Moghul Rule under Akbar could achieve. For the Moghuls were not foreigners who ruled from a country 6000 miles away: they were or they became the children of the soil; they settled in the land they conquered and shared in the joys and sorrows, in the fortunes and misfortunes of the people whom they conquered. Their administrative machinery was not imposed from without, but was almost a growth from within—and paved the way for a unified India.

We need not on this occasion refer in detail to any aspect of the rule of Akbar. Shall it be

suggested, shall we be told, that Akbar's rule has been a myth, like the alleged glories of the capture of the Bastille in 1789? Even if it were so, I would not consider the myth any the less valuable than the so-called pure, undiluted facts of history. The undiluted historical truth is very difficult to locate. It is a product of the creative imagination of the historian, determined by his inherited prepossessions and his acquired attainments. Far from regarding the Akbar myth, if such we call it, as valueless, we should even cherish it as a myth. A myth is not ordinarily an irrational product which needs to be discarded as harmful to the growth of the individual mind or to the social welfare. Plato long ago defended the myth as a medicinal departure from the truth, a product of the imagination that transcends rather than contradicts the reason—the finite, limited erring reason of finite men.

Assuming that the myth of Akbar's rule in India is a myth of this kind, let us preserve it with the most scrupulous care, and place it in the forefront of the stories by which we hope to mould the emotions and understanding of infant and young India,—the faith on which the rising generation both Hindoo and Moslem could be brought up, so that they may cease to believe in the platitudes of historical struggles between the two communities in the past, platitudes which, even if true, cannot contribute to the building up of friendship and co-operation to which we all look as the foundations of a better and greater India. Continuous reiteration of the fact of disagreement between the two communities even if it is a fact, is psychologically harmful. And whatever our rulers do in rubbing in this fact into the minds of our people it ill-becomes us to lend ourselves as willing instruments to this political game.

We live in a country where for centuries we were used to a contented and a peaceful existence in our self-sufficient villages, unconcerned about who governed us and ruled over us from the top, at Agra or at Delhi. If our British Rulers following the traditions of Moghul Rule under Akbar, had kept true to this political heritage, we would have had self-governing institutions developed from the bottom where the foundations were already firmly laid, with a system of widespread primary education to back them. Instead, the beginning was made at the top by the introduction of higher education and the universities and of parliamentary institutions in the provinces and at the centre in the field of government. But parliamentary

institutions thus introduced at the top cannot have the remotest chance of success with a half-educated electorate, led by demagogues tempted to sacrifice the larger interests of the country to considerations of their own temporary advantage or to the desire for power. In the result self-government at the bottom has disappeared only to be replaced by local boards which reproduce the worst features of a mockery of party government borrowed from the top. Primary education has been neglected; and now even the centralized uniformity of Moghul Rule is to be subordinated to provincial jealousies and bickerings and to separatist tendencies running riot in the name of autonomy. Is there anything unnatural if to-day we look back with longing eyes and cherish the memories of the past, glorified it may be by the creative imagination, but the product of a sense of disillusionment and disappointment with the present?

One thing more. The Moghul Rule under Akbar was typical of benevolent despotism at the centre that left the subjects in peace, without any of the artificially induced religious conflicts of the present. If religious conflicts existed they were not allowed to mar the political relations between the Moghuls and the Hindoos. Akbar had especially that insight of a ruler into the spirit of the times which has made all future historians of India look to him as a model and an exemplar. If the later ages in which we live happen to demand the substitution of popular forms of government for a benevolent despotism, we might at least have hoped that our British Rulers had avoided the patent self-contradictions which are involved in a Parliamentary form of government based on religious groups working in the name of parties, and claiming protection as minorities. But when the height of absurdity is reached in the protection of majorities against minorities,—and this in the name of democracy, we might well be pardoned if we look back with longing to an age like Akbar's hallowed by the glamour incidental to the past. A hundred and fifty years ago a great British statesman uttered these memorable words: "In a mass we cannot be left to ourselves. We must have leaders. If none will undertake to lead us right, we shall find guides who will contrive to conduct us to shame and ruin." It is the misfortune of our country that our only guides to-day are our Churchills and our Amerys, our Moonjes and our Jinnahs.

[This is the text of an address at the Government Law College, Bombay, delivered on 12th Dec., 1942.]

MORPHOLOGY OF POETIC CREATION AND APPRECIATION

By JITENDRA CHANDRA MAZUMDAR, M.A., B.C.S.

Like all arts poetry is a means to an end. Those who hold that an artist is a 'doer, a maker, a revealer, a creator' seem to suggest that what an artist creates is a world unique and valuable in itself. The art-product need not, according to them, be sought to be related to anything within or without the artist's life. They hold that the artist's own wishes, aspirations and follies may have something to do with the process of production, but these subjective data are absolutely irrelevant to our understanding and appreciation of the product. The product stands free from its history and is an independent story. They hold that the personal biography of the artist may be moulded and made by his art to an extent but for us who stand outside the dynamic self of the artist the product is an end-in-itself. They hold that we ought to appraise the thing on its own beauty and joy-giving quality just as we ought to appraise the fragrant bloom of a rose on its own merits without referring it either to the natural-purposive process of fructification which underlies the being of the flower or to the fashionable market for which it may have been reared.

This is a position which may be taken and has been taken. But the position is not maintainable on the following grounds.

The words 'beauty' and 'aesthetic quality' and others are abstract words and suggest the existence of a static kind of reality. But concrete appreciation of beauty is always a matter of complex origin. I do not appreciate the phrase, 'the desire of the moth for the star' concretely and truly till a particular moving experience in me testifies to a similar harmony of desires. As the copy, i.e., the appreciation so the origin, i.e., the creation. The poet is always writing under the stress of the human and inevitable desire for working out a definite pattern off his experience. Sometimes he is absorbed in his own struggles, sometimes in the struggles of others, but even then in them as a symbol and extension of his own self. Always his creation is directed by the irrepres- sible urge to make a whole out of chaos. Poets working under this urge always appear more dogmatic to us than philosophers. Therefore, we say that Shakespeare has no solution to any of the vexing questions of mankind, which is just another way of saying that he has many

solutions but that they are all traditional and dogmatic and hence unacceptable to the critical mind in its critical mood. Somehow poets feel the demand of this urge to faith in some view of life more intensely than the ordinary men and they try to work out through their products, poetry, a justification for their existence. When the poet says that for him poetry in the abstract is an end-in-itself, he simply implies that he sees the ultimate worth and the final justification of his existence in trying to grow a harmony within himself through concrete and particular works of poetry. For him poems, the actual products are only means; at the same time poetry, in the abstract as a term indicating in brief the act of poetic excursions from moment to moment, is an end-in-itself. Poetry, in other words, really is a means intimately connected with the passion for growth and development urgently pressing within the poet: but to make it even effective as a means it must be regarded as an end at a certain point of life. This is a paradox which runs through all mental life. What we make ends within ourselves is really so often a means towards something that has not yet been but will be.

If the above view about poetry *vis a vis* the poets be correct then the following view about poetry *vis a vis* the readers must also be correct. To appreciate poetry is nothing but to assimilate the experiences of the poet to one's own experiences. Lacking love-experience love-poems are nonsense. Of course, love-experience must be interpreted generously; even the wish to love and be loved, the half-dreamy, haunting desires to make love, before actually making it which is peculiar to a particular stage of life is a kind of experience of love. What is relevant is the dynamic wishes. What energy is in the kingdom of matter and power in the sphere of politics, wishes are in the domain of poetry. All the aspirations, ambitions, ideals, anticipations, idealisings and memories are included in the term 'wishes'. Every individual appreciates a poem in his own way. But he appreciates it as a thing of beauty because it somehow reconciles some of the vague, faint and haunting conflicts among his own wishes and thus beautifies him to a certain degree. A thing is beautiful because it somehow renders me somewhat

beautiful. When do I call a man beautiful? When he rouses the urge to harmonise myself that is in me and he actually does harmonise me to a certain extent. A man whose presence arouses conflicts within me is an ugly man. Similarly with regard to poetry. A poem is as much an external situation as an encounter with a man. Both need adjustment and both are appreciated because of their effects on us, never because of themselves. It is absurd, therefore, to hold that readers appreciate poetry for its supposed artistic worth. The intrinsic artistic worth of a poem is a worth or quality which we suppose to exist in a poem as the objective counterpart of the fact of its having actually cured us of some of our conflicts. A perfect man will not appreciate poetry; because he has resolved all the conflicts. Plato is right from the standpoint of a perfect man. Poetry is a business with the shadow of shadows for one who is in full accord with the true universe.

The question about the relation of poetry to truth is a difficult one. Poetry is a kind of peculiar experiment in practical beliefs. But it is not true that what the poets feel and wish to feel is always healthy and what should be desired on scientific grounds. Even though God may be untenable on theoretic grounds, feelings about something which is imagined or felt as about something which is poetry. Poetry, God may be the content of poetry. Poetry, therefore, does not always respect the theoretic reason or intellect. Neither does a great artist

deliberately go against the certain decisions of the theoretical intellect of the day, except symbolically.

Poetry is more a necessity for poets than for those who are not poets. It is an individual affair to that extent. But though the production of poetry is an affair which is peculiar to a few individuals who possess the gifts its reproduction is possible to some extent by almost all. Similarly though the production is essentially due to character of the poet and for the character-making of the poet (the word 'character' is used in its psychological sense), its relation with the general readers is not negative. Individual experiences and efforts are symbolical of social experiences and efforts. Readers reconstruct themselves through appreciation. Appreciation is a kind of production for those who are without the capacity to produce. Appreciating is morphologically a kind of building of the appreciator; and what is built depends on the man, the appreciator is. In appreciating the object of appreciation need not be related to the life-urges of the poet who created the object. In that sense a poem is an independent thing of beauty. But the act of understanding is different. A poem cannot be understood without knowing its relation to the poet's life and social experience. By appreciating a poem one develops; by understanding one dissects. Understanding is the anatomy of poetic criticism.

MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRIT LEARNING

By DR. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI

In a previous article we dealt with the lives and literary activities of three great Sanskrit poets who enjoyed liberal patronage of the Moslem rulers of India, viz., Bhānukara, favourite of Sher Shah and Nizam Shah; Akbariya-kalidasa, court-poet of Akbar; and Jagannātha Panditarāja, patronized by Shah Jahan.* In this article, we intend to throw some light upon the lives and literary activities of several other Sanskrit poets patronised by Moslem Rulers and the various ways in which

some Moslem Rulers propagated Sanskrit learning during their rule.

AMRITADATTA, COURT-POET OF SHAHABUDDIN

One of the verses of Amritadatta has been quoted by Sridharadasa, author of the *Sad-ukti-karnamrita* and court-poet of Laksmāna Sena of Bengal. Therefore, our poet must have flourished before the twelfth century A.D.

In two of his verses preserved in the *Subhasitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, it is stated that Shahabuddin was once threatened with the invasion of Kashmir by Mirshah and Shahabud-

* *The Modern Review* for August, 1942

din in his turn gave a most threatening reply too.

Quite a large number of his verses is preserved in the early Sanskrit anthologies such as the Subhasitavali, Sukti-muktavali and Sadukti-karnamrita. Some of these verses are really enjoyable.

2. PUNDARIKA VITTHALA

One of Pundarika's works, viz., the Rāgamaḷā, is dated 1576 A.D. (Saka 1498). Therefore, he must have flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. He mainly wrote on music. He belonged to the court of Burhan Khan of the Pharuki family which ruled between 1370-1600 A.D. at Anandavalli in Khandesh. Pundarika was also a great favourite of Akbar.

3. HARINARAYANA MISRA

In one of his verses preserved in the Padyaveni, Harinarayana praises Shah Jahan (1628-1658 A.D.). Therefore, it is evident that he flourished about three hundred years ago.

4. VAMSIDHARA MISRA I.

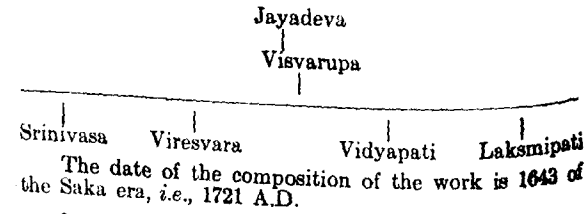
It is clear from the Sopana, commentary of Jayarāma on his father's Padyamrita-tarangini, that Vamsidhara Misra was a great favourite of the queen of Shah Jahan. Thus, in one of his verses, Jagannātha Panditarāja, favourite poet of Shah Jahan, says that he is a Lion who does not find anywhere even an elephant, all that he sees around him are really deer who are easily assailable. Vamsidhara Misra, however, retorts him by saying that Jagannātha as the favourite of Mahadeva (Shah Jahan) is really a bull. It is he, not Jagannātha Panditarāja, who as a favourite of Durga (the queen), is really the Lion and, therefore, capable of vanquishing all others.

5. CATURBHUJA

This poet and rhetorician composed his Rasa-kalpa-druma in Samvat 1745 or 1689 A.D. for the gratification of his patron Shayasta Khan, Aurangzeb's maternal uncle and General. It is very unfortunate that this valuable work is not as yet available in print.

6. LAKSMIPATI

The lineage of the poet as given by himself in the Lipi-malika, which is not published as yet, is as follows :



Laksmipati composed the work with the object of bringing to the notice of his ruler-patron how a mischief-monger brings about the destruction of great people as well as of the poor; particularly, with the object of securing his own position against all the odds that might befall him.

Mahammad Shah ascended the throne in 1720. The historical incidents dealt with in the work mostly took place between 1707 when Alamgir died and 1721, the second year of the reign of Mahammad Shah. This work contains copious references to Akbar, Jehangir, Shah Jahan and, particularly, Aurangzeb.

Laksmipati deals, in this campu Lipi-malikā, with the events leading to the campaign against Mahammad Shah, son of Aurangzeb, launched upon by his minister Abdullah and the reinstatement of the latter to the post of minister of Delhi. Abdullah, Husain Ali Khan and Surphadi Saiyd Khān were three brothers of whom Abdullah was the minister of Delhi. Husain Ali Khan was also a very influential man. Mahammad Shah was much indebted to Abdullah for many reasons; still, as he became apprehensive of the tremendous power of Abdullah, he decided to assassinate Hasan which he actually did. As a consequence, Abdullah led a vast army against him but was subsequently defeated. Mahammad's army against him was subsequently defeated. Mahammad's army did not kill Abdullah because he was a Saiyd. Mahammad himself reinstated him to his post of minister as a token of his previous gratitude to Abdullah. It is clear from the work that Laksmipati was a good Sanskrit scholar, showing here as he does his thorough acquaintance with various branches of Sanskrit literature, particularly, Nyaya, Jyautisa and Tantra. He also profusely quotes many maxims, verses from the Bhagavad-gita, the Bhāgavata and so on. He shows his proficiency in the Koran as well.

That Laksmipati was thoroughly conversant with Arabic and Persian is evidenced by his use of a large number of Arabic and Persian words in his composition. Although the value of this sort of admixture of different languages may be questioned, it must be said to his credit

that the sense and the metre are not in any way jeopardised.

Laksmipati was also thoroughly conversant with the political conditions of the whole of North India of his time as copious references to many places and personalities show. He was not only a poet but also a good historian. It is, however, regrettable that he sometimes lets his imagination get the upper hand with the result that the facts stated are at times exaggerated.

PROPAGATION OF SANSKRIT LEARNING DURING MUSLIM RULE

In Medieval ages, the Mahammedan rulers devoted much attention to the spread of Sanskrit knowledge and culture. In this respect, the attention of the Moslem rulers of Bengal was first drawn to the two great epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. Nasir Shah of Bengal, (1282-1325 A.D.) to whom our great Vidyapati dedicated one of his Padas, ordered the first Bengali rendering of the Mahābhārata. It is not exactly known whether the Krittivāsa undertook the execution of the Bengali version of the Rāmāyana at the instance of a Moslem ruler or of Kamsa-nārāyana. Even though the latter might have ordered the same, the initiative was certainly obtained from Nasir Shah. The Bhāgavata-purāna was translated into Bengali by Malādhara Basu at the instance of emperor Husain Shah. Kavindra Paramesvara translated up to the Strī-parvan of the Mahābhārata by order of Parāgal Khān, general of Husain Shah. The encouragement Parāgal gave the poet is unique. Every evening he and his courtiers congregated in his place at Paragalpur in Feni for listening to Kavindra's translation. His son Chuti Khan also encouraged Srikara Nandin for carrying out a similar work. When he became the Governor of Chittagong, he ordered him to translate the Asvamedha-parvan of the Mahābhārata which he did.

Not only the rulers of Bengal but also the imperial rulers of Delhi encouraged the propagation of Sanskrit learning in various ways. Jabar was a firm believer in Hindu Astronomy which, consequently, became a very popular subject for studies throughout his kingdom. He makes significant remarks about this science in connection with the observatory at Samarqand the calculations of which were followed by all Indian Mahomedans. Nothing much about Humayun's enterprise for the spread of Sanskrit learning or his encouragement to Sanskrit scholars is known. But his great son Akbar

compensated enough for this lack, if any, on his father's part. In 1582 A.D., he ordered Naqib Khan to translate the Mahābhārata. He evinced much personal interest in this work. He personally explained to Naqib night after night the procedure to be followed for its successful execution. He ordered Abdul Qadir, author of the Tarikh-i-Badauni, to assist Naqib in this work. Two parvans were translated within a few months. Then Mulla Sheri and Sultan Haji Thaneswari collaborated. Shaikh Faizi was engaged in versifying the rough translation, but he progressed only up to the second book. Haji who was engaged in revising Faizi's work was dismissed after he had finished only a fraction of the work. This work was not a literal translation but really a summary of this great epic. This condensed version was named Razm-Namah or Book of War. Subsequently, it was highly decorated with pictures. For the MS. of this work Akbar spent £40,000. The preface to the work was written by Abdul Fazl and copies of the work were distributed among the nobles. By order of the emperor, Abdul Qadir began the translation of the Rāmāyana in 1585 A.D. and completed the same in 1589 A.D. At his instance, again, a converted Mahomedan of the South and Abdul Qadir began the translation of the Atharva-veda. On account of their failure in doing the work properly, it was entrusted to Shaikh Faizi. Subsequently, however, the duty devolved upon Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi. Faizi translated into Persian the Lilavati and Mukammal Khan Gujarati the astronomical work Tajak. Maulana Shah Muhammad Shahbadi translated the History of Kashmir in Sanskrit into Persian. This history translated is, probably, to be distinguished from the Rāja-tarangini as Maulana Imamuddin is the reputed translator of this work. A Persian version of the Harivamsa was made by Nasrullah Mustafa and of the Pancatantra under the title Kalilab-Damnab by Maulana Husiani Waiz. An easier adaptation of the latter work was also made under the title Ayar-Danish. The model of Layala and Majnu was followed in the Persian version of the famous story of Nala and Damayanti under the title of Nal-Daman. The Emperor ordered Abdul Qadir to translate the Dvattrimsat-Puttalikā-simhāsana with the help of a learned Brahmana, under the title Khirad-Afza-Namah. The Gangadhara and the Mahesa-Mahananda were translated under the general supervision of Abul Fazl. Dara Shikoh was a very great Sanskrit scholar. He patronised a very large

number of Brahmana-panditas hailing from all over India, particularly, Benares and with their help, he translated into Persian several Upanisads under the name *Sirr-ul-Akbar* or the Great Secret. He states in the preface to the work that he became a disciple, while at Kashmir, of a great Sufi called Mulla Shah and studied a lot about Sufi-ism. His labour was in vain; Sufi-ism could not give him the peace of mind he was earnestly seeking for. This, however, he obtained from a study of the Vedas and the Upanisads. On account of his very deep interest in Sanskrit and great respect for Hindu culture, he always engraved "prabhu" or Lord on his diamond-rings and other valuable articles. His *Sirr-ul-Akbar* was completed in 1657 A.D. He also translated the *Yoga-Vasistha* though two earlier Persian translations of this already existed, one being executed under the patronising care of his great-grand-father Akbar. In order to demonstrate a real harmony between Sufi-ism and Hindu pantheism he composed in 1654 A.D. a very valuable work called *Majma-ul-Bahrain* on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology. In his grand work *Mukalamah-i-Baba Lal Das*, he deals with, in course of a dialogue between himself and Baba Lal Dasa, the ideals of Hindu asceticism.

Dara Shikoh, probably, got much encouragement in his Sanskritic studies from his maternal uncle Shayasta Khan who was so well-versed in Sanskrit that he used to compose verses in it. Six of them are quoted in Caturbhuj's *Rasa-kalpa-druma* which is not as yet published and a MS. of which is in the possession of Ulwar Maharaja's MSS. Library.

This was indeed a great age when the Mahomedan aristocrats, Princes, etc., not only

cared whole-heartedly for Sanskritic studies but themselves contributed to Sanskrit literature. Daraf Khan's *Gangā-stotra* is indeed a very solid contribution to Sanskrit poetry and Hindu religious literature.

The Mahomedan rulers helped the spread of Sanskritic learning in another way as well. That is no less important than their personal initiative in having important Sanskrit works translated into vernaculars or Arabic and Persian. The Hindu nobles and chiefs followed the noble example set by them. Thus, the noble initiative of the Mahomedan rulers gained in momentum in course of time and a great enthusiasm for Sanskritic learning prevailed throughout the country. It is during the Moslem rule in Bengal that she came to the fore-front of Sanskritic learning and two new important branches of Sanskritic studies, viz., the *Navya-Smriti* and the *Navya Nyaya*, came into existence.

Thus we see, many Moslem rulers of India, chieftains as well as emperors, contributed to the spread of Sanskritic learning in the following main ways: (1) by liberally patronising many scholars in various branches of Sanskrit literature such as poetry, astronomy, philosophy, etc.; (2) by themselves composing Sanskrit verses; (3) by themselves composing works, in Arabic and Persian, on Sanskritic learning and culture; (4) by translating themselves various Sanskrit works into Arabic, Persian and Vernacular; (5) making great Sanskrit scholars translate well-known Sanskrit works into Arabic, Persian and Bengali. From the evidences adduced above, we can at once trace the fusion of Hindu and Moslem culture from the eleventh century A.D.



MODERN WARFARE

By SUNIL PROKASH SHOME

ONE of the newest and most wonderful features of the present war is the scale of armaments and the degree of mechanisation of the Armies, unprecedented in military history.

Each battalion has over 250 mechanised vehicles, including armoured cars with high road speed carriers, trucks, and motor cycles. Driving at the normal speed and density, the

mental activity. Subjects for training include handling of weapons, anti-gas, marching, and gymnastics. Instructors go to great pains in stirring the imagination of the soldiers that is never stirred in peace time. They always seek mutuality which grows by the sense of responses, and finds support in accepted sacrifices. Trainees include all classes of men—engineers, gunners, riflemen, clerks, drivers, fitters, cooks, labourers, etc. They wear badges and buttons that distinguish their regiments. The officers and the N. C. O's keep a close watch on the recruit squads and pick the right men for the right jobs.

The chief characteristic of the mechanised Army is the production of signallers, mechanics, motor-drivers, and motor cyclists. The signallers are the most important fellows in a war, for wireless is the life-blood of reconnaissance.



A big gun getting ready for action

battalion vehicles make up a column 13 miles long which would take over 50 minutes to pass a military base. Armament includes auto-tank artillery, 55 rifles and grenades, batteries of mortars, and hosts of light machine-guns, and long-range heavy guns.

Naturally the best men are required to master these new engines of war. Before being accepted for field service, candidates must get some training in psychology which tests quickness of decision and mental alertness. Young men of good education are most widely represented in the present Armies. Quick gathering of information about the enemy and good management are vital to the conduct of field operations.

If possible, an Army probes the enemy lines by cunning and stealth. But if it has to fight for its facts, then it turns on such a blast of fire that no enemy troops can withstand it. Therefore, men must have brawn as well as brain. Training is hard and in some cases the toughening up demands a fine intelligence and



Throwing a "bracelet" grenade

News obtained by the busy motor cyclists is of no avail unless quickly transmitted to Military Headquarters. In three months the signallers master three different types of set which send information from the smallest subunit—the section—to a military base of H. Q. The wiring diagrams are known by heart. Messages are transmitted on the Morse buzzer at rates of 12 to 15 words per minute. The motor-cyclists—

each regiment has over 60—are also used for intercommunication. In three months, the mechanics learn a trade which could not be mastered under a year in peace time.

Each regiment produces crews for the armoured cars and carriers. The men must not only know how to drive and maintain vehicles, they must learn sufficient tactics to train themselves for operations in battlefields. The correct



A big gun getting ready for action

procedure for transmitting messages to a receiver many miles away from a battlefield must be mastered. They must be well trained in reading one-inch and quarter-inch maps. A working knowledge of field engineering, demolition, and of shells clearing is essential. They should be able to hit both men and planes from the revolving turret of an armoured car. They are also taught driving, maintaining, and fighting by night. They must be quick to recognise enemy aircraft and tanks.

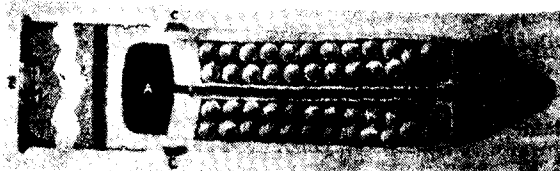
Finally, there is the Infantry, whose moves affect the Army collectively, for it has a common concern and from whose gallantry no army may legitimately seek exemption. The interests and problems of an army are interplayed by the tanks and the infantry. When the armoured cars and carriers are held up during an operation, these infantrymen clear away all opposition. They are usually the toughest troops in an army, and like the navy men, are trained to swim rivers and scale walls in full kit. They are hardened by drill, P. T., and marches. They are capable of marching short distances at top

speed. They patrol, search villages, and quickly occupy road blocks. They know how to read maps. They also get some training in field artillery, and first aid, and are able to dig first stages of a trench system in half the normal time. Their weapons at various points of attack destroy the enemy and the snipers. Sometimes, when the attack is sudden, the infantrymen have to fire their service rifles from their hips.

Their mistakes in 'blitz ranges' may increase the number of 'casualties.' "Bayonet Charge" is one of the most popular features of the infantry. Beagles are kept and prove of great assistance in developing an eye for the enemy camp.

There is little time to wait for a Repair Section during an "attack"—and the mechanised soldiers are taught ingenious methods of keeping their vehicles on the move. In the last war, in Africa, where I was an officer, a carrier driver, taking an important part in the onward march, discovered that his fan belt was broken. Almost as second nature he pulled off his braces and made a temporary belt. He then climbed back into his vehicles holding up his

trousers, and brought his carrier safely back to harbour. His Commandant presented him with a brand new pair of braces in recognition of the deed.



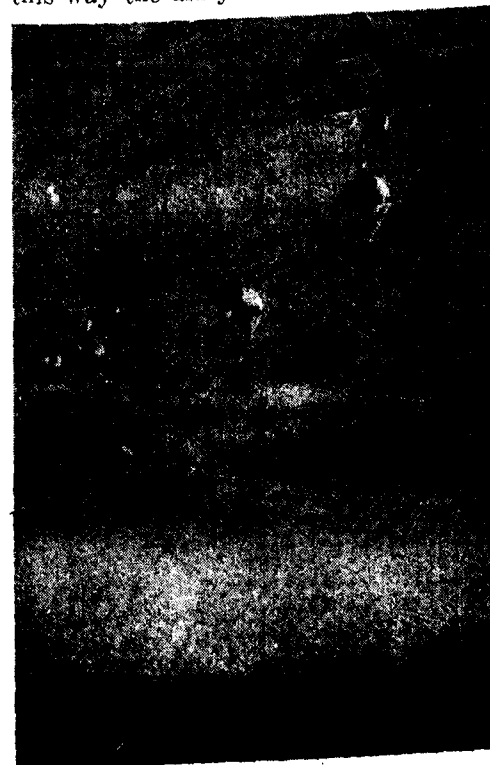
The interior of a Shrapnel shell

The Army Officers learn to master wireless. They also get ordinary infantry training. Then they learn the intricacies of the tanks and field-guns. Groups of tanks or machine-guns are lined up, each of which has some technical fault. The Cadets must right the wrong in a limited time. This system increases the versatility of the officers. When ordered for field service, they know all the jobs of all the men under their command.

During an expedition the Army Commanders receive orders from the General. They must quickly grasp the points vital to their own regiments, and transmit a quick summary to their orderly officers, who in turn send instructions by wireless or by telephone to sections. In this way the army officers can get the whole

with all its units; and I must make it clear that in this sturdy spirit, the desire to merge one's individual identity with the army, remains a necessary element in all victories in a war.

The dangers of the present war have convinced both officers and men that mechanical transports are a necessity. The armoured cars are formidable instruments of war. The new type of heavy armoured cars which are officially known as tanks has proved of considerable utility in the present war. This weapon is called "tank" because the department which is concerned in building it calls itself the "Tank Department" in order to draw a veil of secrecy over its proceedings. The details of these "tanks" are closely guarded but ordinary information about them can be had from articles and illustrations. Men have exhausted



Soviet parachutists coming down

army on the move in five minutes after receiving orders from the G. O. C.

There is a heavy field firing on the hills, where ball ammunition is fired from mortars and machine-guns. The officers order their soldiers to make a dash forward with fixed bayonets. They jump trenches and wire obstacles and scale high brick walls in their charge for the enemy. The feats of the soldiers are in common with the officers and all share the consequences of a battle without repining. Some officers through their heedlessness, weakness, timidity, or haste fail to bring about a clear issue and thus manifest a breach in the special training of the army. Such men are a disgrace to an army, and are often degraded, dismissed, or imprisoned for their blunders. The spirit of the army is to take risks and to share the consequences of a battle with a desperate alliance



A German Mortar

their vocabulary in efforts to find descriptive names and epithets for them. They are monsters, mammoths, leviathans, hybrids between Behemoth and the Chimaera, toad-salamanders, dragons, mastodons, pachyderms. They are the Terror that walk by noon-day, as incredible as a nightmare, or one of Jules Verne's most fantastic imaginations—huge shapeless bulks like vast antediluvian brutes which Nature

has made and forgotten. Bigger than an ordinary motor car, but smaller than a labourer's cottage, they resemble in general contour a toad rather elongated towards its hinder end. They waddle and they amble; and limbless and wheelless, they go with a movement as smooth as that of a snake, but majestic and deliberate as a giant tortoise—a mixture of joy and horror. Their armament is ordinarily of machine-gun type, their guns being able to fire in all directions, and against their armour-clad sides—

Many interesting informations about life in the trenches were gathered by me in the last war, when I rendered field service in Africa. Although a relatively small proportion of information about trench-warfare and trench-weapons is known to the public, the experiences of men who were placed like me will furnish a fact which is interesting, but too exhausting and nerve-racking for the ordinary mind, for it is a record of appalling and disagreeable things,—want of sleep, perpetual cold or heat, filth and wet are the out-



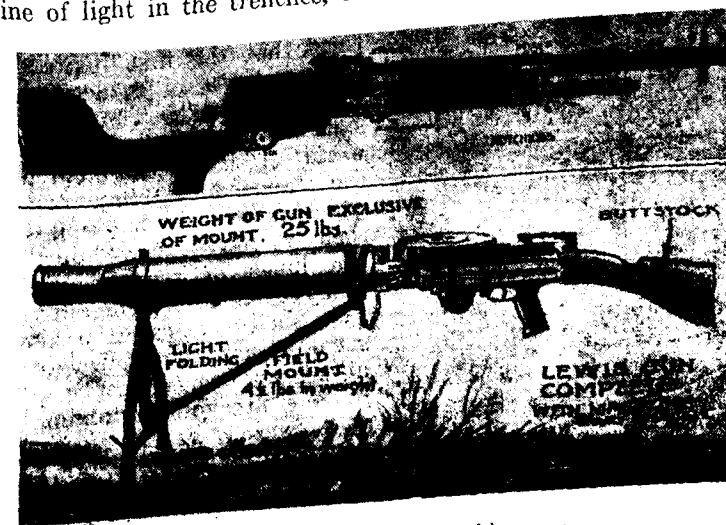
Indian Troops with an Armoured Car

painted in different colours to render them invisible,—bullets merely strike sparks. In jungles and forests they trample their way through the undergrowth, and climb over or break down barricades, being contemptuous of machine-gun and rifle fire; neither a stone-wall nor a huge tree is much of an obstacle; and lesser obstacles are merely pleasing incidents in the journey, which they climb over, as a snake climbs over a hill. They crawl laboriously but ceaselessly over trench, barbed wire, and shell crater, and sometimes they will seat themselves complacently astride of an enemy trench and sweep it in both directions, and all the ground beyond, with their machine-guns.

standing features of all accounts of trench life. The frequent night attacks and the necessity for vigilance throughout the dark hours keep the men constantly on the alert, and one wonders, indeed, how we could have withstood the strain and retained our health as most of us did. As a rule, at night half the officers and men guard at a time, while the other half take rest, and by day only sentries here and there along the line are on duty, and the remainder can sleep as much as they choose, or as the activities of the enemy will permit. An hour before daylight all stand to their arms. Night alarms and attacks and day-light bombardments are, however, so frequent that rest is perpetually broken, and

men have to look for proper repose to the time, when they are withdrawn from the front line. Often when the soldiers settle down for the night, they are called to arms by an outburst of fire from the enemy, or by bombs from the enemy 'planes, which, when they burst, throw a bright line of light in the trenches, often presaging an

fighting lines by disease. Moreover, of the wounded many were rendered permanently incapable because their wounds became infected. In the present war, however, the Army Officers saw that if disease could be prevented and all wounds could receive immediate and thorough surgical care, the number of men constantly available for the firing line would be immensely increased. As a result the introduction of anti-septic method and of modern surgery in the field was needful to endow the medical units with real military significance. Today all the forces of the world are equipped with men of science, bacteriologists, and expert analysts, whose duty it is to examine well all men, report upon drainage system, select the sites for camps and discover infected persons and isolate them. As a result of these precautions, all armies have reduced their casualties in the most remarkable manner, and the final results show that instead of 80 per cent of the number of men

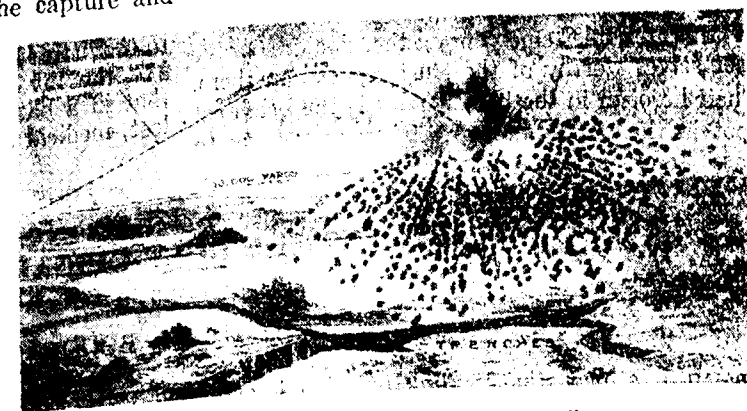


Hotchkiss and Lewis Machine-guns

attack. Artillery fire goes on almost perpetually, and bombs and mine explosions are of constant recurrence; rifle and machine-guns crackle intermittently and snipers are always busy. Attacks and counter-attacks, involving the capture and recapture of trenches, are frequent. There is a heavy loss of life in trench warfare, but the provision for providing men with bomb-proof shelters and look-out posts, with refinements added to them, makes life in trenches less unbearable.

The Army Doctors have a potential value in the firing lines. Napoleon declared that "one doctor is worth 15 ordinary men." In the last war, as armies increased in size and as weapons became more deadly, a new situation arose. The number of men who were injured increased, and the ratio between the killed and the wounded underwent a change. It was discovered that the proportion of men rendered *hors de combat* by bullets and shells was about 20 per cent of the total casualties. The remaining 80 per cent were driven from the

being rendered *hors de combat*—as in the last war,—through disease, only 20 per cent are now so affected, while amongst the wounded, a much smaller number suffered from blood poisoning



The power of the Field Artillery shells

and other similar conditions than what was usual previously.

From a medical point of view a retreat, no matter how orderly, is calamitous. Each retreat leaves a large number of soldiers and officers who are wounded, in the hands of the enemy.

The medical men attending the diseased and the sick are exposed to very great danger. They perform their work under fire during many successive days and nights. Almost super-human exertions are required to get men removed through the retreating ranks to the ambulance train. The roads are congested with

trenches. The ravine is swept by the enemy's fire and those in the trenches lie close. The doctors do not hesitate a moment, but make the hazardous journey. Not only so, but on many occasions, they recross from trench to trench as soon as it is signalled to them that their services are required.



Japs bringing a big gun into position

refugees and transport wagons with the fragments of regiments, and with men who have lost their regiments; the railways are also disorganized and crowded with trains of every description. It must, however, be admitted that in this terrible emergency, the doctors prove themselves worthy of the trust reposed on them. Their heroism in the battle-fields is the brightest spot in the annals of war. They may have to pass across a narrow ravine separating two

men seem to become dazed and to pass into the subconscious state which the spiritualists and the psychologists so elaborately describe as trance. The field hospital accommodation, field medical and nursing services have added much to the little luxuries and comforts of the wounded and the invalid. It is no exaggeration to say that in a battle-field, where lives and limbs are lost, medical and nursing services are the greatest work of mercy, and play a worthy part in the complete change of the situation.

UP THE HOLY GIRNAR Kathiawar's Hill Abounds in Colourful Legends

By HARISH S. BOOCH

CLAIMING a past that is linked with the epic Golden Age and bearing indelible marks of the ever-changing phenomena of varied historical and cultural influences, Girnar has been a source of inspiration to poets, historians, bards and warriors alike.

A cross-country drive along the exquisite greenery of Gir area unfolds a thrilling, ennobling spectacle. Silhouetted against the dark

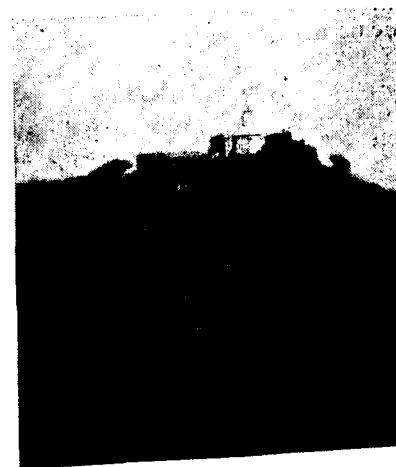
blue sky in the far-distant background, you see the sacred Girnar.

Lying majestically on the eastern outskirts of that picturesque Kathiawar city Junagadh, the holy hill of Girnar is equally popular among holiday-makers as well as devout pilgrims. Many are the legends that are attached to the various scenic spots surrounding this hill, which

rises to a height of over 3,600 feet above sea-level.

Said to be the abode of rishis, yogis and mystics for offering penance in ancient days, Girnar was called Revatachal in the golden era of Lord Krishna, according to popular belief. "From Revatachal to Dwarka" was how they used to sum up the boundaries of Lord Krishna's kingdom, it is said.

On the way from Junagadh to the foot of Girnar, the traveller passes a huge rock on which are chiselled the edicts of the great Ashoka, a king whose name is still adored in India for his principles of non-violence and humanitarianism. These edicts which date back to 250 B.C. call upon the travellers to practise



Temple of Shree Ambaji on one of the summits of Girnar. Note the narrow strip of steps

tolerance and non-violence towards fellow beings. A little further away is Damodar Kund, the sacred waters of which have a religious significance for the pious pilgrims.

Girnar is surrounded by the famous Gir forest, noted for its lions and cattle. In fact Gir is described as the only place in India where lions are to be found in their natural state. A flight of stone steps ascends Girnar. From foot to summit there are some 9,000 steps altogether and the ascent takes about two hours. A wooden structure called "doli" carried by two or four people on their shoulders may be utilised for going up by those unable or unwilling to climb.

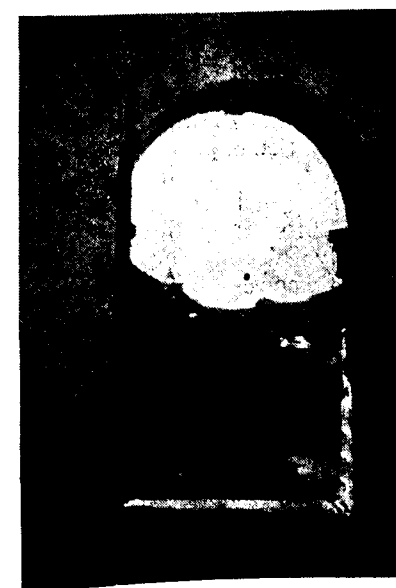
Among the many interesting places on the summits are the temples of Shree Ambaji, Gorakhnath, Dattatraya and Mahakali. There are some Jain temples also up there and the

interior of these is remarkable for the murals and carvings of superb artistry. Besides these, there is a number of notable spots claiming historical or mythological importance such as



Jain temples on Girnar viewed from a higher angle

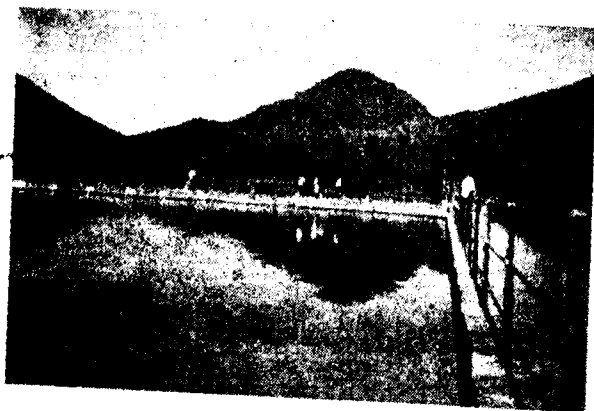
forts, caves, shrines, jungles, streams—with a legend attached to each. Some of the legends are connected with the epic times of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Ashvatthama, the im-



A part of Girnar seen from the gate of an inn carved out of a solid rock

mortal hero of the Mahabharata, is believed to have his abode here even now and, the legend says, he still frequents and haunts Girnar. Then there are places named after celebrated figures from the Ramayana. For instance, on

the other side of the foot of Girnar are two thick forests called Bharat-van and Sita-van and here in the midst of the dense shrubbery of the woods is a delightful picnic spot called Hanuman Dhara, a spring oozing out from the mouth of a stone-image of the famous monkey-god.



A lake on the famous fort of Upper Kote at Junagadh

It is dangerous to remain in the extremely pleasant environments of these woods after dusk and the visitors are strictly warned to leave by daytime. For, not infrequently, many a stocky Gir lion might appear here to drink water from the icy streams of Bharat-van in the dark hours of night. Some people who live in the nearby temples tell the visitors how they sometimes see the king of beasts, a few yards away, quenching his thirst from the temple tank and then peacefully disappearing in the murky oblivion of the woods.

Except in monsoon, there is generally a steady influx of pilgrims and visitors to Girnar at almost all times of the year and to accommodate them there are inns carved out of solid rocks in addition to several well-built *dharamshalas*. There is a constant Indian complaint against many foreign tourists that without actually having seen much of the country in their hurricane tours, they describe India as a land of sadhus, fakirs, snakes, lions and maharajas! While hoping not to be accused of belonging to this tribe, one may mention that all of these—of

course with the exception of the last named—are to be found in plenty on and near Girnar.

The proverbial sadhu is there to greet you at every conceivable place. Always on the lookout for devotionally-minded pilgrims, the sadhu fraternity of Girnar fight shy of sight-seers, hikers and picnic-spot-hunters. If you try to click your camera to snap them they create a big row even threatening confiscation of your camera. Perhaps they feel that photography is a "vice" invented by modern civilisation and thus they like to talk and live "in camera"—at the same time hating the camera itself!

Outmatching the view of Bombay from Malabar Hill for the sheer grandeur of the panorama, is the wonderful bird's-eye view one gets from Girnar of the outlying villages, towns, rivers, fields and greenery. After dusk, it is almost an idyllic sight to watch the lights and illuminations of the towns and villages below, one by one, now glimmering, now brightening—the whole scene appearing like a dreamland.

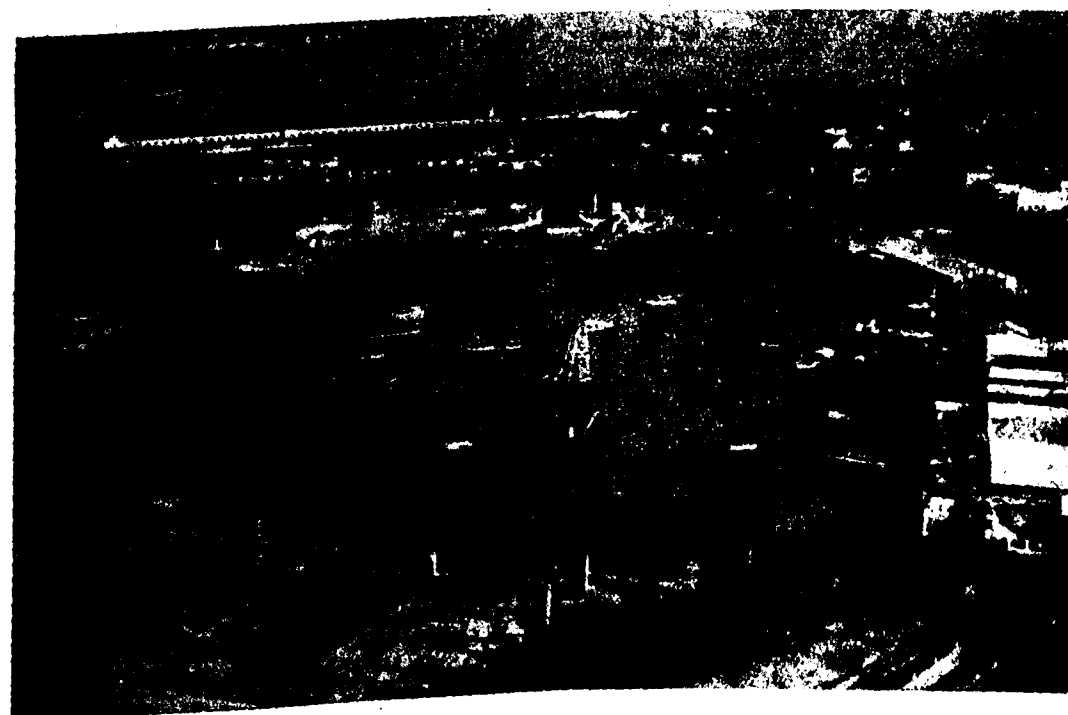


Damodar Kund which one passes on the way to the foot of Girnar

It is no wonder, therefore, that Girnar has inspired many poets, historians and bards, each one of whom sees in it something more than a mere hill or a place of pilgrimage. To them Girnar stands as a symbol of the robust, undying spirit of the people inhabiting in and around Gir area. And having gone there once, you cannot but agree with them.



Tunis. A view of the city



The port of Dakar. Senegal

THE ARAT PROCESSION



A view of the Arat procession



Caparisoned State elephants carrying images of deities

THE ARAT

Travancore's Procession Par Excellence

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

THE Arat is the most solemn, imposing and spectacular ceremony which marks the consummation of the Ulsavam in the Sree Padmanabhaswamy Temple at Trivandrum. The Ulsavam (festival) in the temple lasts for ten days and on the tenth day starts the magnificent Arat Procession. Every year two Ulsavams, one in March-April and the other in October-November, are celebrated with great pomp and splendour. The festival commences with the Kodiyettu (hoisting of the God's Flag) and closes with the Arat, the procession of the gods escorted by His Highness the Maharaja with the entire paraphernalia of the Temple and the State. Tradition and legend aver that the Arat ceremony was instituted by Sree-Parasurama, one of the Avatars (incarnations) of god Maha-Vishnu, to be celebrated in all the temples of Kerala. Arat literally means bathing. The ceremony consists in taking the images of the gods in procession to the sea-beach and immersing them in the waters which perform "their priest-like task of pure ablution," and making oblations to the deities in the presence of an immense concourse of people.

The Arat procession which takes its substance from the age-old and traditional ideas of Vedic India illustrates the universal truth of the ultimate triumph of good over evil. The old story is that god Maha-Vishnu, the Protector of the Universe, went out to destroy the demon of evil. The Vetta (hunt) procession which takes place on the night previous to the Arat, signifies the march of Lord Vishnu to kill the demon. The procession returns to the temple at night. By killing an evil demon must, therefore, has been polluted and his image must, therefore, remain outside the sanctuary until it is purified. The Arat is the purification ceremony. The purified images are borne back into the sanctuary after the Arat, bath in the sea. This is the *raison d'être* of the Arat.

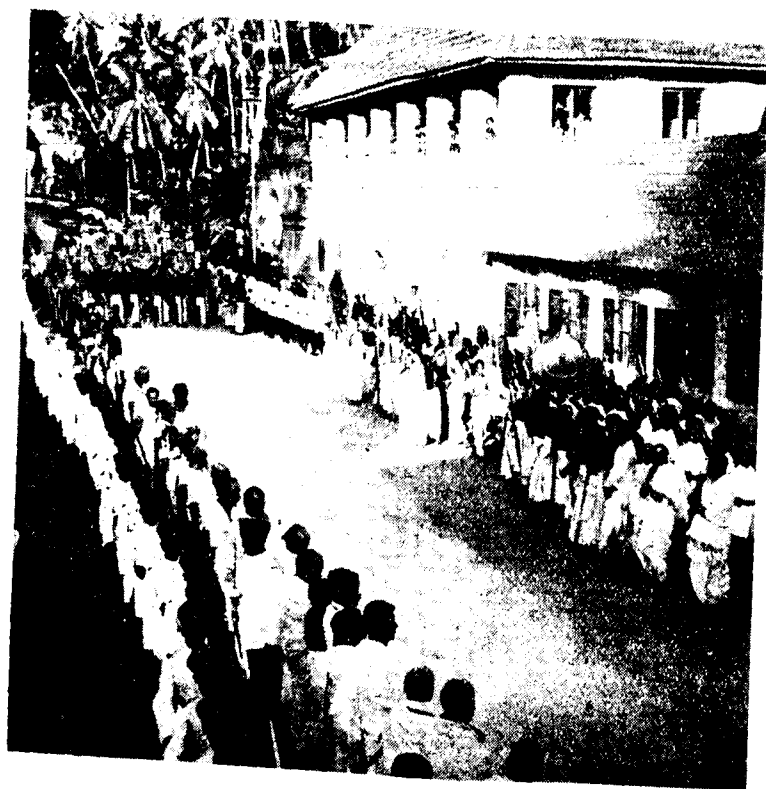
The most splendid array to be seen in South India, the Arat, is a link with the past. The Arat at Trivandrum is a gala day for people who flock to the capital from far and near to see the gorgeous procession of the gods headed by the Maharaja. The gods, Sree Padmanabha, Sree Krishna and Sree Narasimha, (different aspects of Maha-Vishnu) elaborately decorated and seated in different *vahanams* (conveyances) made of gold and silver, are carried in procession to the sea-beach to be bathed in the ocean.



The procession starts from the temple

The *vahanams* which are masterpieces of art and craftsmanship, reveal a marvellous intricacy of design and decoration, and exquisite finish. The gods are lavishly decorated with multi-coloured jewels, silk clothes with gold lace and flowers. After the usual *pradakshinams* (circumambulations) inside the temple, the *vahanams* are set in motion on the shoulders of the willing bearers, Malayali Brahmins belonging to the highest class who officiate as priests in the temple.

The colourful procession starts at 4 p.m. from the Western Gate of the Sree Padmanabhaswamy Temple. A salute of twenty-one guns fired by the State Artillery announces the start of the most splendid procession which

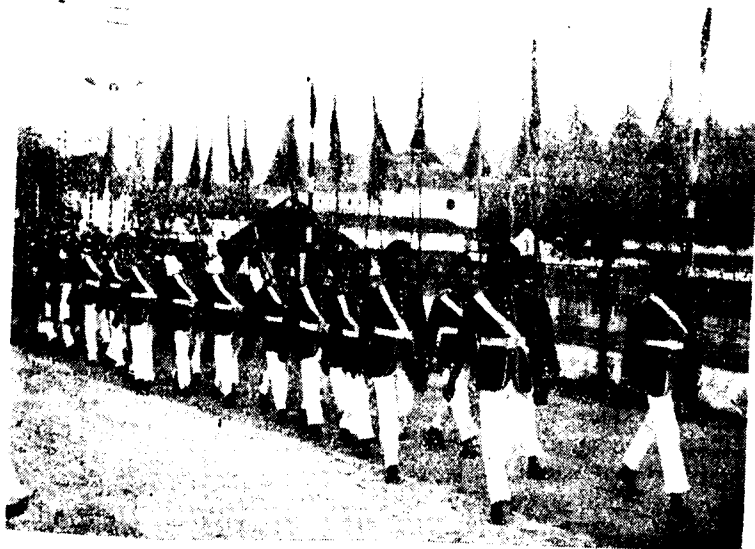


A view of the Arat procession

its way are tastefully decorated. The variety and colour of the costumes worn by people forming the immense crowd and their cheerful appearance and demeanour, coupled with the glow of the clear evening sky, provide a sumptuous background for the procession. The colourful procession is led by an elegantly caparisoned elephant carrying the State Flag. Glittering with gold and silver trappings, come next the horses of the royal stable led by their syces in picturesque costumes. The god's flags, umbrellas and other emblems of divinity are carried by the servants attached to the temple. The magnificently arrayed State cavalry in shining uniform march in single file to the right and left of the led horses. The long spears and smart equipment of these stalwart soldiers mounted on splendid chargers gleam in the sunshine. Placed on the head of a palace servant a

Trivandrum sees. His Highness the Maharaja walks ahead of the procession of the gods as the humble vassal of Sree Padmanabha, the tutelar deity of the Ruling House of Travancore. The Maharajas of Travancore have assumed the title of "Sree Padmanabha Dasa" (Servant of Sree Padmanabha) ever since January, 1750 A.D., when Maharaja Martanda Varma, the maker of modern Travancore, dedicated all his possessions to the deity in the Anantasayanam Temple, styled himself "Sree Padmanabha Dasa" and took over the management of the State as the Viceroy of the Lord. Among the many titles of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore the place of honour has been given to the title "Sree Padmanabha Dasa."

The roads and houses on either side of the streets through which the gay procession winds

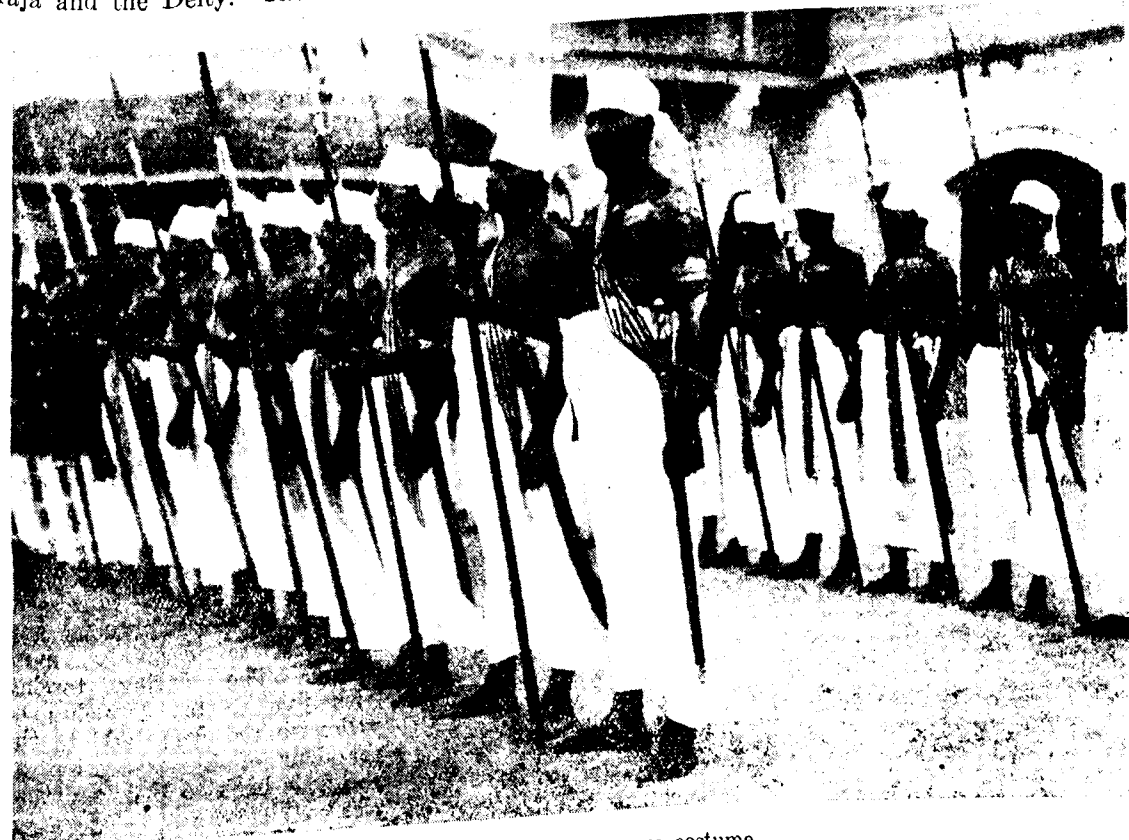


Palace guards in quaint and picturesque uniform

wooden box covered with leopard skin is carried with the procession. This box is an emblem of royalty. The State Forces with

banners flying and band playing come behind in a line with the flag elephant. The bayonets of the infantry shine resplendently in the glow of the evening sun. The Nair officials, according to their rank and order of precedence, in temple costume, bare-bodied and bare-footed, with drawn sword and dangling shield march in front of His Highness protecting the Maharaja and the Deity. The costume of the Nair

with a representation of the golden foot of Sree Padmanabha," and with a drawn sword comes next, followed by His Highness the Elaya Raja (heir-apparent) and the other male members of the royal family, his personal attendants and bodyguards. The infantry march in single file on either side of the Maharaja and the gods. Gold garlands inlaid with precious stones adorn the Maharaja's chest. The costume worn by the



Palace guards in picturesque costume

officials resembles the dress their ancestors who were warlords wore in the days of old when there was internal strife in the land and the sovereign had to be guarded against the attacks of scheming traitors. The Hindu officials wear red turbans with gold lace and scarlet body-bands. They tie two white clothes around their waists, one over the other, the first an ordinary cloth and the second a cloth of exquisite texture with gold lace. Their picturesque costume lends old-world charm to this spectacular procession. Clad in traditional temple costume, His Highness the Maharaja, bare-footed and bare-bodied, wearing a green velvet cap "embroidered

palace guards looks most picturesque and is in sharp contrast with the most modern uniform of the State Forces. The guards attached to the palace continue to wear the same pattern of old and quaint uniform worn by their predecessors. Their turbans, old-fashioned shields, and long spears remind one of ancient times. The palace guards are called Bankkodikars, Valakashakkars, and Velkars. The picturesque pennons in various colours and shapes carried by the Banakkodikars lend a special charm to the procession. The Brahmin officers, bare-headed and bare-footed, walk behind the Maharaja. Golden and silver images of the gods

are carried by the temple priests in the rear. Immediately ahead of the images of the gods walk the party of musicians attached to the temple playing melodiously on the Nagaswaram, flute, drum and other instruments. The music which is most solemn and touching stirs feelings of devotion to the deity. Women servants attached to the temple walk in rows ahead of the images of the principal deities. These

velvet decorated with pendants, the heavy and attractive gold *pattom* of the head—these embellishments vastly enhance the dignity of the State elephants. Images of minor deities in the shrine are carried on the back of the elephants. The procession reaches the sea-beach by 5-30 p.m. Either side of the broad road, the mansions rising on the roadside as also the entire beach are crowded with immense concourses of

people gathered to witness the Arat procession and have a *darshan* of the deity and the sovereign.

The procession halts for a while at every hundred yards, and the Maharaja turns round and makes humble obeisance to the deities. On reaching the beach at the prelude to dusk, the *vahanams* are placed inside the stone *mandapam* close to the seashore. After sunset the images of the gods are taken out to the ocean by the priests and bathed amidst prayers. The Maharaja also bathes in the sea with the gods. The festival closes with the return of the gods to the temple and the hoisting down of the Temple Flag. The return procession though not so sumptuous and imposing is certainly more solemn. The flaring torches with five to ten branches of yellowish red flame add to the grandeur of the procession of the gods back to their sanctuaries.

His Highness the Maharaja is the central figure of this procession *par excellence*. It is a sublime sight to see the large crowd of people lining the entire route of the procession patiently

waiting to offer their full-volumed homage to the god and the beloved Maharaja with the traditional loyalty and devotion characteristic of the people of Travancore. His Highness the Maharaja fulfils all the details of the exacting rituals during the days of the temple festival and keeps up the religious tradition he has inherited from his illustrious ancestors.

To witness the Arat is to enjoy one of the most imposing and lovely sights in Indian India. History, legend, romance, pomp, splendour and



A close-up view of the images of the deities

women dressed in typical Kerala style in spotless white clothes, carry in their hands lighted brass lamps, fed by coconut oil and giving forth a yellowish red light.

The State elephants fully caparisoned with gold and silver howdahs and trappings and a strong police cordon follow the gods. The mighty pachyderms look most imposing and they add immensely to the pomp and splendour of the procession. Bells which produce melodious sounds, costly and beautiful saddle cloths of

NANDA-DEEPA

age-old custom come to life during the Ulsavam season which culminates in the unique Arat procession. The background for the real Arat (bathing of the gods) is the glorious sun-set at the beach on a summer evening. The spectators watch the Arat amidst indescribable grandeur, both natural and man-made. Sun-set on the magnificent Trivandrum sea-front is superb. What wonderful colours for the artist's brush this bewitching scene conjures up! The luminous glories of colour that stealthily creep into the clear blue summer sky are most enthralling. The resplendent arch overhead, of a deeper blue than the sky ever was, is lavishly embellished with patches of sheeny clouds tinged with the most delicate as well as the most flamboyant of hues.

The scene is gorgeous. On all sides as far as the eye can reach are the huge concourse of people gathered to witness the bathing of the gods, the sparkling white sands, the sheltering cocoanut palms lining the coast and in the distance the shimmering blue ocean. The bright setting sun shows his crimson disc through an aperture of the jostling clouds and the abundant glories which fall in emergent pencil rays invest the region with romantic grace and superb beauty. All is quiet. There is a brilliant glow on the surface of the calm ocean. The

entire region is bathed in the fading red light of the vanishing sun-god. The riotous carnival of colours witnessed here at sunset enraptures the spectators. Twilight tranquillity at the Trivandrum sea-front is most inspiring. Amidst such a "perfection of the Beautiful" the gods take their bath in the waters of the vast Arabian sea. The epic setting for the Arat could not be more fitting or magnificent.

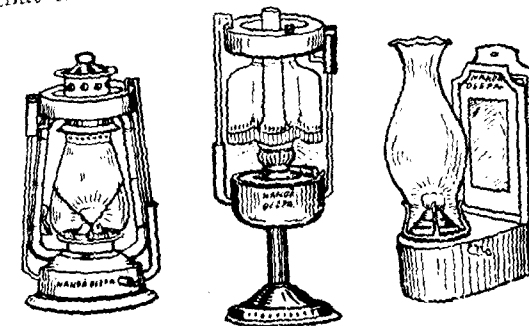
It is the only State occasion when His Highness the Maharaja covers the entire route of the procession on foot. The Arat procession is an event of unique historical, antiquarian and religious importance. Artistic, aesthetical and symbolic the Arat is also a harmonious commingling of form, design, rhythm, colour, sound and pageantry. An eminent art critic says that the Arat procession "exalts the simple movement of walking from one place to another into an art-ritual by acting on the art-principle that a spectacle without a spectator is a misnomer, and by unifying the mover-on and the looker-on in a significance that concerns both of them." Centuries of ceremonial custom and tradition are faithfully represented in this spectacular pageant which is one of the two greatest and most gorgeous processions held every year in Indian India, which have won world-fame, the other being the Dasara procession in Mysore.

NANDA-DEEPA The Seed-oil Lamp

By D. R. JOGLEKAR, B.Sc.

My research on the problem of seed-oils as illuminants and fuels has been in progress for the last 20 years. After my graduation in 1922 during my stay at Aundh (Dist. Satara) the Raja of that State once happened to remark: "If Karanj oil (*Pongamia glabra*) or any seed-oil in general can be used as a substitute for kerosene to give bright light it will give a very important secondary industry to the agriculturists of my State and also in India and this will stop an yearly drain of 10 to 12 crores of rupees." It is this talk which impelled me to take up this problem and if possible make it my life work. For the first 15 years I had to carry on all the experiments at my own cost and also single-handed. In 1933, the first rough model of the lamp was exhibited in the Industrial Exhibition, Poona, was much appreciated by the Raja of Miraj and other visitors and was awarded Tilak Namjoshi Gold Medal by Kesari Maratha Trust.

In 1939, I was invited by Mr. Vinobaji Bhave at Wardha to demonstrate the lamp. At that time Mahatmaji, and the other inmates of



The Hurricane lantern, the stand and the wall lamp

the Ashram saw, appreciated and blessed the lamp. Meanwhile, in the same year the Government of Bombay, after necessary tests instituted by the Director of Industry at V. J. T. I.,

Bombay, to see that the work till now was conducted on right lines and that it was a research program with high possibilities, gave me a special grant of three thousand rupees. The intensive work continued for about 11 months. During this period, in all, three hundred different models of the lamp, which represent the historical growth of the develop-



D. R. Joglekar

ment of the idea, were prepared of which the present three models, (1) the wall-lamp, (2) the stand, (3) the Hurricane lantern represent the final laboratory models. These models were tested scientifically in laboratory on behalf of the Government of Bombay, and in a practical way by the Raja of Amethi. The Raja Sahib kept these lamps burning non-stop for ten continuous days and then declared his approval by giving this lamp a prize of one thousand rupees, which he had announced in the year 1933 for the successful inventor of the lamp burning the Karanj oil giving light as bright as kerosene. A special lecture with demonstrations of the above lamp was arranged at a session of the Science Congress held in Benares in 1941 with Sir Ardeshir Dalal, the then President in chair, who along with other scientists highly approved the invention. During the same year Mr. R. P. Masani, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, paid a visit to my laboratory and expressed his full appreciation for my work. In December 1941, a special research grant of Rs. 500 - was awarded by the University of Bombay to continue my researches on these lamps.

Out of this grant the simplest of the seed-

oil lamps, based on the principle of floating burner—a device invented in days as old as 1924—was perfected. This A. R. P. or bed lamp carried by a girl of three is shown in the picture. To perfect the lamp in every respect 20 different forms were made, 30 varieties of burners tried, experiments on wicks and wick-raising arrangements were conducted and the present lamp is the final result of all of them. This lamp emits light just sufficient to read, is proof against wind and rain, is easily portable, can burn any seed-oil, is so economic that if used for 5 hours every night, the monthly expense will be only 2 lbs. of oil or 8 annas even at the present rate, and lastly the cost of it so cheap that if manufactured in lakhs it can be sold at 12 annas each. This is the best lamp for the poor Indian agriculturists and will yearly save a drain of 10 to 12 crores of rupees. It is a lamp which can be safely used as an A. R. P. lamp.

As a further step I have started to manufacture these lamps (A. R. P. lamps) on a very modest scale and am selling them at Rs. 2/- each.



The A. R. P. or bed-lamp

obviously a high price due to scarcity of raw material—still there is a very good demand for the same. The real difficulty is capital. If at least five lakhs of rupees are made available I can flood the market with my lamps within a period of six to nine months. At present I have been successful in devising a lamp which can burn both seed-oils and kerosene.

Railway transport facilities have been very uncertain in these days and so instead of starting a very big factory at some place like Bombay or Calcutta I have drawn up a scheme to start about 100 Gramodyoga centres. The capital for such a centre will be Rs. 25000/- and the daily production will be about 100 lamps. There will be 20 workers—who have received 2 months' training—and a few hand-driven machines. About 20 such centres will be started in every presidency. By this system wastes and other general defects of mass manufacture can be eliminated; there will be no ground for the spirit of provincialism, transport will be easy even if

tomorrow the railway traffic is dislocated, and lastly the local oils will be utilised which in their turn will yield oil-cakes, very badly needed as cheap manure for the land and as nourishing fodder in cattle.

This is the present position of my work. It is already late unless the capitalists or philanthropists come forth with their willing help, for the real moment of danger may be expected 3 months hence. At the nick of time it will be impossible for me to organise the production and the money of the rich will be of no avail.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

The Soviet giant is unbeaten and undaunted yet; the Axis forces in Libya are not routed, though they do not seem to be ready for a final show-down; in Tunisia the position is obscure, though it is clear now that the Axis has managed to get together a considerable force in that area; the Japanese are putting up a stubborn resistance in New Guinea. The situation in India is complex. We have so little information regarding China that it may be said that there is little or no news about China. In general it may be said that the year 1942 is passing out, leaving the World in general in a condition of tense anxiety with many unsolved riddles and problems facing the War-lords of the two hemispheres.

In Russia, the winter offensive of the Soviets is continuing although it is plain now that the Russian armies are fighting under many handicaps and that the Germans are better prepared this time to meet the onslaughts of the Soviets. It is plain now that the Soviet High Command had picked out the weakest points in the far-flung battle line in Russia and the counter-attack was launched without giving the Germans a breathing space after the conclusion of their campaigning season. The Nazi War-directorate had foreseen the coming of this counter-offensive to a certain extent, and further the Soviets probably had a very difficult problem to solve regarding the supply and transport arrangements. But in spite of all difficulties the Soviets' forces have succeeded in carrying out the first part of their plans, as a result of which there has been an almost complete disruption of the supply and transport arrangements of the

Axis in the Don bend. The Axis forces on the Volga and further down towards Rostov are now fighting under difficulties. It is clear that the terrible hardships of the Russian winter impose a very heavy handicap on the Axis forces, and to a lesser extent on the Russians. This factor being added to the breaking up of the German lines of communication towards Stalingrad has created a series of serious complexities for the Nazi High Command, which hold out considerable possibilities for the Soviets' chances of carrying out a successful though limited winter campaign on the Steppes of the Don and the Volga and in the foothills of the Caucasus. But it must not be forgotten that only a very partial success has been attained as yet and the Soviet winter offensive has to travel very much further before any major and lasting success can be claimed. Elsewhere on Russian front, fighting is of a ding-dong nature as yet, for which nothing much can be claimed for by either party. The fact that stands boldly and distinctly out of all this is, however, that the Soviets' forces are a long way from being knocked out and as yet they represent by far the major factor in the total fighting opposition offered against the Axis.

In Libya, Rommel's forces have managed to keep fairly intact, though up till the time of writing they have not offered any real opposition to the British and Allied forces that are pursuing them. It is evident that Rommel considers that given sufficient time he can get together sufficient strength in armour and in the air to give battle to the Eighth army, or else the halt at el Agheila was to no point. The further

west he goes the nearer become his supply bases and more difficult the communication lines of the Allies. He seems therefore to be "trading space for time." The alternative is the evacuation of most of Tripolitana in order to form a long and continuous front in opposition to the joint forces under General Eisenhower and General Alexander. In Tunisia, the Axis has managed to bring the Allied advance to a halt for the time being. For some time, the Allied forces were on the defensive, and though the position is obscure as yet, it seems that the Allies will have to bring in considerable reinforcements before the drive can be resumed by them.

In New Guinea, the Allied forces are meeting with a very stubborn resistance from the Japanese. Progress is exceedingly slow although there can be no question as to who has the upperhand. While the maintenance of communications is a difficult proposition for the Allied troops in New Guinea, it has been rendered almost impossible for the Japanese through the alertness and the striking power of the American and Australian Air forces. In the Solomons, the position is somewhat different. There the American offensive is probably held up until a decision is attained regarding the naval mastery of the waters surrounding the islands. In both these areas, despite Allied superiority in aerial equipment, the Japanese have as yet maintained a very rigid and determined resistance. Those people who dream of rolling back the Japanese tide of aggression as fast as it came should open their eyes and look at the portents as they are clearly presented.

The position at the Indo-Burmese frontiers is difficult to analyse as yet due to many apparently self-contradictory factors appearing in the very meagre news given. There has been a very slow advance into Arakan, but no Japanese obstruction has been encountered. On the other hand, in the No-man's land areas on the Assam border patrols encountered considerable opposition. Air raids on objectives in occupied Burma have been kept up, although the tempo has not been increased. Japanese air-raids into India are, on the other hand, increasing both in tempo and in area of attack.

From all the news available, there does not seem to be any question of a Japanese invasion of India being imminent on any part of the front. On the other hand, we do not find any grounds for the rosy belief that before long the Japanese would be pushed out of Burma and the Burma

road would begin to function. It is easy to show how the Japanese are no longer in a position to resume the offensive against India and indeed it would be easy to prove that they have no chances against the gathering might of the Allies in the East. But examined in the light of realities such optimistic assertions seem to be far-fetched as yet, to say the least. In reality Japan's position in Burma, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies keeps on *improving with the passage of every day*. This in short means that the Allied task becomes more difficult and more expensive in the terms of "blood, sweat, tears," etc.—to say nothing of time and money—with the passing of time. The Japanese are adepts at improvisation and their war-machinery, civil and military, was in gear long before the Allies even thought of making a start. It would be foolish therefore to imagine that they are not straining every nerve to consolidate their positions on the territories overrun before they make any fresh moves forward. The Japanese Navy has received hard knocks without doubt, but it is still in a position to guard effectively and efficiently all the inner sea-lanes of communication. And until those channels are distinctly and effectively broken into, all talk about "throwing the Japs out of Burma and Malaya" must be considered as premature at least.

An American spokesman said the other day that the only thing to be satisfied about in the present situation was that the Axis was on the defensive in certain sections. This is certainly an improvement on the position of the Allies during the past three years, and that about sums up all that there is to be said on the matter.

We in India have received very scanty news about China during the past months. She has a heart-breaking task in the matter of supplies, and unfortunately the people in India, in spite of all the willingness in the world, are not in a position to give any concrete evidence of their sympathy.

Much has been written regarding the air-raids on Calcutta. The morale of the people has received a shaking but has stood the strain fairly well despite complete absence of any official endeavour to reinforce it. It has indicated clearly that bureaucracy is still as poor a substitute for democratic leadership of the genuine kind as it was in Malaya, Burma and the Dutch East Indies. The actual effect of the air-raids has been insignificant so far when considered in terms of military damage. But that is neither here nor there since the war is still on.

MODERN SCHOOLS OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

By DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.
University of Lucknow

HISTORY is one of the oldest branches of learning known to mankind, and naturally therefore there have been great changes from time to time both in the conception of history and in the method and outlook of the historians. This transformation of historiography has been particularly rapid in the modern age, and its progress will be apparent from the fact that even in the 18th century history was considered to be no better than imperfect annals of the past. Sir Robert Walpole's famous remark, "Read me anything but history, for that must be false," betrays the layman's prejudice against history as a philosophy of life. Similarly, Macaulay's ambition to make his History replace the latest novel on the tables of young ladies indicated the view that history was only "true romance." From such simple notions historians have progressed in modern times to new concepts under the influence of various modes of thought initiated by the Radicals and the Social Democrats of the last two centuries.

History is now highly complex, and the historian is perplexed by an ever-increasing conflict between the claims of knowledge and of sentiment. The scientist can observe facts in a spirit of cold detachment. That is not the case with the modern historian, for, being re-quired to deal with human phenomena, he cannot easily maintain the cold, passionless detachment of the student of science, and so he consciously or unconsciously examines his material from some particular point of view. This is the explanation of the rise of numerous schools of history in modern times—such as the German School, the Oxford School, the Political School, the Futurist School, or the Fatalistic School.

The question as to what form history must take has been a subject of endless debate. In the midst of this medley of opinions one that has received the greatest publicity is the statement of Professor Bury that "History is a Science, neither more nor less." The question, "Is history a science?" is still disputed, although the method of historical inquiry has tended to be more and more scientific since the last century. The great German historian, Ranke, is one of the idols of the modern school, and his English pupil, Lord Acton, sums up the two features of the modern school while describing his master thus :

"He was the real originator of the heroic study of records, and he taught us to be critical, to be colourless, to be new."

Ranke himself described his ideal in the following words :

"I resolved to avoid all invention and imagination in my work and to stick to facts."

The rise of the modern school seen through the writings of Adam Smith, Buckle, Green, Hallam, Niebuhr, Mommsen, Stubbs, Froude, Ranke or Acton gave a new impetus to the growth of the science of history. The new school sought to be accurate and impartial and judge the evidence with the scientist's openness of mind. The original records were studied with unusual care and detachment, so much so that in the last 20 years of the 19th century the writing of history almost ceased, and historians turned merely to what Dr. Gooch calls "the winning of raw material" and to a comparative study of all the available records.

Thus, the new school gave history the dignity of a science, but the method was not always scientific. To hold that a historian must tell the truth is to avoid the real issue, for he cannot tell the truth without first realising it, and he cannot realise it unless he approaches the historical data in the proper scientific spirit and subjects them to the proper scientific treatment.

In the abuse of the scientific method the modern German historians have shown a peculiar proficiency. From the time of Mommsen many of them have deliberately subordinated the scientific study of history to the art of political propaganda. They have aimed at instructing their countrymen in certain policies which history shows to have been conducive to the establishment of national greatness. They cleverly presented their interpretation of history to show that the Germans are a superior race, and thereby encouraged the ambition of Germany to make a bid for world-domination. Such a travesty of the scientific method shows the pitfalls and temptations in the way of a historian.

The advent of the inductive method in history in recent years has given rise to a variety of theories with regard to the scope and processes of historical inquiry. The idea that history is merely a branch of literature was ridiculed by Seeley long ago. That history could compete with the novel is no longer seriously believed,

After Dr. Bowering, the ex-President of the Harvard University, Prof. Kireland observed :

"The Raja was an object of lively interest in America and he was expected there with the greatest anxiety."

That this was not a mere formal compliment to the Raja has now been conclusively demonstrated by the painstaking and devoted researches of Miss Adrienne Moore. She was privileged to carry on her researches at the Columbia University under the direction of Prof. Dr. Arthur Christy who is an authority on Oriental influence on American literature. He pointed out to Miss Moore that in a letter to Emerson, still in his college (1822), his aunt Mary Moody enquired about the materials which she had sent to him about Rammohun Roy. Through Emerson who read regularly the *Christian Register* from 1822-1830, Indian Unitarianism of Rammohun and Indian speculative thought came to be topics of public discussion focussing for a time "the spotlight of publicity on Oriental thought" and thus ultimately led to the growth of New England Transcendentalism and the flowering of New England literature.

This thesis of Miss Adrienne Moore justified after a century the statement of Dr. Kireland of Harvard, for we find her completing her study at the Columbia University, in February 1935 or just two years after the Rammohun Centenary (1933). She entered into correspondence with the Editor of *The Modern Review* who encouraged her by publishing a part of her thesis in *The Modern Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1936. The Editor passed her complete manuscript to Rev. Satish Chandra Chakravarty, now President of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, who as the Secretary of the Rammohun Centenary Committee, finally saw her book through the press. In Part I of the book the author introduces us into the heart of the subject and gives us a sober and at the same time an inspiring estimate of the life and works of Rammohun. Part II forming the bulk of the book is a detailed Bibliography of the works written by and about Rammohun. In the list of American libraries consulted by her we find thirteen states represented from Maine and Massachusetts to New York and Virginia. The earliest Bengali-Sanskrit work of the Raja traced so far, the *Vedanta Grantha* was published from Calcutta in 1815 when Rammohun gave up the Company's Service and within a year we find his first English work published in London, entitled

"Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedanta" (1816). The German edition of the same book was published from Jena in 1817. The earliest American edition of the Raja's writings referred to the correspondence relative to the Prospects of Christianity in India, Cambridge Mass. 1824 and the *Precepts of Jesus* passed through several editions. Thus his name became so famous that in an address to the members of the American Congress on the Abolition of Slavery (Washington, 1830-33 ?) we find an American champion of abolition signing a document with the pseudonym "Rammohun Roy" :

"In closing this address allow me to assume the name of one of the most enlightened and benevolent of the human race now living, though not a white man—Rammohun Roy."

So there was no exaggeration in the statement of Dr. Kireland that the Raja was an object of lively interest in America. In the third part of the book the author discusses the question of the access of the American public to literature concerning Rammohun Roy. As early as 1821 we find Rammohun corresponding with David Reed, Editor of the *Christian Register*. His famous letter to H. Ware of Cambridge concerning the Prospect of Christianity in India was published by the Harvard University Press in 1824. Rammohun hoped to visit America in the spring of 1834 but he died before that. Miss Moore has shown in her chapter on "Private Sources of Information" how Rammohun was corresponding with eminent religious and thought leaders of America like Dr. W. E. Channing, Dr. William Ward and Dr. J. Tuckerman among others who endorse whole-heartedly her brilliant conclusion from which we quote the following paragraph :

"Until the advent of Roy, the Orient had seemed far removed and impersonal to American thought. But with the coming of this great leader there took place a certain fusion of East and West, a realization that, in spite of distance and difference, the Indian as personified in Rammohun Roy was close kin to his American brother."

The author has produced a firstclass work on Indo-American Bibliography and has earned the gratitude of all Indians who appreciate the services rendered by Rammohun the Father of Modern India to the cause of the rapprochement between the East and the West.

Rammohun was a great admirer of the democratic traditions of the American constitution. But North America apart we find him also as the first Oriental to express publicly his sympathy for the Independence Movement among the South American Republics seeking to emancipate themselves from the shackles of

Spanish Colonialism. He gave a public dinner to commemorate the victory of the Latin Americans over the Spanish army and I suggested a new line of research on my return from the Philippines (1938) in my note published in *The Modern Review* (1939) on the significance of the presentation of a copy of the *Constitution of Cadiz* to Rammohun Roy by the Philippine Co., (now in the Rammohun Library, Calcutta). The archives of the Latin American States may yet yield some valuable documents of Indo-American relations.

ECONOMICS OF PRICE CONTROL

By P. C. JAIN, M.A., M.Sc. (Econ.) London,
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PRICE control was introduced in India in the early stages of the war. The system is as yet very crude although it is a result of deliberations by six Price Control Conferences. It is, therefore, worth-while to analyse the existing system so far as it affects food-grains with a view to suggest further refinements. It is necessary to devise means to make price control more effective.

EVOLVED BY EXPERIENCE

By the end of 1941, two years' experience of price fixing by provincial governments and district authorities revealed many difficulties. It was realised that unco-ordinated prices for different localities are likely to be out of touch with supply and demand conditions and, therefore, impossible to enforce. Moreover, it was felt to be insufficient to safeguard the interests of the consumer alone. The cultivator also had to be protected. It therefore became necessary to fix prices in the producing centres and at harvest time as well. It was also realised that fixing the price of only some commodities like wheat and rice will not suffice, hence provision had to be made for fixing the price of substitutes and local food-grains. Finally, the transport difficulty and the dangers of hoarding were anticipated, though not quite clearly, and effort was made to solve them.

A recent Price Control Conference recommended that the Government of India should fix the prices of certain essential food-grains in the producing centres. The Central Government actually fixed the wholesale price of wheat in Lyllpur and Hapur. On the basis of this wholesale price, the provincial governments were asked to fix prices in their own markets after taking due account of transport and other charges. Five Regional Boards were set up one each for the U. P., the Punjab, Bengal, Madras and Bombay. The Boards were made responsible for recommending the price to be fixed for local

food-grains and to look after transport facilities. In many provinces a Price Control Department was set up and an effort was made to adjust supply and demand on a provincial basis, the surplus provinces exporting to the deficit provinces on the recommendation of the Central Government. In the case of wheat, the most important foodstuff, a Wheat Commissioner was to issue permits for this purpose. Inside the province, the export was permitted from surplus areas to deficit areas by means of permits issued by the provincial price control department. It was expected that the wholesale and retail dealers would be licensed so that the controlling authority may know how the food-grains are being distributed. Hoarding was to be checked. In addition to the licensing of wholesale and retail distributors this was supposed to be done by prohibiting the shop-keepers to sell food-grains worth more than a small sum to any one consumer at a time. This system, however, worked inefficiently and with jerks.

LACK OF ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

One of the chief causes of the ineffectiveness of price control has been the irregularity of supplies to the retail dealers. A price is fixed on the assumption that a certain supply will be available for sale, and if this supply is not forthcoming the controlled price becomes impossible to enforce. In India the control has given rise to some amount of uncertainty in the mind of both the consumers and the sellers. The consumer in his anxiety about the future begins to hoard food-grains. The seller, dissatisfied with the fixed price, holds back the supplies in the hope of selling them at a higher price in the black market. The cultivator, who is both a seller and a consumer, is not anxious to part with his produce at the harvest time except when he is in need of money. All this reduces the available supply. The result is that the controlled price gets out of touch with

reality and becomes impossible to enforce. Price control has often been shattered in India not so much because the seller tries to charge a higher price in the regular market but because he does not sell either on account of his having no stocks or his deliberately withholding them back. Finally, in the war emergency there is a great strain on our transport system and supplies are liable to get short in particular areas because of delay in consignments. Supply temporarily becomes less than the demand and all the buyers cannot obtain the commodity at the fixed price. As a result, black markets come into existence where the sellers charge a higher price. This further reduces supply and a vicious circle is formed.

The more recent Price Control Conferences were not unaware of these possibilities, but their recommendations have not been fully enforced partly because of lack of adequate administrative machinery. The provincial governments have very much relied on fear of punishment and fine to discourage the shop-keepers from disobeying price control orders. The consumer is encouraged to report the matter to the police if he does not obtain supplies at the fixed price. Prosecutions and punishment, however, have not produced very satisfactory results because the shop-keepers who make good profits by selling in the black-market can afford to pay a fine or even go to jail. The fear of punishment does not help matters when there is an actual shortage of supplies. Nothing effective has so far been done to regularise supplies. A shop-keeper is guilty if he indulges in profiteering but he cannot be held responsible if he is unable to sell at the fixed price because he does not get supplies from the wholesaler or the producer. We have to devise methods to ensure sufficient and regular supplies to the retail dealers.

One alternative suggestion is that government retail shops and municipal grain stores should be opened to sell the controlled food-stuffs. This suggestion has also been put into practice in some places. The underlying idea is that through these shops the Government can enforce the fixed prices and control the flow of supplies to the market. This method, however, is not likely to prove successful for two reasons. A few shops will not suffice and if consumers are to get their supplies without undue difficulty a large number of such shops will have to be opened in each locality. This is bound to increase the administrative cost very much. These shops by their very nature cannot be self-

supporting because, after payment of transport and other dues, the controlled price is not likely to leave any balance. There is even a possibility of an actual loss. In view of this huge expenditure of money, and a subsequent burden on the tax-payer, the cost may not be worth the gain. Secondly, even if the cost consideration is set aside, the Government and municipal shops will replace the petty shop-keeper. He generally belongs to the lower middle class and it will mean great hardship if this poor man is elbowed out because of State activity. There is no justification for creating this hardship.

Another suggestion, to which the last Price Control Conference also gave its support, is that the existing channels of trade should be maintained but the wholesale and retail dealers should be licensed. This, it is explained, will enable the government to control the activity of these middlemen. The licensing system works satisfactorily so far as the wholesale dealers are concerned but it breaks down in the case of retail shopkeepers. This for many reasons. The system of licensing involves the issuing of vouchers and maintenance of exact accounts for all sales transactions. But a vast majority of petty retail dealers are incompetent to do so because they are thoroughly illiterate. They cannot engage paid accountants because that costs too much money, which their turnover does not justify. Some retail shop-keepers keep accounts but their system is so thoroughly obsolete that it is almost impossible to check these accounts and arrive at any sensible conclusions. Secondly, licensing assumes that if the conditions of sale are violated the licence will be cancelled and issued to someone else. But all retail shop-keepers are alike and cancelling someone's licence and issuing it to someone else does not improve the net situation. This greatly reduces the effectiveness of licensing. Finally, the administration of this system cannot be left in the hands of the police and civil officers because this is a specialised work and these officers are already overworked. If licensing has to be made successful a separate staff of price control officers will have to be appointed. This makes the licensing system costly and this is a point on the debit side.

GROW MORE FOOD

In the last analysis the effectiveness of price control measures will depend on the success of the 'grow more food' campaign. Price control is made ineffective because of a shortage of supplies. If more food is grown there will be a larger quantity available for sale and thus

one serious cause of trouble will be removed. If regular supplies are available, the consumer will not have much cause for anxiety about the future and hoarding will be discouraged. Moreover, if the consumer can obtain supplies in the regular market at the controlled prices he will not be prepared to pay a higher price in the black market, so that the shop-keepers will have no inducement to hold back the stocks and refuse to sell. The availability of larger quantities of food-grains, apart from minor administrative difficulties, will solve the problem of price control at one stroke. Secondly, we have to realise that prices tend to rise not only because of profiteering and deliberate holding back of stocks but also because during a war the greater expenditure by the State increases the money in circulation. If the production of food-grains and other commodities does not increase as fast as the money in circulation prices are bound to rise, though of course not proportionately. The 'grow more food' drive is likely to some extent to correct this discrepancy. More food will be grown partly at the cost of other commodities and partly by taking new land under cultivation. The net increase in the quantity of commodities now available will to some extent counterbalance the increase of money in circulation. Price will, as a consequence, rise less than before. This will help the price control policy.

The 'grow more food' idea is not as impracticable as it might appear on the face of it. In India we at present produce large quantities of unwanted commercial crops such as sugarcane and cotton. These crops have suffered from overproduction, and it will at once solve two problems if food crops can to some extent replace them. Moreover, there is the possibility of taking some fallow land under cultivation, though at a higher cost. It is also possible to increase the productivity of land by a more intensive cultivation. The 'grow more food' campaign is thoroughly practicable but it will

require a great drive to make it successful. The problem will not be solved by mere lip service and by converting bungalow compounds into grain fields. All this, at best, has a propaganda value.

The effects of a 'grow more food' programme will be felt only in the long run. In the immediate and transitional period it is necessary to improve and refine the price control machinery. The provincial governments have to enforce licensing more rigidly than has so far been done. Not only the wholesale but the retail dealers have also to be licensed and a supervision maintained over them. This will involve the appointment of additional price control staff. Hoarding, except by the Government departments and for the sole purpose of meeting demand from deficit areas, should be made a criminal offence. Punishment alone will not be enough but this combined with adequate propaganda assuring the consuming public about the regularity of future supplies and warning them against the dangers of hoarding should prove successful. The disposition of railway space for the transport of food-grains will have to be made smooth and impartial. It is intolerable that wagon space secured through bribery may disturb price control. The Price Control Department has to settle this question with the Railway Board. Moreover, in most cases the cause of local shortage is that traders wait till the last moment because of the price uncertainties, and at last when they decide to import, the necessary railway space may not be available. It is, therefore, necessary to build stocks in the probable deficit areas whenever railway space permits it. The stock building may be done on a systematic plan and with government money. The chief object of these measures is to assure regular supplies to the retail shop-keepers. Much of this is already being done but only halfheartedly and in an unplanned manner. A more systematic and vigorous effort is likely to make price control more effective.

THE CONFERENCE OF AMBASSADORS (PARIS 1920-1931)*

By LILA RAY

WHATEVER sort of world the war leaves us reconstruction or new construction will be impossible without some form of uniting organisation analogous to the now defunct League of

Nations. In availing ourselves of the good accomplished by the League and at the same time avoiding the blunders which nullified its work this book can be of help.

When Woodrow Wilson as the crowning contribution of America to the war, exacted the League Covenant from the European States he

* *The Conference of Ambassadors (Paris, 1920-1931)* by Gerhard P. Pink. Geneva Studies, Vol. XII, Nos. 4-5, Feb., 1942.

made one of the few great historical gestures for which mankind is humbly grateful. Yet he failed to obtain a conciliatory peace. The treaties were recognised to be contrary to the spirit of the League. Yet without conceding something to the demands of the victorious powers Wilson would not have got his League; by doing so he mortgaged its future.

Success or failure hinged on the conduct of diplomacy. Wilson had himself gone to Europe for fear that otherwise the negotiations would be conducted by the old secretive methods he was pledged to eradicate. In the very first of his Fourteen Points he declares that there should be "open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view." In the Five Particulars he is more specific, writing,

"All international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world. Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms."

They were excluded from the Covenant by Articles 15 and 18. The second made obligatory the registration and publication of all treaties and international agreements. The first has to do with procedure in the consideration of disputes. It is based on the principles of full publicity and strict impartiality. That the Great Powers at least were not prepared to work on these principles is evidenced by the outburst of Arthur Balfour, the second British plenipotentiary at the Paris Conference of 1919 and who appended his signature to the treaty of Versailles, in the House of Commons.

"How is the task of the peace-maker to be pursued," he asked, "if you are to shout your grievances from the housetops whenever they occur? The only result is that you embitter public feeling, that the differences between the two states suddenly attain a magnitude they ought never to be allowed to approach, that the newspapers of the two countries agitate themselves, that the parliaments of the two countries have their passions set on fire, and great crises arise, which may end, have ended sometimes, in international catastrophes."

The work the League succeeded in doing disproved this theory. The plain truth seems to be that the Great Powers at least were unwilling to surrender private interests which, for reasons best known to themselves, they wished to conceal. The Council had ten members and later fourteen, the smaller powers could not

only prevent unanimous decisions but could numerically outvote the principal Allied Powers on any question of procedure. They could force a public session of the Council or appeal from its decisions to the Assembly. Public reports giving the merits of disputes and the recommendations of the Council were obligatory.

"The authors of the Covenant believed that publicity would of itself insure impartiality; that it was not conceivable that a council, acting as the representative of the whole body of the League and in circumstances of the utmost publicity, should conduct its inquiries into a dispute in any way not consistent with the strictest fairness to all the parties concerned," writes Sir James A. Salter.* That this belief was not without foundation is proven by the fact that, though the Great Powers dominated the Council almost completely and the rights of the small powers were more theoretical than actual, they felt uneasy and embarrassed enough to seek loopholes in extraneous though attached institutions.

Loopholes appear to have been found in the committees, commissions, etc., which the Council was empowered to create as it found necessary.

I do not mean to suggest that any of these was deliberately appointed for the express purpose of sabotaging the League but that at least one of them, the mysterious Conference of Ambassadors, came to be used for that purpose seems, on the evidence provided by Mr. Pink, to be fairly clear. Composed of the spokesmen of four great powers, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, it did not consider itself bound by the League rules of procedure and worked with the utmost secrecy from the start. Originally entrusted with matters of detail in the execution of the Peace Treaties it grew rapidly, even monstrously, into a rival of its parent, going far beyond its competence which in the resolutions concerning its creation had been left conveniently vague. It became, in the words of Paul Mantoux, "the executive of a European directorate of Great Powers, . . . sometimes in competition with the League Council and sometimes going as far as to take decisions in its place." In the famous Janina-Corfu affair, after a struggle for the right to settle the dispute, the Conference triumphed over the League.

How was this possible?—the reader will ask. Mr. Pink gives the following answer:

"Not without reason has it been said that scarcely a dispute could arise in Europe which the Conference could not bring within its jurisdiction. The reverse side of this remark is however the fact that almost every dispute in Europe could be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the League."

† Wilson, Woodrow. *Ency. Brit.*

* League of Nations. *Ency. Brit.*



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto be answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

A NEW SOCIAL ORDER: By Dr. E. Asirvatham. Published by Indian Christian Book Club, Kilpauk, Madras. Pp. 387+xxvi. Price Rs. 3.

The author of this book is Reader in Politics and Public Administration in the University of Madras and has already a reputation for balanced judgment and liberal approach to contemporary problems. In this volume he seeks to traverse a wide field covering all aspects of contemporary life, with special application to India. Here for the first time is an attempt by an Indian comparable in range and study—though not in originality—to similar essays by a Wells or a Aldous Huxley. But the scholar—specially of the conflicting variety—is bound to suffer from the drag of conflicting opinions of the great in offering solutions, and one is left with the feeling after reading most of Dr. Asirvatham's chapters that he is just essaying the opening speech on a subject in a study-circle or a symposium discussion. Possibly, he intends to provoke thought in others: but can such provocation come from suggestions which appear much on the side of compromises, and sometimes even cheap and commonplace?

The main defect of the work lies in the absence of any radical approach to the problems of the world around us. Phrases like 'Economic Justice,' 'Social Harmony,' 'Political Justice,' remain mere phrases if they cannot be taken out of their nineteenth century contexts and related to the conflicting 'isms' of the day. But, possibly, we are doing an injustice to the author. As a good Christian and a sober scholar, Dr. Asirvatham is not out for any cataclysmic change. The ideal social order, he points out, 'involves a continual process,' and the Christian 'is called upon to work out in terms of the conditions around him.' He also makes it clear in his Preface that he has discussed "the outlines of a new social order under the terms Bread, Brotherhood, Freedom, and Justice, which may not carry the same connotation to every reader. They may mean much or may mean little. . . . The idealism which he subscribes is rooted in realism." With ends thus circumscribed, the means suggested may not be satisfactory to many.

Dr. Asirvatham, however, has produced a most informative volume. He has succeeded in pointing out the black-spots of modern civilization and also in presenting the problems of modern capitalism, imperialism, 'wolf-pack' nationalism, racialism, dictatorships, on the one hand, and of the home and family, leisure and recreation, on the other, with an illuminating array of details and citations. If for nothing else, as a readable encyclopædia of modern problems, this volume should

be widely used by our publicists and students and it should be in every library.

The discussion by the author of the intricate social and political problems of India deserves a reference even in a short review. In examining the economic situation and proposed reforms in it, Dr. Asirvatham admirably analyses the tenets of Gandhian economics, and boldly asserts that the only lasting solution of Indian poverty is 'some form of collective ownership,' and emphasises the establishment of a free India as a *sine qua non* for the same. He has sensible things to say about the caste system, and also the new class-divisions; and he furnishes a list of safeguards of a comprehensive character to allay the susceptibilities of minorities in India. Though still believing in the possibilities of 'improvement of Imperialism,' Dr. Asirvatham has given telling replies to imperialist arguments to continue the hold on India; and the ethics of non-violence and pacifism receive a very fair treatment in his hand. But alas! the *shoulds* suggested by the learned author require a re-orientation of the mental, economic, social and political structure of a very radical nature ushered in together, which the realist in him searches in vain within the framework of capitalist ethics albeit modified! If he had thought, more as a man of action, he would have discovered that attempts at establishing new 'orders,' have resulted, through manipulation by vested interests, in the entrenchment of *ordered parochial societies* of the Nazi variety, and experience has thus led liberal socialists like Laski ultimately to take to the Marxian track.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

GENERALS AND GENERALSHIP. A PENGUIN SPECIAL: By General Sir Archibald Wavell. London, 1941. Pp. 64.

Most of the materials incorporated in this most fascinating booklet has been derived from a series of lectures delivered by General Wavell to the Royal United Services Institution as far back as 1936. In their present form, these lectures were delivered at Cambridge in the first two months of 1939. The publication of these valuable lectures in the shape of the Penguin Special will be highly welcomed by the reading public in India.

This is not a thesis on military strategy nor is it an erudite analysis of military history. This is random reflections, as General Wavell chooses to define it himself. It is a flesh-and-blood study of military science and deals mainly with the relationships between man and man, on which must be founded both the success of an army and the victory of a whole nation at war. "Napoleon did not gain the position he did so much by a study of rules and strategy as by a profound

knowledge of human nature in war," says General Wavell, and in support of his statement recalls some very delightful anecdotes about that great General. Again, he quotes Ardent du Picq who wrote: "Man is the first weapon of battle; let us then study the soldier in battle, for it is he who brings reality to it."

A special merit of these lectures is that there is nothing doctrinaire or academic about them. General Wavell does not dogmatize, or show off his scholarship, but speaks from experience. Even his own approach to the study of military history is unconventional. He says: "When you study military history do not read outlines on strategy or principles of War. Read biographies, memoirs, historical novels such as the *Road to Glory*, *Schoenbrunn*. Get at the flesh and blood of it, not the skeleton." General Wavell's discourses abound in sparkling wit and have the quality of the highly entertaining narrative.

OXFORD PAMPHLETS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

THE CULTURAL PROBLEM: By A. J. Appasamy, Sir Abdul Qadir, R. P. Masani, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Sir Jogendra Singh. Pp. 64. Price annas eight.

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND: By K. T. Shah, P. J. Thomas, J. C. Kumarappa, Sir Datar Singh, Sir Jehangir Coyajee. Pp. 64. Price annas eight.

INDIAN STATES: By K. M. Panikkar. Pp. 32. Price annas four.

DEMOCRACY IN INDIA: By A. Appadorai. Pp. 32. Price annas four.

CEYLON: By H. A. J. Hulugalle. Pp. 32. Price annas four.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS: By S. Natarajan. Pp. 32. Price annas four.

THE FOOD SUPPLY: By Radhakamal Mukerjee. Pp. 32. Price annas four.

It is some time now that the Indian Branch of the Oxford University Press has been issuing Pamphlets on Indian Affairs on the pattern of those on World Affairs rendered so popular by its parent organisation in England. The idea is obviously to present a comprehensive background to the various political, economic and social problems which the common reader wants to understand without making a special study of them. To this class of readers, particularly students and foreigners, these pamphlets would have wide appeal. The authors who have contributed to this series are, most of them, men distinguished in the academic sphere or public life or both, but having regard to the limits of space at their disposal they have not attempted to work out any original thesis, having contented themselves with a brief but clear presentation of familiar ideas and facts. If the treatment is scrappy, it is not necessarily uninteresting.

The conflict and fusion of cultures in India is dealt with in the first pamphlet by eminent scholars and publicists. The economic background forms the subject-matter of the third; the second one on the "Position of Women" by Vijayalakshmi Pandit has not come out yet. Authors have approached the problems from their respective angles of vision, and it is, therefore, idle to expect any conclusion; yet the viewpoints have been ably set forth. So far as information is concerned, Panikkar's "Indian States" and Mukerjee's "The Food Supply" are the two most outstanding brochures. Panikkar's view may not be shared by many who have advanced social ideas, and Mukerjee's pessimism might seem unjustified to some theorists of demography, but the basic facts contained in their articles can hardly be

disputed. Hulugalle's "Ceylon" almost approaches the pattern of an encyclopædia article, with this difference that the author strikes a refreshingly personal note while dealing with Ceylon's ties with India. The essay on "Democracy in India" could certainly have been entrusted to an abler pen. Frankly, it is a disappointment, both in its objectivity as well as approach. Natarajan Jr., has, however, offered a stimulating pamphlet on a highly complicated and controversial field of research. It is a pity that the author had to refer, within the narrow compass of 32 pages, to so many topics as marriage, divorce, birth-control, prostitution, professional mendicancy, joint family and caste system, yet his advocacy of the need for social legislation on a national basis would receive anxious consideration at the hands of reformers and legislators of tomorrow.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

PERVERSITIES: By G. L. M. Published by G. L. Mehta, 100, Clive Street, Calcutta. 1942. Price Rs. 2.

"G. L. M." are initials not unknown to the general reader, and there is, justly, no attempt to conceal the identity of the writer. Shriji Mehta's intimate acquaintance with the financial world is responsible for many of his "perversities," but there is better stuff than usual in his "Honours for the Wealthy," "New Year Resolutions," "Last Words" and last, but not least, "An Up-to-date Dictionary for India." In "Last Words" one, however, expected to find more men of the front rank.

The serious and political outlook of the writer is reflected in the character of the different items of the perversities, and the reader will enjoy his occasional dipping into the humorous fare served to him by a competent hand.

P. R. SEN

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU—THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS: By Mr. Y. G. Krishnamurti. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Bombay. Pp. xxvii+174. Price Rs. 4-4.

This is a study of the man and the philosophy of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the outstanding personalities of modern India. The book consists of twelve chapters and "Invitation" by Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitarayya and two "prefaces" by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Mrs. Rameshri Nehru have been added. Pandit Nehru's ideas are well-known in educated circles through his own writings and publications but busy readers will profit by a perusal of this book which sets the personality and the ideas of the patriot in a nutshell. The printing of the book is excellent and it contains some of the earliest and latest photographs of Pandit Nehru.

A. B. DUTTA

TWO PLAYS OF BHASA: By A. S. P. Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., Bar-at-Law.

BHASA (INDIAN MEN OF LETTERS SERIES): By A. S. P. Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., Bar-at-Law.

Madras Law Journal Office. Mylapore, Madras. 1941, 1942.

The first of these two books which follow each other in quick succession, contains the English translation in prose and verse of two of the best known dramas attributed to the old Sanskrit dramatist Bhasa, e.g., the *Svapnavasavadatta* and the *Pratijnajugandharayana*. The object of the second book is to give a critical but popular account of Bhasa and all his works. The not

very small critical review of the poet found in the first book is incorporated and elaborated in the second. The latter is divided into four parts, each sub-divided into several chapters. The first part deals with the antiquity and the popularity of the great poet in early times, and discusses the chronology of the thirteen dramas attributed to him and discovered several years back. The second part gives long summaries, principally in the poet's own words—translated freely—of all the dramas arranged in accordance with a chronology determined by Mr. Ayyar. The third part refers to the greatness of Bhasa as reflected in the vast range of his plays, the infinite variety of characters portrayed, the different sentiments delineated, the vivid descriptions of natural phenomena, profound psychological insight, striking figures of speech, vignettes from life and other great qualities noticed in his works. Attention is drawn in this part also to what are supposed to be the defects of Bhasa, e.g., 'his clinging to established ideals,' his acceptance of the Vedic gods, besides some technical flaws like the occasional disregard for the unity of time. Part IV represents Bhasa the man, his ideas and ideals and draws a comparison between Bhasa and Kalidasa.

The general reader will naturally be more interested in Part II of the work especially as Mr. Ayyar has a special knack for narrating stories in a fascinating manner, as shown by some of his other works two of which have already been reviewed in these pages (March, 1932, September, 1941). The other parts which focus the attention of the readers on the various problems connected with Bhasa though written in a lucid style and appears to be rather too elaborate for the layman and not quite up to the requirements of the scholar. Some of his statements like those regarding Bhasa's love of India (p. 276), his advocacy of national freedom (p. 287) and his message for modern India (p. 294) may have a popular appeal but will scarcely satisfy a scholar who may not unreasonably suspect them to be based on far-fetched interpretations. While clinging to established ideals is referred to as a defect, the presentation of weak arguments based on the *Sastras*, which is supposed to be an indication of his love of India, is counted as one of the great qualities of the poet (p. 276). The rather uncharitable reference to the Sakti-worshippers in emphasising the Vaisnavite tendency of Bhasa is hardly appropriate in a book of this type.

We hope Mr. Ayyar will not mind taking into consideration the above points when bringing out subsequent volumes of the interesting series initiated by him.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

RANADE THE PROPHET OF LIBERATED INDIA: By D. G. Karve, M.A. The Aryabhusan Press, 915/1, Shivajinagar, Poona 4. Pp. xlv+215. Price Rs. 4.

The centenary of the birth of Mahadev Govind Ranade came off on the 18th January, 1942. To celebrate this memorable occasion, Mr. D. G. Karve of the Fergusson College has brought out this volume. The introductory portion of the book rightly contains the story of the life and activities of this "Prophet of Liberated India." Ranade's studies were many-sided and activities various. History, economics, politics, statecraft, literature, sociology equally interested him. While in the service of the Government, Ranade spared no pains to put into practice the knowledge acquired by dint of continued research and study. The public life in Bombay, and for the matter of that, of Western India, was not only influenced but oftentimes guided by Ranade, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Indian National Congress, the All-India

Social Conference, the Industrial Conference and Exhibition were some of the forums where his genius and foresight came into full play. In the body of the book Mr. Karve has discussed Ranade's views, utterances, writings and actions in such chapters as his 'Philosophy of Life,' 'Social Reform,' 'Indian political economy,' 'Industrialise or perish,' 'Indian politics,' 'Administrative Reform,' 'National Education' and several others. Students of Indian politics and socio-economics will find ample food for thought in this study of Prof. Karve.

JOSEPH C. BAGAL

THE BHAGAVAD-GITA AND MODERN SCHOLARSHIP: By Mr. S. C. Roy, M.A. (London), I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Assam. Published by Luzac & Co., London.

In this book the learned author has very carefully surveyed the wide field of Indological researches on the Gita and discussed the views of eminent scholars both ancient and modern who have approached and studied this Bible of the Hindus. The author has very ably interpreted the root origin of the Gita in the light of modern thought. According to him, the philosophical background of the Gita is taken from the Upanishads, which is a very sound view. The epic compilers of the Mahabharata have repeatedly mentioned the Gita as an Upanishad sung by the Lord ('Bhagavad-Gitasu Upanishadsu') at the end of each chapter of the Bhagavad-Gita.

The author of the Gita presented to the world a poetic synthesis of the Upanishadic thoughts. In fact, the Gita is the first attempt at systematization of the truths of the Upanishads. The poet-philosopher of the Gita continues the evolution of the thought of the Upanishads and enriches the philosophy and religion of the Vedic tradition with his deeper insight as well as with experiences of other cultures of his times. Although there might be some resemblance and similarity between the Gita and the Narayaniya Dharma, still it might be maintained that the Gita is an authoritative text-book of spiritual monotheism based on a harmony of the Vedanta, Sankhya and Yoga modes of ethical and philosophical discipline before the Narayaniya sections of the epic Mahabharata were composed by an advocate of the Bhagavata religion. The learned author is right in holding that the Gita was originally a non-sectarian Upanishad. The teachings of the Gita are universal and eternal truths which transcend all limitations of space and time. Dr. S. Subramania Iyer in his 'Introduction to Sri Bhagavad-Geeta Bhashya' by Sri Hamsa Yogi says—'Geeta was a compilation made when the Mahabharata was written with the aid of the materials which came to the author's hands through his own disciple Sanjaya, who apparently was commissioned by his Master to gather all the materials ready for the compilation . . . though he does so without interfering with the epical setting given to it in the work.' It is satisfactory to note that this fits in exactly with the view expressed by the learned author in the book under review, viz., 'that the Gita was a later interpolation in the body of the epic by a Bhagvata editor, who may have, to some extent, revised the episode so inserted in order to fit it into the epic surroundings as well as to promote his sectarian propaganda.'

We anxiously await the publication of the author's other companion volumes and heartily recommend this book for the deep perusal and reverential study of all Gita scholars.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

THE GARDEN IN THE PLAINS : By Agnes W. Harler. Oxford University Press. 1941. Price Rs. 6.

The author is modest and states in her preface, "The book is intended for beginners, especially for those women in India who are anxious to make a hobby of their gardens." It is a light easy book neither severely technical nor chattily unhelpful. Accurate and scientifically acceptable facts have been placed in a very lucid manner, e.g., details on plant propagation, soil and manuring, pruning, preventive measures of pests and diseases, etc. Many scientific names of plants together with notes on each of them are given; and for a lay-reader they are instructive. In Part Five, common vegetables and common fruit trees are dealt with. In the later parts, certain recipes on fruits are given. A gardener's calendar at the end is very useful. There are a few errors and mistaken ideas here and there. *Morus niger* (p. 378) should be *M. Nigra*. *M. alba* has a white insipid fruit (p. 378). This is not the case always. The soil is perhaps the most important prime factor (p. 51). Why perhaps? On the whole, it is a book worth reading and worth following and should be in every book-case of the plant-lover. The get-up of the book is excellent.

ALL ABOUT FRUITS : By S. Dayal, B.Sc. (Hons.), M.Sc. Published by the Industry Publishers Ltd., Shambazar, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

The book under review is a good exposition of the subject giving "a general outlook from the fundamental study of the soil right upto the commercial possibilities of the waste products." It has been written in strict conformity with the Indian conditions in an admirable way and it contains many valuable informations. The author, I congratulate, has succeeded well in his endeavours. But some of his figures at p. 1 are not latest, though they are available. There are a few printing errors, which should be corrected in the next edition. The get-up of the book is tolerable.

ROBINDRA MOHON DATTA

TEMPLE OF INSPIRATION : By Sri Motilal Roy. Authorised translation from the original Bengali by D. S. Mahalanobis with a Foreword by Mr. Arun Chandra Dutt. Published by Prabartak Publishing House, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Pp. 130. Price Rs. 2 only.

Though not by way of a reasoned discourse, the thirty sermons contained in this nice little book are the first morning thoughts of Sri Motilal Roy "recorded in a deep receptive mood of spiritual contemplation and communion; they contain gleams and flashes of an inner dawn, the invigorating freshness and charm of a new sunshine." The wisdom of the sermons touches at many vital points of our lives being the echo of the Upanishads. A very good book for those who want to live a spiritual life.

SUHRID KRISHNA BASU

VILLAGE EDUCATION : By E. V. S. Maniam. Published by Patt & Co., Cawnpore. Price annas eight.

Fulfilment of the enquiries by the respective Commissions and Committees in India has in most cases been thrown to reasons of inconvenience or at least to comparisons wherein India has proved herself to be the worst medium for materialization of progressive ideas. Mr. Maniam attempts here to add some amount of practicalness to the increasing volume of enquiries. He has drawn up a syllabus for real and useful rural education with hundred and one features. He takes another step in advance, and enunciates a few imperatives in connection with propagation of literacy.

Suggestions by Mr. Maniam look quite practicable as far as they are on the other side of organization and actual work. His schemes and programmes are the results of protracted thinking and continued research. We fervently hope to see his ideas successfully materialized.

To clarify obscurity in his conception he takes recourse to comparisons with the conditions existing in America and Denmark. In America, Rockefeller charity and Ford's high wages have supported education on a scientific basis. In Denmark, the whole structure of educational expansion is built on the royal support and popular goodwill. But India's poverty, her political inferiority, her comparative apathy for public charity will create the most uncongenial environment for foreign ideals to be planted on Indian soil.

FRENCH REVOLUTION—ITS ECONOMIC AND IDEOLOGICAL BASIS : By Saumendranath Tagore. Published for Ganabani Publishing House, 220, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price annas eight.

In his dedication of the book to Else Perl, a victim of Nazi Germany and in the foreword the author reflects a new outlook on the French Revolution characteristic of his own political opinions.

Looking on this Revolution in a purely objective way as against the bourgeois historians who have treated this social upheaval subjectively or romantically, Mr. Tagore has had to admit of individual forces in Louis XIV, the clergymen, the trade guilds, or the philosophers. If "the industrial revolution furnished an economic foundation upon which the political and social principles of the French Revolution might erect the institution of a democratic society," why England did not have another socio-political eruption at the period of her new industrial order? However, Mr. Tagore may try to ease himself with a socialist's air, he cannot keep the French Revolution free from bourgeois influences. Mr. Tagore seems to observe a fastidious strictness over use of terms.

Will Mr. Tagore enquire of M. Andre Maurois the reasons why the French Republic has fallen victim to Nazi Germany? Proud democracy and garrulous socialism have miserably failed to enforce speedy and enormous production of war materials, have instilled quarrelsome rivalry among the Prime Ministers, have provided the unworthy people with chances to direct the country's constitution, and have created many more evils.

Above all, we have to say that this addition to the fairly long bibliography on the subject of the French Revolution has not been without a special purpose.

THE SECRET OF SUCCESS : Compiler J. N. Parasar, M.A., LL.B. Publisher, The Satya Office, Kirana Bazar, Farrukhabad, U. P. Price annas eight.

Some watch-words from persons of successful career are collected to inspire the readers with confidence, resolution, happiness and success in their life. We receive the book as it is, and shall not even suggest any improvement in the selection of quotations. But spelling mistakes have so horribly run riot (despite the best possible endeavours of the compiler) that we draw Mr. Parasar's attention at least to his spelling the names of the distinguished persons to whom he has already done wrong by quoting their inimitable writings only peace-meal.

SANTOSH CHATTERJI

BENGALI

JAGAT KON PATHE: SAHASIR JAYA-JATRA : By Sri Jogesh Chandra Bagal. S. K. Mitra & Bros., 12, Narikelbagan Lane, Calcutta. Third edition. Price Re. 1-4 and Re. 1 respectively.

Of late the whole human world has been moving at a tremendous speed. We are simply amazed at the sweep of events. All attempts of the average man to know and understand the forces at work are baffled by the rapidity of changes, taking place in different corners of the earth. Nevertheless, a fair knowledge of the more important happenings in recent history is essential for every educated man and woman. The writer deserves thanks from the Bengali reading public for presenting before them in a nutshell the recent march of political events in the East and the West (in "Jagat Kon Pathe") and short but very attractive biographies of the most notable modern political leaders of the world (in "Sahasir Jayajatra"). His style is lucid and narration highly interesting.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

SANGSKRITIR RUPANTAR : By Gopal Halder. Published by Putli Ghar, 22, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 250. Price Rs. 2-8.

The book consists of ten articles on subjects connected with the history and evolution or in the words of the author "transformation" of civilisation and culture. The author discusses the subjects from a materialistic standpoint and tries to establish that civilisation from the earliest times to the present day, as represented by the Soviet System, is an unbroken chain of human struggle for physical existence and material welfare. If he is materialistic, he is also communistic and tries to be rational in his way of thinking and always takes things to their logical conclusions. His is a study of the Indian History, Bengali Culture, Science in India and such other allied subjects in the light of Marxist Philosophy. He is at his best when he writes about 'The New Civilisation—The Soviet World.' He has drawn from many sources, both European and Indian not excepting Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, to prove his thesis.

A serious book of this nature has enriched the Bengali literature and the readers will enjoy and appreciate the author's points of view and the strength of his arguments even without agreeing with his conclusions.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

BHARTIYA DARSHANSHASTRA KA ITIHAS : By Deoraj. Published by the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad. Pp. 437. Price Re. 1-8.

As has been rightly remarked in the Foreword, the book,—the first of its kind in Hindi,—under review, is "a systematic course of studies in some of the more important branches of Indian philosophical thought." It surveys the philosophical field from the time of the Rigveda to that of Ramanuja, historically, critically and expositively. As it is intended to serve "as an introductory handbook for the use of the general reader," it is written in a style which has more of light than of heat. Therefore, it is admirably suited as a text-book not only for the students who take up philosophy as one of the subjects for their university examination, but also for all others who would wish (as they should) to acquaint themselves with the heights and depths of thought touched, in the past, by some of their greatest seers and thinkers. A study of the book will prove an incentive to independent thinking on those fundamental

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

VEDANTA PARIBHASHA : Translated and annotated by Swami Madhavananda. Advaita Ashrama, 4, Wellington Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3 only.

This translation of Vedanta Paribhasha is quite in keeping with Swamiji's high reputation as a translator of difficult works on Vedanta and Nyaya philosophy. The text of the book has been carefully edited; the translation is faithful as usual, and the notes are elucidative. Learners of Vedanta philosophy are sure to find this edition very helpful.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

SANSKRIT

THE MAHABHARATA—ARANYAKAPARVAN I : Critically edited by Dr. Vishnu S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. 1941.

The Vanaparvan is a gigantic forest of ancient Indian myths and legends and we cannot possibly think of a better and a surer guide, through that epic forest, than the veteran General Editor of the Mahabharata published by the Bhandarkar Institute. Dr. Sukthankar points out in this first half of the Aranyakaparvan, that here, for the first time, a northern version is considerably longer than the southern;—while the Calcutta Edition has 12848 slokas, the Southern Recensions have only 11,056 slokas and 82 prose sections, as edited by Prof. P. P. S. Shastri. In fact, 14 entire Adhyayas, that are totally lacking in the Southern edition, have been added to the Northern Vulgate Recension. Average readers of the Mahabharata would probably now start quarrelling with the learned Editor for having rejected the now well-known and piquant episode of "Arjuna and Urvashi," the latter cursing the Pandava hero for having rejected her. But the editor with laudable scientific detachment points out that "the highly erotic description of the voluptuous Urvashi . . . is totally incompatible with the epic setting, which lacks all feminine interest and eschews all erotic topics as such." Moreover, the spurious episode is significantly missing in the early and very reliable Kashmiri version, preserved in the unique birch-bark Sarada Codex of the Mahabharata belonging to the Bhandarkar Institute.

Two other well-known legends relating to Vishnu—his killing of Naraka and uplifting the submerged earth as Varaha Avatara—have also been proved to be intrusions of later Puranic texts into the earlier epic strata relatively free from cult and sect obsessions. That the votaries of Vaishnava cult came much later to modify the Mahabharata text in favour of their patron deity Vishnu, is proved, among other things, by the omission of such Vishnuite episodes both in the Kashmiri version as well as in the Southern Recension. The stories of Nala and of Risyasringa emerge in their original form, thanks to the Editor's scientific reconstruction of the critical text.

The paper and typography of the present fascicle (No. 11) printed in these most trying days of world war, reflect great credit on the publishers. Running to over 500 pages this fascicle presents 1-154 Adhyayas of the Aranyakaparvan which would soon be completed with the publication of fascicle (No. 12) which we look forward to welcome. The heaviest part of the work of Dr. Sukthankar would then be over and he would deserve the warmest gratitude of all Indologists and lovers of Sanskrit literature.

KALIDAS NAG

values which are eternal and, as such, above the flux and flow of time-serving fashions and fancies of the intellect. Sri Deoraj's work is praiseworthy in every way.

SANT-SAHITYA : By Bhuvneshwar Nath Mishra, "Madhav," M.A. Granthamala-Karyalaya, Bankipore. Pp. 264. Price Rs. 2.

Literature attempts to unveil the face of truth, the golden disc of which, as the scriptures say, is covered. This being so, the songs of the mystics are literature, despite their occasional lapses from the strict rules of philology, prosody or grammar. *Sant-Sahitya* is a charming study of the central standpoint in their spiritual life of thirty mystics from Kabir to Swami Ram Tirath, expounded with sympathetic understanding and often presented in the very words of the mystics themselves. The author is so much *en rapport* with his subject that at times his sentiment touches the heights of ecstatic illumination, while his style acquires the colourfulness and cadence of poetry. At the present hour when there is an urgent need for a non-sectarian approach to Religion, *Sant-Sahitya* will serve as a forceful lever for raising the dormant enthusiasm of the young in our schools for spirituality. The get-up and printing are both of a high order.

SEVA-DHARMA AUR SEVA-MARG : By Sri Krishna Datt Paliwal, M.A., M.L.A. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 300. Price Re. 1.

Social service is a science as well as an art, just as religion is both precept and practice. Nowadays the ideal of service of one's fellow-human as well as non-human beings is becoming increasingly more and more attractive, but often, owing to lack of understanding of the fundamental principles and rules, the service rendered though well meant, is not efficient nor integral. *Seva-dharma aur Seva-marg* has removed this lack in a very practical way, the author having not only studied widely on the subject but also having had experience of several years, in the sphere of social service. The book is divided into twelve chapters and deals with the service of the sick, of the illiterate, of the city, of animals, of pilgrims, of students and other allied subjects. It is sure to be found very useful both as "a home servant" as well as "a public servant."

G. M.

TELUGU

YUVAKATHAVALI : By several writers. Published by Yuvakaryalayam, Tenali. Pp. 96. Price annas four only.

This book contains seven modern short stories. The stories are well-written and the themes show a marked deviation from the conventional type. Psychological factors in day-to-day events and the realistic outlook of life figure prominently throughout. The characteristic feature of the stories is that they are suggestive.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

SWARGONUN DOHAN : Edited by the Baroda Rajya Pustakalaya Mandal, Baroda. Printed at the Lohana Mitra Press, Baroda. 1942. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 504. Price Re. 1-8.

The late Mr. Amzatlal Padhiar had written a very large number of books, on various subjects in which the word *Swarga* (Paradise) always figured, such as "Life in Paradise," "Key to Paradise," etc. These

books were in great demand when published, but are now out of print. In memory of the founder of the Pustakalaya Mandal of Baroda, the late Motibhai Arun, one of its members, Mr. Najuklal Chokli undertook to prepare a selection from Padhiar's works, and the compilation under notice is the result. He has divided the subject into 14 sections; like Dharm, Bhakti, Philanthropy, Happiness, Temples, etc. It is a very representative collection and serves to preserve Padhiar's and Arun's memory green.

KATAKSHA KAVYO : By Devkrishna P. Joshi. Printed at the Kumar Printing, Ahmedabad. 1942. Illustrated. Paper cover. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 2.

The poet has wielded the lash of sarcasm on society as it exists today in a very effective manner in the one hundred and one poems embodied in this rather costly book. He used to compose them while in service at Abedan in Iran. His father, who wrote in the now defunct *Hindi Punch* in a humorous vein for twenty-five years, has endowed him with the poetic faculty. Humour like the writer's is certainly required to relieve the otherwise serious background of Gujarati literature.

SWATI : By Kulak (Maganlal Lalbhai Desai) of Vile Parle, Bombay. Printed at the State Peoples' Press, Bombay. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 124. Price Re. 1-8.

This is a second collection of poems, written by a rising young poet and the work fulfils the promise of a good outturn given in the first collection "Sandhya Gita." The verses betray both feeling and observation. Poems like those addressed to the Tapti river, the Juhu foreshore, and the hill of Parnara are good specimens of the work of the writer.

MANJUSHA : By Mohini Chandra. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. 1942. Thick Card Board. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 2.

One hundred and thirty-nine poems, short and long, in Sanskritised style, on about eight subjects, such as Sammarjan, Nisarg, Powresh, and such "high" subjects, published in various magazines, are collected in this highly priced compilation. The writer gives as reason for writing these poems, the fact that he failed to pass his Matriculation Examination in 1920 A.D. and disappointed as he was, he was driven to embark on the ship of versification and the result of the ride on that ship for twenty-one years is this book. The poems are explained in the notes and they betray the powers of observation and thinking and lucid expression of the author.

HINDNA DADA DADABHAI NAOROJI : By R. M. Damania, B.A. Printed at the Anand Printing Works, Bombay. 1942. Cloth Cover with Photos. Pp. 492. Price Rs. 5.

Mr. R. P. Masani's Life of Dadabhai Naoroji is the last word on the subject. The assiduity, labor and research, bestowed by him, both in India and England, at considerable expenditure of time and money, furnishes a guide to others who desire to undertake the work of writing a biography. Such valuable services should not be lost to those who know Gujarati only. With this view Mr. Damania has translated Mr. Masani's book into Gujarati. As the style followed by him is simple, and not loaded with Sanskrit words, it is sure to become popular.

K. M. J.

DANGEROUS COMPLACENCY A Plea for A Real Democratic Front

By PROF. C. L. GHEEWALA, M.A.,
S. L. D. Arts College, Ahmedabad

"Our Allies must realise that after France was struck out of the war, the absence of a second front against fascist Germany might mean disaster for all freedom-loving countries including the Allies themselves."—STALIN—on the 25th Anniversary of the Soviet Revolution.

It is acknowledged by all those who have been closely and critically watching the fortunes of the second World War that Russia's millions fired by undaunted faith in their fatherland have been offering a heroic resistance, unique and unprecedented in the annals of the history of human freedom. During this titanic struggle, of human freedom. During this titanic struggle, the Russian army has been battered on the South Russian plains and from the point of view of the resources Russia has incurred a heavy blow by the loss of Rostov, rendering Caucasus oil inaccessible, involving loss of its arms and tractor plants. Besides, together with the Southern transportation system, Russia has also lost the manganese, iron, mercury and foodstuffs of the south-west. Yet the Russian spirit is unbroken. But, it is clear that with these terrific losses, the Russian people have entered the grimmest moment in their history.

It is against this background that Stalin and Willkie have made their stirring appeals for opening out a Second Front to the Allied Powers. Public opinion has become more alarmed at the dangerous drift in the policies pursued by the government of the Allied Powers. 62% of Britain's polled subjects have declared themselves in favour of a real Second Front in Europe. Great mass rallies are held all over Britain, urging immediate opening of the Second Front. Jack Tanner, the president of the 6,00,000 Amalgamated Engineering Union truly voices the tone of the growing clamour.

"It is difficult to be patient. Whatever the struggle, whatever the political considerations holding back the attack in Europe, that holding back is against both the will and the interests of the British people and of our comrades in the occupied countries, as surely as it is against those of the fighters and workers of the Soviet Union."

In Russia, the *Moscow News* giving up its earlier reticence has started harping on the same note. Such opportunities of mauling and bleeding the beast of Berlin do not recur and "war abhors lost opportunities." As another correspondent has pointed out, if such an opportunity

is lost, it "would cause a reaction fatal to Anglo-Soviet relations." The ostrich-like attitude of the British Government will not help in the matter; nor would the 'at first over-optimistically promised' and now 'scandalously over-estimated' trickle of U. S. War Supplies mean any effective help to Russia. As reported, every Briton and American in Russia is confronted with the embarrassing question, "when will there be a Second Front?"

As the able Correspondent on "Strategy" in *Time* points out, the Russians despite their heroic resistance are losing their hold over their European soil and are forced to retire even closer to Asia.

"Beneath Nazi bludgeoning the Red Army was reeling back, back towards Stalingrad, back towards the Caspian, back towards Asia."

It would be impossible to justify the Allied strategy before the bar of history, if by any chance Russia fell on account of the strain of a forlorn struggle. Such a possibility makes the future look very sombre.

It is further pointed out that such a catastrophe would involve a great blow to the Allied Powers in terms of Man-power, Air-power, Oil and Industry. In respect of Man-power, the Allied Powers would not only lose the vast trained forces of Russia, but would release about 1,000,000 more workers for the German factories. In spite of the present favourable position of the Allied Powers with regard to the plane production, the possession of Russian Air-craft factories by Germany would dangerously bring her to a level of parity with the United Nations.

As for the Oil, it would mean tremendous rise in the total oil supply to 222 million barrels. And with regard to Industry, the position is likely to be as under :

	Allied position with Russia	Without Russia
World's Manganese (for Steel)	.. 86%	45%
Iron	.. 63%	48%
Bauxite (for Aluminium)	.. 37%	31%

Whatever the potentialities for the future, the immediate results would be simply ominous when we add to this the loss of raw materials, the factories and the captive workers.

II

Equally insistent is the demand of the Chinese people for an all-out aid from the Allied Powers. The heroic people of China have been pounded from air, land, and sea; their cities and villages have been bombarded bringing death and destruction. The Chinese men, women and children have valiantly resisted the brutal aggression of the Japanese forces for five long years. It was only when Japan struck at Britain and the United States that 'China was acclaimed as a Comrade-in-arms by the Allies.'

It is true that the United States has promised an ever-increasing supply of aeroplanes and munitions under the Lease & Lend arrangements. It is further true that a loan of £50,000,000 has already been given to China. But it is necessary to remember the grave menace that threatens China as a consequence of the loss of the Burma Road and many other important strategic positions. Under the circumstances, the completion of the new road from West China through Assam to India has become an imperative necessity for the speedy supply of help from India by land route.

It appears that "the war in Asia is not viewed in its proper perspective." The great sufferings and sacrifices through which China has offered a gallant resistance to the brutal hordes of Japanese army has evoked great admiration and sympathy for the Chinese people all over the democratic front. But, the Allied Powers seem yet to view the critical and grave situation, excepting for the warning of a man like Wendell Willkie, with a dangerous complacency. It is probably not realised as Mr. S. Pramanik has rightly warned in the July issue of *The Modern Review*, that

"if Japan succeeds in hurling back the Chinese in narrower and narrower interiors to fall back on their decreasing resources and reducing their fighting power to safe proportions, it will be far more difficult for the United Nations to check the devastating march of the Japanese Army over Asia with tremendous resources and man-power at their command than it is today. Roosevelt and Churchill face that possibility for their failure to take timely action in the most-needed theatres of war today."

There is yet another danger lurking in the Chinese situation which can be obviated only by an effective supply of munitions and aeroplanes to China. The danger lies in the existence of a large number of appeasers in China, who promote reactionary elements at home and abet peace moves with Japan abroad. Opposition to any appeasement group can only be streng-

thened, first by supporting democratic forces by actual deeds and secondly by declaring that China's freedom is an essential part of the Allied Foreign Policy. It is gratifying to note that though belated, Britain and the United States have moved in the right direction by abolishing unequal treaties, the extra-territorial rights. The equality of status with other nations thus secured is bound to enthuse the Chinese people in their grim struggle for independence and democracy.

III

Again, the manner in which the Indian situation is handled by Churchill and Amery from Britain provides an unmistakable proof of want of statesmanship and imagination in appreciating the grave situation in the East and the consequent weakening of the democratic front. Amery endlessly goes on recounting the catalogue of benefits derived by India from the imperialistic rule of Britain in the same old jingo manner of 'the white man's burden.' It is a great tragedy that such a man who lacks both vision and statesmanship should preside over the destiny of India at a time when a man with freshness of outlook and capacity for initiative is called for. And to complete this tragedy Britain has at the helm of her affairs a confirmed diehard in Mr. Churchill, who in the supreme conceit of his racial arrogance holds that

'Except the Anglo-Saxons no race has the capacity to work democratic institutions. . . . I am not prepared to admit that an Oriental people (Indians) thousands of miles from Europe can work democratic institutions. That is the root of my opposition.' (Churchill's reply to Jayakar at R. T. C.).

Can the Indians then seriously subscribe to the view that this is a People's War as our communist comrades would have us believe? Are we not entitled to ask the question, for whose Freedom, for whose Equality? Are Indians to remain as mere serfs and helots, 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' in this great democratic upsurge? Have the Britons who talk glibly of fighting for democracy of the vanquished nations any conscience about them in suppressing a popular movement for the self-same ideals in India? Here lies the great rift in the democratic front. The Allied Powers have failed to dissolve the inner contradictions in their own front and thereby release the vast democratic forces against the ruthless Fascist aggression. It may not be out of place to quote here the grave warning and appeal issued by Pearl S. Buck in this connection.

"To fight with England for Europe's freedom while India is governed by tyranny is a monstrous contradiction, and yet no more monstrous than that while the United States prepares for a mighty defence of her democracy, twelve million Americans should be denied equality in a nation founded upon equal opportunity for all, and not more monstrous than that in China, a country fighting the aggressor, millions of peasants have little redress from oppressions of their own people who are profiteers, landlords, militarists and corrupt officials. . . . Democracy cannot win so long as these contradictions remain unchanged. We will lose from within." (Warning to Free Nations—Asia).

The warning may pass unheeded by the imperialists who still view the world with the old blinkers on. The crucial question is whether the democratic forces in England, as R. G. Woolbert points out, 'will be able in time to bring their government to see the wisdom, the stark necessity of setting India free.' Such an act is bound to electrify the democratic world, and release the vast resources of India in men and materials which may prove a decisive factor in keeping the balance in favour of the democracies of the world. It is necessary to realise that the Indian problem constitutes the true test of the bonafides of the Allied Powers. To quote Fritz Sternberg:

"If Britain desires to prove in very deed to the nations of Europe subjugated by the Nazis, to the millions right in Germany and Italy held in peonage by the Nazis and Fascists, that its aim is truly free, truly democratic, New Order in Europe and the World, then the decisive step is the liberation of India. . . ."

There have been many deliberate attempts at gross misrepresentations of facts about Indian situation and a grotesque maligning of the aims of the Congress and Gandhiji in launching the present struggle demanding the immediate withdrawal of the British Rule from India. Gandhiji has been represented by the Imperialists as a Fifth columnist inviting the Japanese in India! There can be no greater limit to which inspired propaganda can go. It has been abundantly made clear by the Congress in its famous resolution, that they are most

"anxious to avoid the tragic experiences of Malaya, Singapore, Burma and build up a resistance to aggression on or invasion of India by the Japanese or any foreign power."

It has been stated in clear and unmistakable terms that

"in making the proposal for the withdrawal of the British Rule from India, the Congress has no desire whatsoever to embarrass Great Britain or the Allied Powers in their prosecution of the War or in anyway to encourage aggression on India or increase pressure on China by the Japanese or any other Power associated with the Axis Group. Nor does the Congress intend to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the Allied Powers."

If further testimony is needed, here is the willingness of India to fully co-operate with the Allied forces.

"The Congress is, therefore, agreeable to the stationing of the Armed forces of the Allies in India, should they so desire in order to ward off and resist Japanese or other aggression and to protect and help China."

It is gratifying to note that immense mischief wrought by the British propaganda in the earlier stages in the United States is being undone by a fearless and bold presentation of the Indian situation by the eminent American journalist Louis Fischer who had the privilege of knowing the situation at first hand. In the *Nation* of 5th September 1942, Louis Fischer rightly draws attention to the danger involved in the complacency about the Indian question. He observes:

"The danger is that the Indian issue will be exploited by professional Anglo-phobes, Appeasers in pro-war clothes and American friends of the Axis. This must be prevented. . . . India is in fact our business and the Administration is worried about India. . . . We hold our hand out of consideration for British imperial sensibility. This is an unhealthy state of affairs which should cause concern to London. The British think of India in terms of maintenance and authority. They contend, of course, that to maintain authority in India by crushing the current Civil Disobedience movement is to consolidate the defence of India. I think the reverse is the case."

When the whole civilized world is threatened with the possible extinction of its very cherished values, when the major part of Europe is being brutally crushed under the Nazi heel, when the heroic people of Russia are resisting the Nazi forces to every man and the valiant Chinese are locked in a death-struggle with Japan, will it be statesmanship to hug 'considerations for Imperial susceptibilities'? It is no use viewing this war in the old fashion. It presents entirely a new complex and we should realise,

'that this Second World War is not merely a war between two groups of powers but that in the words of President Roosevelt, we are living in a world revolution in which the Second World War represents one of the decisive phases.'

It is clear to-day that Britain cannot successfully prosecute the War without American aid. A successful defeat of the totalitarian and Fascist forces would imply continuously growing collaboration of both and ever-increasing help to Britain by the U. S. Under the circumstances, if America is truly inspired by the democratic cause all over the world and if she wants to be truly loyal to her own Declaration of Independence, she can certainly demand of Britain,

"to make a living reality within its Empire of its claim to waging war against the Nazi slavery and for liberty and democracy." (Fritz Sternberg).

To conclude, a Second Front in Europe, despite the present success on the Egyptian Front, to relieve the terrific pressure on Russia, and substantial help in concrete terms of aeroplanes and munitions, and a genuine effort to check the Appeasers by positive encouragement of democratic forces in China, and the liberation of India constitute the essential conditions for the success of the great democratic front against the Fascist and the Japanese forces.

"India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and in affecting the fortunes of the war that is desolating humanity. This is only possible if India feels the glow of freedom."

Let not bankruptcy of statesmanship and want of imagination irreparably harm the great cause. Let not the future historian write the epitaph; here lie the shreds of the mighty Empire, unwept, unmourned and unsung for. We may close with the impassioned appeal of Pearl S. Buck :

"Millions and millions of people at this hour of approaching crisis wait for leadership toward freedom. That leadership will not come in clear and infallible and necessary strength until it comes first out of moral truth. Millions ready to follow wait for a sign. What better sign could there be than that the enslaved within the democracy itself shall be freed? Nothing and none could prevent the victory then. But lacking that sign, who can foretell the future?"

November 11, 1942

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

NO INDIAN ACADEMY NOW !

At the risk of adding fuel to flames already too assiduously fanned, I must voice a most emphatic dissent from the present propaganda for an All-India Academy of Arts and Letters as a present objective and on the lines visualised by its promoters.

The latest example of such propaganda brought to my attention, and a fairly typical one, is an article entitled "The Need for an All-India Academy of Arts and Letters" by Prof. Binaybhushan Rakshit, which appeared in *The Modern Review* for December. That article offers suggestions which, if carried out, would certainly stultify the proposed institution and, more, make it a positive stumbling-block to the future establishment of an Academy which would be worthy of a free India and would carry the dignity and the prestige without which such a body is a farce and worse than meaningless.

Prof. Binaybhushan Rakshit may genuinely believe that "there is no means at present, of establishing any contact between, for instance, the Urdu writers of the Punjab and the Tamil and Telugu poets of the South." But I know that the existence of the P. E. N. All-India Centre is as well-known to Mr. D. Visvesvara Rau, to whom Professor Rakshit repeatedly refers, as the former's persistence and his methods in connection with his Academy project are well-known to us. The establishing of such contacts is one of the objectives of the P. E. N. in India. Others are the very points urged by Professor Rakshit for the proposed Academy, the making known of the literary output of different areas of the country in the other language areas and the winning of recognition for our leading writers in the larger world of letters.

We have been working for those objects for nine years, through our monthly journal, *The Indian P. E. N.*, through public lectures and through the series of P. E. N. Books on the Indian Literatures, of which *Assamese Literature and Bengali Literature* have already appeared. The late Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was succeeded as our President in 1941 by Srimati Sarojini Naidu, and our Vice-Presidents, Sri Ramananda Chatterjee, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, are widely representative of the best in modern Indian literature. And our efforts have not been in vain.

Nearly two hundred of the country's leading writers have joined our ranks, forming a real nucleus of a universal brotherhood of letters.

Professor Rakshit referred to an editorial in *The Indian P. E. N.* for March, 1936, which advocated literary awards for India. The desirability of an Indian Academy of Arts was mentioned there and we even suggested "the initiation of the necessary effort by a few of India's distinguished men." We still hold an Indian Academy of Arts and Letters on right lines as an ideal to be worked towards. Subsequent developments have convinced us, however, as later statements in *The Indian P. E. N.* make plain, that the day for launching the Indian Academy will not come until India has taken her place among free nations. And time has confirmed our judgment that distinguished and responsible backing is of the first importance for an Indian Academy worthy of the name. Its cause is ill served by propagandists who rest their own claims to distinction on their zeal for a cause which injudicious haste may irreparably injure.

And, finally, I dissent emphatically from the proposal that an All-India Academy of Arts and Letters squander its unifying force, dissipate its strength and cheapen its prestige through provincial and sectional organisations which, it is suggested, shall "give impetus and encouragement to the many struggling and unrecognised poets and artists of the different linguistic areas." By all means let them be given whatever help and encouragement can be extended, but do not let us undermine in advance the foundations of so august a body as an All-India Academy should be by proposing to hang upon it the functions of a super-literary agency or a mutual benefit society. Provincial and sectional bias must be kept out of the Academy at all costs—and it is proposed to bring them in by the front door.

If the Indian Academy is to deserve mention in the same breath with the Academies of France and Britain, it must be kept from the outset on such a plane that membership in it will be the highest cultural distinction to which scholars or creative artists may look, and merit and deserved fame the only criteria for membership.

SOPHIA WADIA

THOUGHTS ON PAKISTHAN

By "JAY—"

"PAKISTHAN" has been on the political air of India for some years. Various schemes of Pakisthans have been framed by the Muhammadans. Mr. Jinnah and men of his type of thinking have been asking the Indian National Congress and Hindu India that as the Hindus and the Muhammadans of India are two distinct nations why the right of self-determination should not be conceded to the Muhammadans? The Aligarh scheme of Pakisthan speaks thus :

"That the future of the Muslims of India lies in complete freedom from the domination of the Hindus, the British, or for the matter of that, any other people; That the Muslim majority provinces cannot be permitted to be enslaved into a single All-India Federation, with an overwhelming Hindu Majority at the Centre."

And the scheme is to divide India into several wholly independent and sovereign states.

If the right of self-determination is to be conceded to the Muhammadans, the same right must be conceded in favour of the Hindus also. In all India the Muhammadans are in a minority of 22 per cent. or taking British India alone they are in a minority of 25 per cent. So India or British India as a unit for self-determination does not suit them. Their claim is that the British Provinces should be the units. The religious composition of the several provinces are as follows :

Figures according to the 1931 Census as the details of 1941 Census have not been published. Figures in 000's

Province	Population	Muhammadans	Their %
1. Bengal	501.14	274.98	54.87
2. Punjab	235.81	133.32	56.55
3. Sind	38.87	28.31	72.83
4. N.-W. F. P.	24.25	22.27	91.84
Total	800.07	458.88	57.35
5. Baluchistan	4.64	4.05	87.44
Grand Total	804.71	462.93	57.51

In the four provinces, where the 1935 Reforms are working, the Muhammadans will control the destinies of 345.19 lakhs of non-Muhammadans, mostly Hindus, or in the five 'Muslim majority' Provinces they will be in a position to dominate over 341.78 lakhs of Hindus.

As against the 342 lakhs of Hindus or non-

Muhammadans who will remain as hostages—for has not the late Dr. Ansari, the chief helper of Mahatma Gandhi, and the most nationalist of all Muhammadans and an ex-President of the Indian National Congress said so in his Faridpore Speech, the Hindus or the non-Muhammadans will control the destinies 197.75 lakh Muhammadans in the remaining 7 Provinces where the Reforms are working, or including the minor administrations 201.42 lakhs of Muhammadans as will be clear from the following table :

Province	Population	Muhammadans	Their %
1. * Madras	467.40	33.06	7.07
2. Bombay (Proper)	179.92	15.83	8.79
3. U. P.	484.09	71.82	14.84
4. Bihar	323.71	41.41	12.79
5. * Orissa	53.06	1.24	2.33
6. * C. P.	155.08	6.83	4.40
7. Assam	86.22	27.56	31.96
Total	1749.48	197.75	11.30
Minor Administration	13.66	3.67	26.86
Grand Total	1763.14	201.42	11.42

It is well-known that the present British Indian Provinces are the results of historical accidents and administrative conveniences of an irresponsible, alien bureaucracy. The Simon Commission recognised the fact.

"There is a considerable body of opinion in India which calls for some re-adjustment of boundaries and re-distribution of areas, and we entirely share the views of those who think that the present arrangement is not altogether satisfactory. The existing provincial boundaries in more than one case embrace areas and peoples of no natural affinity, and sometimes separate those who might under a different scheme be more naturally united." (See Simon Commission Report, Vol. II, p. 24).

One result of accepting the present British Indian Provinces as units for self-determination will be, as has been pointed out above, that 342 lakh Hindus will be placed under Muham-

*The figures for Madras, Orissa and C. P. will be slightly inaccurate, as certain areas now in Madras and C. P. have been joined to the Orissa Division to constitute the new Province of Orissa, the estimated populations of Madras, Orissa and C. P. after the re-grouping will be according to the 1931 Census 442.05 lakhs; 80.26 lakhs and 153.23 lakhs.

madan domination as against 201 lakh Muhammadans placed under Hindu domination. If the future of the Muhammadans of India lie in complete freedom from the domination of the Hindus, the future of the Hindus equally demands freedom from the domination of the Muhammadans.

The ideal solution would be to place the minimum number of the Muhammadans under Hindu domination, and a minimum number of Hindus under Muhammadan domination. And if that is not possible to place an equal number of Hindus and Muhammadans in others' domination. For this other units than Provinces have to be selected.

If we take the administrative Commissioner's Divisions as the units, the result will be that in Bengal instead of the entire Hindu or non-Muhammadan population numbering 226.16 lakhs being placed under Muhammadan domination only 95.43 lakhs will be placed under Muhammadan domination, while 59.94 lakh Muhammadans will be placed under Hindu domination as the following table shows :

Figures according to the 1931 Census in 000's

Division	Muhammadans	Hindus or Non-Muslims	% of Muslims
Burdwan	12.23	74.24	
Presidency	47.71	53.37	
Total	59.94	127.61	31.9%

	Muhammadan	Non-Muhammadan	
Rajshahi	68.49	38.19	
Dacca	98.33	40.31	
Chittagong	51.33	16.93	
Total	218.15	95.43	30.4%

Carrying the analysis a little further, and taking the districts as the units, i.e. grouping all the Hindu-majority districts and all the Muhammadan majority districts together without having any regard for the principle of geographical continuity, we get :

Area	Muhammadans	Non-Muhammadans	% of Muslims
Hindu majority districts	35.04 lakhs	121.95 lakhs	22.4
Muslim-majority districts	243.05	101.09	70.5

If we take the districts in Bengal as the units, 35.04 lakh Muhammadans will remain as hostages as against 101.09 Hindus or non-Muhammadans. Similarly, in the Punjab instead of the entire body of the Hindus and the Sikhs numbering 102.49 lakhs being placed under Muhammadan domination, if we divide the Punjab into Eastern Punjab, consisting of the Amballa and Jullundur Divisions; and Western Punjab consisting of the Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions 42.35 lakh Hindus and Sikhs will be placed under Muhammadan domination as against 26.69 lakh Muhammadans being placed under Hindu and Sikh domination in the Eastern Punjab.

As in Bengal if we take the districts as units and exclude the Sikh districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur from the Muhammadan Punjab 31.65 lakh Hindus and Sikhs will be placed under Muhammadan domination as against 36.37 lakh Muhammadans placed under Hindu and Sikh domination in the Eastern Punjab.

In Baluchistan, Sind and N.-W. F. Province the Muhammadans are in overwhelming majority in every district. So all of them go to Pakistan.

Dividing British India Division-war in the fashion suggested above the number of Hindu hostages in Pakistan will be reduced from 341.78 lakhs to 145.03 lakhs; and the number of Muhammadans placed in Hindu India will rise from 201.42 lakhs to 288.05 lakhs. In the Province-war division of British India a further 140.36 lakhs will be placed under hostile or unfriendly domination; in the Division-war division 134.02 lakhs will be similarly placed under hostile domination. In a sense the latter is the better plan of division, though the point should not be pressed too far.

GEOPOLITICS IN INDIA

By V. JAGANNADHAM, M.A., B.L., Research Scholar, University of Madras

THE Hon'ble Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, in his Aligarh University address, proposed division of India into five zones. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of Punjab, also has such a proposal for the solution of Indian political deadlock. The Muslim League demands constitution of separate autonomous states on the north-western and north-eastern frontiers of India. The South Indian Liberal Federation demands the formation of a Dravidasthan in South India as a separate state from North India. There can be no two opinions about the fact that these suggestions involving geographical vivisection of India will have grievous repercussions on her political status. The aim of this essay is to study the role of geopolitics which consists in a better appreciation of the adverse effects that the changes in the geographical frontiers would bring about on the political status of a nation.

The seeds of the separatist movement are sown deep in the foundations of Indian political reforms. Separate electorates is the precursor of this movement. The plant was assured of its growth when the Secretary of State Mr. Morley declared his determination to introduce separate electorates for Muslims in recognition of the services rendered by that "great community" and in view of its importance in the national life. The political history of India since then has been marked by a tendency to recognize the evils inherent in a system of separate electorates but still to recommend its continuation and extend its application into other fields as well. This tendency may be noted in the Montford reforms and the Simon Commission Report.

In every statement from the White Hall it is a practice to lay emphasis on the separate national characteristics of Muslims and it is a fashion to allege to the irreconcilable antagonism between the two major communities, namely, Hindus and Muslims in India. This incessant dinning of separatism and patronage of particularism has had the grievous effect of promoting parochial nationalism. The feeling has been nurtured that the minority communities in India are not the normal racial or communal groups but a congeries of separate national entities with

a right to form sovereign states on the basis of self-determination. The demand for Pakistan and Dravidasthan or the division of India into five zones is a manifest expression of this feeling.

That the Indian State should be divided into several sovereign states is the substance of the policy adopted by the Muslim League in the following resolution passed at its Lahore session in 1940 :

"Geographically contiguous units are to be demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are in a majority as in the north-western and the north-eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'independent states' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

By another resolution in the same session, the Working Committee was authorized to frame

"A scheme of constitution providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all the powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

While the Muslim League demands division of India on communal lines, the South Indian Liberal Federation (popularly known as the Justice party) demands division of the same on racial grounds. The alleged differences in race between the Aryans of North India and the Dravidians of South India are adduced in support of their claim for such a division. In addition there is the problem of the seven hundred and odd Indian States whose princes are reluctant to forego their sovereign rights in order to become members of a federated Union.

The Hon. Sir Feroze Khan Noon, proposed the division of India into the following five zones :—(1) Assam and Bengal, (2) Central Provinces, United Provinces and Bihar, (3) Madras (Dravidian), (4) Bombay (Maharashtra), (5) Punjab, Baluchistan, Sind, North-West Frontier Province. He, however, felt the need for a central agency for certain interests such as defence, customs, foreign relations, currency, etc. But he favours the right of secession to any member state with a right to rejoin when the point of difference was removed. This contemplated union of states into a confederation is a revised edition of the Muslim League demand.



Sir Feroze's proposal is pregnant with mischievous tendencies in so far as it allows a recalcitrant member state of some strategic importance to force her will on the other members with the threat of secession. The experience gained in the brief span of the League of Nations' existence points to the dangers that flow from the absence of an effective central executive in any union of states. From the ancient Greek city states to the modern League of Nations, confederations proved a failure. To create a confederation of small states in India is to blind ourselves to the experience of history and enthrone anarchy.

The separatist movement in India has passed the preliminary stage of emotional ebullitionism to the serious stage of being regarded as a basic postulate for considering the future constitution of India. The division of India on some basis or other is regarded as a necessary evil. The movement received the official stamp when the Cripps proposals recognised that any province in India could refuse to accede to the proposed Indian Union and become a dominion of its own with the same full status as the Indian Union. The Cripps offer provided that the princely states also need not adhere to the Union. Though the movement for Dravidasthan has not received the same support as that of Pakisthan, it is sure to gain momentum with the increasing official favour for the separatist movements. One is led to feel that the authors of the draft scheme sent by the British Cabinet through Sir Stafford Cripps either completely ignored the geographical considerations or purposely introduced the secession clause as a counter-weight to nationalism. If one draws a mental picture of India divided on those lines as demanded by the various parties not only there will not be a single nation but even as a geographical unit it will be far worse than any smallest state in the world. It is a vision of this horrid picture that should impel every well-wisher of India to press geopolitical considerations to the forefront so that the rising tide of separatism may be stemmed *ab initio*.

Geographically India is a single national Union and the British claim to give it political unity through the development of communications and transport. The geographical configuration of India is her tower of strength and her political unity will be the chief prop of her national prestige in the future world order. Vast and diverse as the Peninsula is, it yet has geographical features which mark it out as a single

unit. In the book entitled *The Government of India* Ramsay MacDonald has written :

"India from the Bay of Bengal to Bombay is naturally the area of single Government. One has only to look at the map to see how geography has fore-ordained an Indian Empire. Its vastness does not obscure its oneness; its variety its unity. Political and religious traditions have also welded it into one Indian consciousness. Even those masses who are not aware of this offer up prayers which proclaim it and go on pilgrimages which assume it."

Mr. Mervin observes in *India and the West* that

"India, like England has won her way through centuries to a growing sense of unity based on substantial facts of geography, history and the actual conditions of life and thought."

It is this growing sense of unity built by centuries of common living, corporate sentiment and mutual sympathy that is imperilled by the proposed vivisection of India on the basis of the dubious expediency of the slippery doctrine of self-determination for minorities in a state.

The doctrine of self-determination was intended by its famous exponent, President Wilson, not to engender or encourage secession movement but to condemn aggression and assert the right of national groups to autonomy within the state to which they belonged. The doctrine is an effective instrument in the armoury of subject nationalities against imperialist aggressors. It is a distortion of that benevolent doctrine if a united nation is to be divided on the score of self-determination for linguistic, religious or racial minorities. The existence of these different groups does not vitiate the status of a state from being called a nation. There is ample evidence to show that differences in race, religion or language do not negative the existence of a truly national spirit. The importance of race as a determining factor is fast fading away with the increased volume of doubt as to the existence of a pure race. A nation may be composed of people belonging to different races. America is reputed to be a melting pot of races. So is England and for that matter, any country in the world. The Aryan invasion or Dravidian occupation of India is a matter of considerable doubt and the distinction between the two races is virtually obliterated by centuries of common life and intercourse.

Without religious toleration it would have been practically impossible for a nation state to develop, for every modern state is composed of members belonging to diverse religious faiths. The growth of mutual toleration is gradually taking the religious factor out of national and international politics. It is a travesty of facts

to speak that Hindus and Muslims draw swords at each other in the course of their daily vocations. The testimony of the latest non-official apologist for great Britain, Mr. Rusbrook Williams, admits of the basic unity between the two communities when he says :

"In normal circumstances, particularly in the villages and small towns (in which, it may be noted, bulk of the people live) Hindus and Muslims are neighbourly enough; and although their habits and ways of life present extreme contrasts, . . . they exercise a good deal of mutual tolerance."

It may be feared that with the growth of separatist movements intolerance may be encouraged to reign supreme and put the clock of social progress back to the times of a medieval anarchy and mutual warfare. If a modern state is to be divided on the basis of self-determination for religious minorities, it is doubtful whether an institution resembling the state can survive.

The doctrine of self-determination is double-edged and it must be applied with great caution. An uncritical application of the doctrine on an unlimited scale is the bane of politics in the post-war history. The scramble for a revision of frontiers and the series of defeats sustained by the small states on the continent of Europe is an epitome of the dangers inherent in such uncritical application. Says Mr. Buell :

"Literally interpreted the doctrine of self-determination would sanction the resistance of any minority to the will of the majority. Extended still further, it would authorize any individual to resist the law."

He pertinently asks :

"Where should the line be drawn between a real nation and mere particularism?"

In another place the same author says :

"In the twentieth century, self-determination has become a disintegrating force, which uncontrolled will lead to very serious consequences for the peace of the world and for the welfare of the nations themselves."

The demand for a separate Pakistan state is sometimes tried to be justified on the basis of the recognised principle of reconstituting the provinces on a linguistic basis. There is however a fundamental distinction between re-formation of linguistic provinces and the division of India into separate sovereign states. The readjustment of provincial governments on a linguistic basis will neither lead to a multiplicity of sovereign states nor challenge the idea of a United India, whereas the creation of North-Eastern, North-Western

and South Indian states with sovereign governments of their own implies a negation of this idea. The geography of the state remains undisturbed and the political states will be enhanced by the formation of linguistic provinces, while on the other hand the division of India into Muslim and Dravidian states sounds the death-knell of its geographical unity and political prestige.

A mono-nation state, which is implicit in a logical application of the principle of self-determination, is impossible of achievement without geopolitical surgery on an unprecedented scale. Heteroracial, multireligious and polyglot states have been a historic reality for ages and they continue to be so however skilfully it is attempted to avoid them. It may be pointed out that a multi-nation state adds to the richness and variety of national culture and this is abundantly true in the case of India.

The dangers of the separatist movement demanding more than one state in India are still more fatal to its military defence. The swan song of small separate sovereign states is being sung in the battle-fields of Europe and Asia today. If India is to be divided into such states no better luck awaits her. The traditional impossibility of occupying the vast areas of Russia and China by a foreign aggressor and the heroic resistance of their people to the naked brute force used by the German and Japanese war-mongers, point to the advantages of a vast united state in a world of ruthless aggression for world domination. From ages past the defencelessness of the North-West Frontier has been the weakest link in the chain of India's military strategy. If small sovereign states are to be created again after two centuries of strong fortifications by the British in the north-west and north-east zones, India will become the bone of contention among several nations and the field of unending battles for several centuries to come. With its natural frontiers of the Himalayas and the three oceans favouring a United India and with the support of a strong military defence of one sovereign Indian Nation in the north-west and the north-east land routes, the geopolitics of India destines her to become a strong world power. But in order to realise her destiny the growing tide of separatism must be stemmed at any cost and if we learn our geopolitics afresh we realise that to Balkanize India is to make her defence strategy precarious and to render her attainment of political equality with other nations a cry for the moon.

REAL NATURE OF THE MUHAMMADAN MAJORITY IN BENGAL IN 1941

By SHIB SHANKAR DATTA

THERE was a time when the decennial Census Reports of India used to be looked upon in the world of scholarship and science as monumental demographical surveys worth ten years' study. The last great such survey was in 1901. Since then politics and propaganda have been introduced in the Census Reports. In 1901 it was found that there are as many as 55 castes among the Muhammadans in Bengal. In 1905 Bengal was partitioned; and the province of E. B. and Assam created. At the time of the 1911 Census the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam prohibited all enquiries as to castes among the Muhammadans. The process continued in 1921; and in the Census Report of 1931 subtle propaganda in favour of the Muhammadans and against the Hindus was introduced. The game has continued in 1941.

It was shown in *The Modern Review* for February 1931 that although the Muhammadans are 53.55 per cent. of the total population, among the adults, i.e., those who are above 20 they are 48.5 per cent. The fact was admitted on the floors of the British House of Commons [see column 132, 21 Geo. V—cmd. 10179]. But the Bengal Census Report of 1931 says at p. 114:—

"Muslims at all ages form the majority of the population."

That this is an absurd claim was shown in the Bengali monthly *Prabasi* for Pous 1347 B.S. The proportion of minors among the Muham-

madans in 1931 was greater than that in 1921 by .42 per cent. The proportion of the Muhammadans in the population increased from 53.55 to 54.44 per cent., i.e., by 0.89 per cent. So the proportion of Muhammadan majors in 1931 could be $48.5 + 0.89 - 0.42 = 48.97$ per cent. at best.

In the present Census of 1941, the actual number of Muhammadans over 21 (counted at the request and expense of the Bengal Government) is 149,26,455; and of all the non-Muhammadans 138,70,727. By actual count the Muhammadans of voting age, i.e., over 21 have been found to be 52.9 per cent. The claim of the Hindus that the Muhammadan majority is a majority of minors is thus conclusively refuted!! Let us examine the facts a little more closely. According to the age-distribution given at p. 137, we find that 51.31 per cent. of the Muhammadans are of age 0—20. The corresponding percentage in 1931 was 51.92. Thus the percentage of the minors among the Muhammadans has decreased by 0.61 per cent. The percentage of the Muhammadans in the total population has decreased from 54.87 in 1931 to 54.73 in 1941. So the proportion of Muhammadan majors would be $48.97 + 0.61 - 0.14 = 49.44$ per cent. This is for all ages above 20. So even now in 1941 the Muhammadans are in a minority so far as adults are concerned. The authorities are convicted of propaganda out of their own mouth.

DIVALI

By CYRIL MODAK

INTO the ear of night November said,
"It is the festival of lamps! Awake
To glimmering consciousness the darkness dead.
And bring each burning flame-like bud to break
To fulgent flower, a thousand torches wave,
And greet omnific Beauty on her way
To grant the favours men despairing crave
And craving to some godhead meekly pray!"

Ten million twinkling sparks adorn the night,
Ten million eyes of fire look through the gloom,
Ten million tongues of flame raise hymns of
light,
Ten million lucent-petalled blossoms bloom

To welcome Laxmi, wealth-bestowing queen,
While hope-duped hearts await the tardy guest,
With open doors and shining walls and clean
And polished floors men wait, wait to be blest.

It is the festival of lamps, dear Heart!
And shall we go unblest? Take in your tray
Of love the lamps of my desire, and start
One by one to set them where you will today.
The Queen of Beauty and of Fortune must
Pause, pause to find her twin at my lone

gate!....
To vie with you the moon will bring, I trust,
Her stars the festival to celebrate!



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Re-Emerging Pattern

Three centuries ago this year saw, on January 8th, the death of one great scientist, Galileo Galilei, and the birth of another, Isaac Newton, on Christmas Day, 1642. *The Aryan Path* observes:

Galileo with his heliocentric theory, and Newton with his theory of gravitation, have exerted a profound influence on modern thought. All honour to both for their honesty, their open-mindedness, their courage and their industry! It is not to detract from any of these to recognise that the discoveries for which posterity honours both were not original but were restatements of truths once well-known. For, as Newton himself wrote, "Restatement is a service only less valuable than inspiration itself."

Galileo's theory of the elemental vortices had been taught by Anaxagoras two thousand years before.

The law of vortical movement in primordial matter was in fact learned by the Greeks from the Egyptians. They had it from the Chaldeans, who in turn had been the pupils of the Brahmins of India. Aryabhata, the earliest astronomer of India, calculated the revolution of the earth as scientifically as Archimedes and the modern astronomers. The Greek astronomer Aristarchus of Samos in the third century B.C. taught that the earth revolves around the sun and "moveth circularly about her own centre." Pythagoras had brought the teaching three centuries before from Middle Asia where it had been taught for many ages.

Galileo availed himself of the Pythagorean manuscripts, with whose doctrines Newton also was familiar. Galileo, moreover, was anticipated nearer his own day in some of his theories, not only by Copernicus but also by William Gilbert of Colchester.

Newton found most valuable clues in the writings of that medieval mystic and "nursling of the genii," Jacob Boehme.

Newton's profound mind, reading between Boehme's lines, was able to fathom his spiritual thought and to translate it for the scientific thinker.

Sir Isaac, one of the most religious men of his day, could fortunately not foresee the uses to which his teachings would long be put by the upholders of a mechanistic universe. Newton held to the Pythagorean corpuscular theory, and what is his "exceedingly rare ethereal medium" but the Ether of the ancients? The direction in which his great mind was working is evident from his leaving open the question whether the agent causing gravity is material or immaterial. This, with a liberal interpretation of his personal working God, opens the door to the ancient conception of guiding and operative intelligences behind the natural forces. His theory of gravitation itself, faulty because incomplete,

echoes however feebly the doctrine of magnetic attraction and repulsion.

The great Pattern of the manifested universe, and of the evolutionary scheme in the impersonal and universal Mind, was grasped by the first Scientists. It was handed down in trust to their successors and by them recorded.

The original Pattern, however, was never lost to the consciousness of the Self-realized Ones.

This continuity of knowledge and this interlinking of effort and of thought afford most powerful proof of human unity. So the harmonious Pattern, still only dimly sensed but gradually re-emerging ever farther into public ken, bears its own evidence, beyond gain-saying, that the world is one. Science has discovered many parts and correlations of that Pattern since Isaac Newton's day. But each is still only a rediscovery, a restoration of the lines perceived how many ages since!

The Machine and The Man

Gurdial Mallik writes in *The Indian P. E. N.*:

The modern age is the age of the machine. In its wheels it has crushed the sacred human personality; it has robbed his soul of its radiance and resonance. Nay, it has destroyed that variety in the world which is the very essence and expression of beauty.

The whirling of the machine is out of tune with the rhythm of the universe. It has tripped the Urvashi of the gods and caused a false step in her dance. It has come to our door like Durvasa to claim the hospitality of our heart,—instead of waiting in due time for a spontaneous welcome,—and, not receiving it, it has cursed us into exile from the Kingdom of Happiness.

The machine is a dictator, a demon—ever-hungry and aggressive, with a maw which is bottomless—like Hell—and a head filled with fumes of frightfulness. But, as in a song, over-emphasis of any kind breaks its harmony, so has the ceaseless hum of the machine broken the harmony of human relationships. The fragile jasmine is more rhythmic, because it is restrained in its growth and glory, than the giant, because of its greed, is in its hugeness and hideousness. Rabindranath Tagore, being a poet, a lover of rhythm to his fingertips, was naturally on the side of the delicate but dynamic jasmine. That is why, when he visited the United States of America in the twenties of the present century he concluded one of his poems sent from there to Dinendranath Tagore, with the challenge as well as the clarion-call: "In the teeth of the machine-gun I shall sing of the jasmine."

The machine or the mechanical mode of living and feeling and thinking has dehumanised men.

They are so many hands in the school, in the office, in the Secretariat, or at best, occasionally, heads; but

they are never supposed to possess a heart, which is sensitive to the beauty of Nature and to the inspiration and ecstasy of love. The ideal of the moderns is to be like the busy bee which is engrossed "in storing honey" and not like the butterfly "which has the leisure to love the lotus."

Rabindranath was a lover and respecter of the human personality. Whatever regimented it, robbed it of its legitimate claim and birthright to grow in fullness and freedom—hurt his sensitive soul deeply. Nationalism in the West and the impersonal system of government in India, as also inhuman factory management, equally provoked him into protest touched with the very thunder of heaven.

The tragedy of the present-day civilization is that it has helplessly pitted man against the inexorable machine.

Most people are, therefore, not alive and alert on all the various fronts of the human personality.

But when now and again there does appear among them a person who is fully human, like Rabindranath or Gandhiji, they are reminded of their divine destiny and inspired to re-orientate themselves to it, slowly, yes, but surely.

Such are the thoughts inspired by Rabindranath's one-act play *Red Oleanders*.

Surveying the world-scene today, one cannot help feeling the poignancy as also the purposefulness of the Poet's message in *Red Oleanders*; Humanity seeks peace, but, for it, it must go to a Buddha or a Christ and not to the Council-Chamber or a conclave of the Nations.

The Power of Words

CHICAGO, 6th May, 1900.

Miss M.,

Here I am, looking out on the Lake and down on the tops of trees. For a few days I am staying here. I am alone, and have been sitting in a great window, reading *Paolo and Francesca* for an hour. How wonderful it is! I feel the mood that Swami speaks from when he tells us that we, the Universe, even God Himself, are all 'but the meaning of words.' Some day we shall reach Freedom and then I know, I trust, at last I shall find a great cry waiting for my voice, and every word, or every sentence, shall be a human life. No more threading of pictures on a string of story, but for every glimpse now, a drama then, moving swift and sure, with precision to its goal, and then even beyond that a word—some divine, most inward, ancient, and yet prophetic—speaking of an impulse that shall compel and include all dramas within itself. Still an idolater you see! Seeking for one word that may express to one's sense the Infinite Inexpressible!

I look up and see the restless rippling of this great blue water, as if it were but a few steps off below my window, broken by the bare branches of the tree-tops, just touched here and there with the shimmering spear-like tips of buds, and the white gulls fly north and south across the blue, as if between branch and branch of these gnarled trees.

And I was going to ask you, 'What is it you will want, on that great day of our Freedom?' Not a word, not a cry,—I know that. The right to love all, perhaps, or to suffer and heal all, or the gift of unerring vision. These I could imagine your asking, if I could indeed imagine your remembering to ask anything for yourself. It is selfish, perhaps, to dream such a dream. But there

is something so mysterious in the power of words, to sway the soul, even as the water yonder and the trees are swayed.

Love.

M. (SISTER NIVEDITA)
—Prabuddha Bharata

Nandalal Bose

"A Friend" writes in the *Visva-Bharati News*:

Sri Nandalal was born at Kharagpur, in the Darbhanga State, on 3rd December, 1883. His father was then the State Engineer. From his very early age he showed a strong bent towards art, as was clearly evident in his clay-modelling and chalk-carving experiments. When he was still not out of his teens he painted some pictures. All these, of course, were his activities outside his academic studies. He passed the Entrance Examination in due course and joined the college, but did not continue there for more than two days, led him to the door of a commercial school, but the growing artist in him compelled him to betake himself to the Calcutta Government School of Art, where he completed the prescribed course of studies. It was there that Abanindranath Tagore discovered his genius. The result was that soon afterwards he took him under his special care. During his several years' apprenticeship under the master Sri Nandalal supplemented his art education by occasional visits to ancient art centres in the country as well as by sitting at the feet of such distinguished artists, both Indian and Japanese, as came, now and again, to Abanindranath's studio.

In 1914, he came to Santiniketan *asrama* for the first time, though he had met its illustrious poet-preceptor some years earlier.

His idea was just to look round. But as is the tradition of the place (which once was inhabited by dacoits),—"once arrived, for all times held as hostage," he had to make it his home-cum-studio. And so he did in 1919, when he was appointed Director of the Kala-Bhavana.

Of his work in Kala-Bhavana there is no need to speak here. For his own pictures and frescoes and those of scores of his students, who have passed through his hands, are an eloquent testimony to his excellence as a teacher and as an uncanny wielder of the painter's brush. His reputation, however, is not confined only to the walls of Kala-Bhavana. It has travelled far beyond them, throughout the country where his artistic decoration of Congress *pandal* and exhibitions of his pictures have familiarised the people at large with the wizardry of his brush, to Japan and China where he went with Gurudeva in 1924 (when the master-artists there wondered at his creations), to Europe and America where, in the best art-museums, representations of his art have been enjoyed and appreciated by a large number of people.

But as far as we, who are his fellow-residents in the *asrama*, are concerned it is as man that he has impressed and influenced us considerably.

In his presence we forget that he is a world-famous figure. But, instead, we take him and treat him as one of us, so complete is his identification with his fellow-beings.

Apropos of this an anecdote, made public lately by a writer in the annual number of *The Orient* (a weekly

of Calcutta), may be quoted. It is said that on one occasion a Santhal, referring to Sri Nandalal, talked in this strain, "We Santhals are all addicted to drink and that is no doubt, a defect in our character. But even among us there are some good men like Gurudeva and Nanda Babu."

This humanity of his, however, is but an aspect of his being inwardly *en rapport* with all life. He understands, for instance, the behaviour of plants and animals in a manner to which many a biologist or zoologist could not lay any pretensions.

At all the festivities and ceremonial functions in the *asrama* Sri Nandalal's artistic touch is evident in every detail, though invariably for the aesthetic colourfulness of the ritual he gives credit to his young colleagues. So great in his humility.

To his humanity and humility he has added, in an abundant measure, humour.

Such, then, is Sri Nandalal Bose the man: a dear friend, an honoured colleague and an ideal teacher. And the secret of his being all these is his translating into practice the prayer of all votaries of Truth and Beauty and Love: "Make me a zero, O Lord."

In French North Africa

The *New Review* observes:

In perfect synchrony with the westward swing from Egypt, the eastwards rush of American and British troops across Morocco and Algeria combined with the reported bold northwards move of a motorised column from Lake Chad was a masterpiece of grand strategy.

What shows best the value of this move is that it is as strict and perfect an application as possible of the saying 'Get together and keep the enemies asunder,' which is the vital principle of a war between coalitions.

We are at the end of the beginning, as Mr. Churchill said in contrast with the wild imaginings of journalists who at the first good news spoke of an easy and early finish. The enemy is still strong and resourceful. The Nazi command struck back with rapid and desperate measures; not only was their North African army to be extricated from a difficult position, but the initiative was to be wrested back from the Allies; the French Mediterranean coast was occupied, Corsica was taken over and crack troops with guns and tanks were rushed by air and sea to the plains of Tunisia. French troops delayed the counter-attack as best as they could; they were soon joined by American and British divisions coming over by the railways running from Algiers and Bone to Tebessa. Tunisia was cut off from Tripolitania and the Nazi-Fascist groups of regiments can now be dealt with separately; their fate is not doubtful.

Russia

The same *Review* says:

There is some mystery about Stalingrad's defence; the town stretches along the Volga for some thirty-five miles; at one time the Nazis occupied some twenty miles and yet they could not seize the districts remaining in the hands of the Soviet troops though their air force was decidedly superior and controlled the navigation on the Volga. The mystery is as to how the Soviet defenders were reinforced and supplied with food

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and munitions. Did they float a metallic bridge which was sunk one foot below the level of the turbid waters and escaped day detection? Or did they dig a regular tunnel under the river? The defence of Stalingrad in its last stages was not only a matter of bravery; but it was one of the hardest problems of logistics; whatever solution was found reveals an imagination and technique truly remarkable.

Science and Scientists During the War and After

The supreme role which science and scientists are playing in this total war and are destined to play in connection with the much talked-of post-war reconstruction has during recent months formed an important subject of discussion by eminent scientists on either side of the Atlantic. *Science and Culture* observes:

Demand has been made on all branches of science—physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics, and psychology in ever-increasing intensity. In course of presenting the first Richtmyer Memorial Lecture before the American Association of Physics Teachers and the American Physical Society at Princeton, Prof. A. H. Compton, a distinguished physicist said, "I believe the statement that in this war a hundred physicists are worth a million soldiers." In fact, physicists have now come to be reckoned as a vital factor and a potential source of power in this total War, whose training should be undertaken with that precision and planning which mark the training of the personnel of air force or of the panzer divisions. Perhaps what Prof. Compton said about physics is equally true of other branches of science.

The need for planned efforts in training and turning out the right type of scientists is increasingly becoming obvious.

Any progressive country, as the recent trends of facts unmistakably indicate, can henceforward hardly afford to follow the insufficient and wasteful policy of *laissez faire* in producing scientists and allow the scientists to indulge in monastic seclusion in their pursuit of pure research and new knowledge. This must not lead any one to think that, in so saying, we wish to minimise the supreme value of pure research. During the last Great War when the need for technological research was most keenly felt in England, Sir Joseph Thomson, doyen of the British Scientists urged at the deputation to the Lord President that

"Pure science is the seed of applied science, and . . . to neglect pure science in a thing of this kind would be like spending a very large amount on manuring and ploughing the land and then to omit the sowing of any seed."

Commenting on this fitting analogy the report of the Advisory Council remarks,

"We accept the analogy, and we trust that the absence of extended reference to pure science in this report will not be taken as indicating our lack of appreciation of its importance."

It need hardly be said that this is precisely also our view. It will be far from the object of such planned efforts to encroach in any way upon the freedom of scientists engaged in pure research and in long-term research activities promising results of a far-reaching character. But there is an undisputed need of co-

ordinating scientific work in a particular branch and revising thoroughly the old methods of teaching to secure the best utilisation of the country's wealth of scientists in the service of the State during the war and in the period of reconstruction likely to follow the war.

The Human Bomb

From the United States comes the report of a novelty in war technique—of Japanese origin, of course—for which decisive tests are shortly to be made. *The Northern India Observer* observes:

It is a new version of the aerial torpedo, the "human bomb" which men guide through the skies towards a moving target at the risk of death.

One of the most important items in this new conception of aerial bombardment is the production of a large number of special bombs, each weighing from 850 to 2,200 lb. I call them bombs but they are more than that. Their metal casing is shaped like a miniature aeroplane with room for one man inside. He has to lie flat on his stomach and guide his machine by looking through a peep-hole. In one hand, he holds a lever which moves the rudder, which in its turn affects the direction and angle of light of the rudimentary plane.

The bombing aeroplane approaches its target at a great height and releases this "bomb" which is guided with mathematical precision by the man inside it to within 300 ft. of its objective. At this point the operator escapes by simply raising a lever. The "lid" of this "bomb" is forced off by the sudden rush of air which gets under it and the recumbent occupant is whirled into the air. While the "bomb" rushes on through the last phase of its journey, the operator floats to safety on his parachute. Should the action take place at sea, he is fitted with a life-belt which may be blown up and transformed into a little rubber canoe. In this he can remain for several hours in safety.

This method of bombing naturally requires men of courage and skill. The bomber is travelling at 220 m.p.h. at a height of 16,000 ft., so that the "bomb" reaches its objective within 32 seconds of leaving the aeroplane. The velocity of descent depends upon a 'device' which varies according to the system of projection.

There are three ways of launching the bomb: horizontally, with a rising movement, or simply gliding. The first enables the operator to launch his bomb four miles away from his objective. With the rising or climbing movement the bomb may be released two miles from its objective; it is used to bring about a particular angle of descent. It is claimed that the third or gliding movements when the bomb has been perfected, will enable the operator, to glide for miles before he definitely steers the bomb on to an objective.

It is said that this new bomb, with its extraordinary precision, should humanise aerial warfare by enabling bombers to avoid civil targets and confine themselves to military objectives.

Continuity of Chinese Culture

In the course of an article on the Culture of the Chinese people in the China number of *The Theosophist* Professor Ernest E. Speight observes:

China has been called "the scene of the oldest civilization and the world's largest cultural unit." As a cultural unit it has very large fringes, extending into Korea, Eastern Turkestan, Indo-China, Malaya and the Pacific, not to speak of Japan and Formosa.

In much earlier days, I am certain, Chinese as well as Indian culture reached the American continent. One critic has noted that the triangular interlacing of the bands upon certain ancient Chinese bronze is almost identical with motifs carved in stone upon the facades of Mexican temples, and last year I made the exciting discovery that on a golden object from the Tomb of the Chiefs at Monte Alban at Oaxaca in Mexico, are two clearly recognizable Chinese ideograms.

Chinese culture exhibits a continuation of 5,000 years of successive phases, from the primitive evidenced by some of the earliest pottery known, to a commanding place in the international development of the world.

The last quarter of a century has been a period during which greater changes have been made in China than ever before. They have been made, rather than simply come about; changes in habits, institutions and relations with the outside world. And yet through it all the Chinese are retaining their ancient forms of strength—patience, perseverance and pertinacity. All these are qualities increasingly needed by the world. For want of them many of the smaller nations have for the time being gone out of existence. The permanence of the Chinese character is surely a sign of strength to be trusted. The endeavour and determination which have persisted through all changes until these years of great trial are an omen of the deepest significance.

Chinese art, through all its manifestations from pottery and bronze of over four thousand years ago to the architecture of the past millennium, reveals the Chinese character in such powerful rhythms and steadfastness that it stands apart from the rest of the world of art. In the suggestiveness of its force I can only compare with it certain Egyptian sculpture, some of the verse of Aeschylus and Christopher Marlowe, and the verse and prose of Milton. It is not so much a matter of size or volume, but one of the subtle effect of proportion upon the sub-conscious faculty.

In China, as in India, there is an enormous wealth of what may be called prehistoric culture.

It is always turning up in daily life, sometimes to give the illumination of common sense to a dark or tangled situation, sometimes, in the form of a superstition, to remind us of days beyond record, long before the safety and mental stability of what we call civilization. And often it surprises us by suggesting intercourse, in those early days, of the ancestors of peoples now inhabiting widely separated regions.

What I Cherish Most

The Rt. Hon. Dr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri writes in *The Indian Review*:

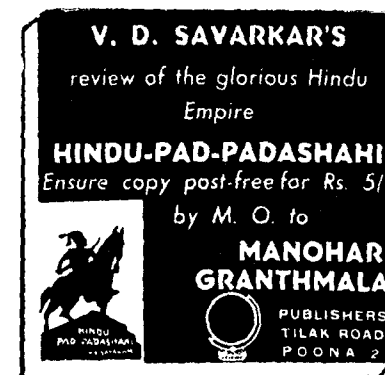
For nearly twenty years I taught boys, loving and loved in return. When, after twenty-eight years of political work, I returned to education, I might have confined myself to the administrative side, but took part in the actual instruction. This I did because I found happiness in it. Our law-givers of old were wise to

ordain that it was the duty of a Brahmana to learn and then to teach, to learn in order to teach and to teach in order to learn. Modern conditions do not tolerate caste and its monopolies, and the high calling of the educator is open to all. Blessed are they that enter the profession and feel its joys. Not all are so blessed. The supreme test is, are you unhappy when you can no longer teach? Do you seek opportunities of teaching even when you need not teach? Having learned some things of use and picked up experience in different parts of the world, I feel I should be a despicable miser of knowledge if I passed away without imparting it all to those who could profit by it. Satirists of all ages have sharpened their pen and their tongue on the pedagogue who can never forget that he is a pedagogue, but must scold and labour the obvious even before his equals and superiors. Leave these to their fate.

Is not the man blame-worthy who, having gathered wisdom from society, fails to return it to society with such addition as may be possible to him?

In the long story of our culture, men and women have crowded at the feet of sages ripe in years and lore of books and never missed the spiritual sustenance that they sought. Often it was a set discourse which the questions evoked. But quite as often they had informal and scattered talk, but it was no less profitable. An old saw recommends you to resort to learned men at all times. What if they do not deliver prepared lectures? Even their random talk will be rich with learning and guidance.

Two corollaries of this duty must be mentioned in this place. One is the need of reading and adding to your knowledge. No man's conversation is worth anything if he is not in touch with the events round him and if he does not keep abreast of the movement of thought and opinion. Also let every teacher of the young remember always that they learn largely through imitation, that imitation is unconscious as well as conscious, and that it is, therefore, incumbent on him, for the sake of his pupils as much as for his own, to set a good example in all respects. Among us now, while public life is in the pangs of growth and we are learning the ways of democracy, a model citizen is worth a library of civics. This fact lays an obvious obligation on the schoolmaster and the professor to take an honourable part in the duties of citizenship.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Medium of Instruction

An interesting discussion followed over a paper on the Work of Indian Universities, read by Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ranganadhan (and published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*.) Besides other things, the question of medium of instruction was also discussed. Relevant extracts are given below :

Mr. K. Kuriyan, B.A., B.L., late of the International Labour Office (League of Nations), said : The lecturer made an admission which, in my opinion, is very disturbing. While the record of research work in India has been impressive he admitted that the average standard of University education is very low. Several speakers have alluded to one of the causes of that low standard, namely, numbers; but there are two or three other very important causes which are profoundly relevant to the main issue. One of these is the imperfect mastery of the average Indian student over his medium of instruction. That vitiates the quality of his thinking and affects the results of his education in later years. A second cause, directly related to that, is the very low standard of school education throughout the country. Many thousands of our schoolboys pass into our university colleges utterly ill-equipped to pursue any curriculum of studies worthy of the name of advanced education.

Sir Hari Singh Gour, M.A., D.Litt., D.C.L., LL.D. (First Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University and Ex-Vice-Chancellor of Nagpur University), said :

I shall now deal cursorily with the medium of education. In all the universities of India, apart from one in Hyderabad, the teaching is done in English. The question of what is the proper medium of instruction in the universities is one which has been addressed to the Universities Conference year after year. The various university organisations complain that English is a very difficult language, and in itself is a lifelong study; and if the university student has to study his mother-tongue—Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, or whatever it may be—and English on the top of that, he has to spend a great deal of his time in mastering the vocabulary and grammar of the English language, and the result is that, while he is mastering the language, he is sacrificing his real thought.

What, therefore, are you going to do? Should not you economise time by making one of the vernaculars of India, or two or three of the vernaculars, the medium for university education? The Osmania University of Hyderabad has taken the bull by the horns by introducing Urdu (or Hindustani, as we may call it) as the medium of instruction. I was very fascinated by this, but when I paid a visit to the university and saw their courses of study and their text-books I rubbed my eyes and began to wonder in what language the books were really written; because the language which they had introduced for the purpose of writing the books was neither Urdu nor Hindi, but a sort of mongrel Hindustani-Latinised-Graecian, and in fact worse than Esperanto. The result was simply to add to the babel of

tongues; and I asked my friend Sir Akbar Hydari whether he understood the text-books himself. He replied "Yes, but they have to be studied before you understand them." The question of what should be the medium of instruction is one which is puzzling the people of India, and, when the National Government is established in India, one of the burning questions of the next few years will be whether to discard English in favour of one of the local languages. Mahatma Gandhi is in favour of Hindi. This is a question which is likely to engage the attention of the new commonwealth.

Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., M.A., LL.M., said : I should like to refer to the question of the medium of instruction. We have had to deal with that very difficult question in Hyderabad, and I am not sure that the solution at which we arrived is the right one. After all, English is a language of universal currency in the world—in Europe, America, Asia and Africa—and it would be a great thing if Indian students could learn to use it, not necessarily for their domestic affairs, but in the affairs of thought where a learned language is required. At the same time, it is most necessary that the vernaculars should be cultivated, not in the artificial manner which has been referred to, but in a natural way. I have found, during my educational experience in India, that when you address a village audience, or other audiences which do not understand English, they appreciate having the thoughts of English literature brought to them, provided you simplify them and present them in a form which they can accept. I think, therefore, that the main problem for us in Indian education and, indeed, in Indian politics, too, is to devote ourselves to the evolution of a language which shall be a medium of general communication throughout the whole of India, in the way that Latin used to be the learned language of Europe before the vernaculars of Europe acquired their present position. I am all for the study of English thought and English literature as far as possible, but that must necessarily be confined to a few; but I would urge that those few should so mould their thought as to be able to present in the vernacular what they have learned, and thus enrich their own language and the thoughts of their own people.

Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ranganadhan, in reply said : I cannot go into the question of the medium of instruction, because it is an extremely difficult problem. I admit that in the Osmania University it is just an experiment, and I suppose that we have to develop a sort of international language, because knowledge is international. You cannot express the words "oxygen gas" by a literal translation into Hindi or Tamil; you have to use the English expression. Scientific terms are almost all international, usually Greek or Latin, and in that way we have a certain body of scientific terms which are entirely of a hybrid and international character. As long as there are multi-lingual races in India—and in Madras there are five major languages—we need some single medium of communication. English is the language of public administration; it brings us into contact with the outside world; it gives us the means of assessing academic standards, and it saves us from the diffi-

culty of these polyglot troubles. It is therefore inevitable, at any rate until some other common language is developed which is suitable for modern thought, that we should continue with English as the medium of instruction in university classes.

American English

In the article, "Do you speak American?" in *The Catholic World*, Joseph Bourke observes :

Indeed, in the words of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the language "presents yet another undefined frontier when it is viewed with relation to time." It is no more permanent in its constitution than definite in its extent. And of the making of dictionaries there is no end.

One might nevertheless venture to say that English, as written in America (for that, I think, is nearer the correct description) is less conservative, for that reason, less precise and delicate, and more exuberant. *Le style, c'est l'homme*—and our brand of English has the directness, the bluntness, at times, the homely earthiness, the shrewdness of Uncle Sam. It has an independence of tradition, the imaginative scope, the exaggeration of Paul Bunyan, or the irreverence and hard-headed realism and wit of Mark Twain : all American types, two fictitious, one unusually real.

Today it rushes headlong into new fields. It calls a spade something more pictorial and apt. It rides an emotional surge. It gets indignant over the plight of the "Okies"; it sighs for "the lost lane-end into Heaven, a stone, a leaf, an unfound door"; it lambastes (to use its own word) political corruption and intrigue; it swings from the flying trapeze with Saroyan or gets maudlin over "God bless America." It is highly individualistic because it is eminently alive. It may be "vulgar" but it is living English.

Toyohiko Kagawa

In an article under the caption, 'A Saint in Sodom,' in the *Jewish Frontier*, Hayim Greenberg gives us a graphic sketch of the teachings and activities of Toyohiko Kagawa :

Two years ago, the Japanese police arrested Toyohiko Kagawa for "violating the military code." In April of this year we learned from the Tokyo English-language broadcast that in December of 1941, shortly before the attack at Pearl Harbor, Kagawa had been

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freed and that he had led several hundred of his followers in fasting and praying for peace between his country and America. But lately unconfirmed reports reached us that soon after the outbreak of the war against America he was sent to prison again for "lack of patriotism" and for "sympathies with the enemy."

It is rather surprising that he had never been arrested until two years ago.

Evidently even the Fascist camarilla which rules Japan today could not overcome a certain feeling of awe before the saintly personality of the tubercular old man who possesses an inexhaustible fund of moral energy, who is the friend and benefactor of the poor and oppressed in Japan, who cleared the slums in Japan's ports and who is to millions of his compatriots the conscience of Japan. Similarly Czar Nicholas for many years could not muster the courage to arrest Tolstoy—not as some poorly informed foreign biographers thought because Tolstoy belonged to the nobility of the country (the Czar did not hesitate to exile other counts and princes to Siberia), but because Tolstoy was too much the personification of Russian conscience and exerted too much influence on public opinion.

In the eyes of the hundred percenters of Japan, Kagawa is an apostate. He has long ago renounced both Buddhism and Shintoism. His aristocratic origin did not prevent him from denying the divine origin of the Mikado and of the nobles and to embrace an alien religion. For over thirty years, he has been a Protestant, although his theology is not strictly and consistently one of his adopted creed. That all men are created equal and are the children of God has long seemed to him an

obvious and self-evident truth for which he needed neither philosophical nor theological proofs nor the Scriptures of Judaism and Christianity. Since this fundamental tenet of religion is to be found in Buddhism, Lao-Tzeism and all other faiths of the East, one wonders why for the sake of this alone, Kagawa found it necessary to join a Christian church. Gandhi, who has a genuine respect for the Bible, both for the Old and the New Testaments, has always felt that there was nothing in Judaism and Christianity to add to what he cherishes in his native faith. It may be that Kagawa found in Christianity a particular emphasis on certain spheres of life or that some early influences made him see in the Christian religion the highest expression of his religious and humanitarian cravings.

Though a pious Christian, Kagawa has long ago turned his back on formal Christianity and has often condemned the lack of spirit and the hypocrisy of most church institutions. The supporters and directors of the missionary schools in Japan where he studied, who also sent him to study at Princeton University, expected him to become a leading Christian divine in Japan, perhaps a bishop. But Kagawa disappointed them. From America he brought to Japan an interest in social welfare work, in education, in slum-clearing and in co-operative enterprises rather than in the niceties of Christian theological dogmas.

Kagawa's Christianity is carried into practice by the establishment of trade unions and farmer co-operatives, by stevedore strikes free from any physical violence, by teaching the Japanese masses to eat healthy food and to sow soya beans as a change from rice, and by his ardent advocacy of internationalism and absolute pacifism. For many years the poor home in which he lived in Kobe was a welfare center in itself which served as a hospital, an orphanage, a hostel and a church.

When asked during his last visit in America what he taught the many tramps, former prostitutes, former criminals and beggars or the tuberculars who came into his house, he replied that he taught them the three R's—reading, writing and . . . respect for human dignity and for themselves. Hundreds, perhaps thousands of poor people learned from Kagawa that their emaciated ravaged bodies covered by rags carried within them the spark of divinity worthy of respect.

"We have in Japan two types of Christians," a Japanese told me in England some time ago, "the so-called 'rice-Christians' who adopt the faith for the sake of the rice packages given out in the missions, and the Kagawa Christians the like of whom is not to be found in England or in America."

Kagawa belongs to the same type as Tolstoy and Gandhi, but he is much less complicated. Perhaps because of that he escaped those pseudo-religious and pseudo-ethical extremes which mark the Russian artist and God-seeker and the Hindu moralist and politician.

Unlike Tolstoy and Gandhi, Kagawa is a great admirer of science and technical progress and sees in them a source of liberation rather than of enslavement for humanity. He believes that Asia has not learned enough from Europe and America in the fields of technical development, medicine and social hygiene.

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While Gandhi sees in the locomotive an evil demon whose smoke drives away the gods from the forests. Kagawa sees in it a blessing. He dreams of such crassly mundane things as bacon on the breakfast table of every Japanese family. He is in his own way a consistent reform socialist and he finds in religion, especially in Christianity, a stimulus for economic progress and social rejuvenation.

Kagawa has faith in the future of Japan, although he spares no words to condemn the present conditions in his country. The average Japanese, he writes, has now become a robot, and the air is poisoned with servile mechanical discipline. He reminded his countrymen that everything of spiritual and cultural value has come to them from the Chinese whom they were now repaying with bombs. He is deeply grieved by the mad spirit of aggression which enveloped his fatherland, but at the same time he is sensitive to every act which offends the feelings of the Japanese. When the Japanese Exclusion Act was adopted in 1924 by the United States Senate, he wrote:

"The Japanese people are sorry to find out that the spirit of Washington and Lincoln does not abide in the hearts of the United States citizens. America today is only a land of liberty for the White race." And he reminded his American friends that for years the portraits of the two great Americans had hung on the walls of Japan's elementary schools and that Japanese children had been taught that the two great emancipators recognized an equal status for the Japanese. But Kagawa's disillusionment with America did not call forth in him any hatred or bitterness. He believes that sooner or later Japan and America will co-operate in building a world federation on the foundations of universal social equality.

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NOTES

Employ Carts to Carry Coal

Coal prices in Calcutta soared up to Rs. 5-8 per md. a few days back. Shortage of supply in the local market was the only reason for this extraordinary rise in price. Shortage of supply, in its turn, was due to the ever-increasing shortage of wagons. The wagon supply is completely under the control of the Government. When the situation threatened to become extremely serious, the Government of Bengal moved and announced that they had secured 1,100 wagons which were "earmarked for Calcutta and allotted to dealers this month." It is yet to be seen whether this "earmarking" has actually set 1,100 wagons in motion on the rails.

The question may naturally be asked, why these wagons were not released earlier and what has prevented the authorities from securing a steady supply of the requisite number of wagons for carrying coal in order to maintain the stability of its prices in Calcutta. We have shown in the December number of *The Modern Review* how the available number of wagons were steadily and rapidly decreasing. The Government knew best the reason for this progressive decrease in wagon supply and whether it would be possible to replace the wagons or to bring them back on the rails in the near future. They have assumed all control in their own hands; it is for them to provide means of railroad communication themselves or to suggest and offer active help in securing alternative means to transport.

School boys have been taught in their classes that railways were brought in India by the British for the good of the Indian people; but at a time when railways were needed most, they find that it is the people who have been greatly deprived of their services in the movement of men and goods alike. One important chapter in "England's Work in India" is ending in a fiasco; all that remains now is to invoke the aid of the bullock cart.

Reservation of Hospital Seats for European Air Raid Victims

The Secretary of the South End Ratepayers' Association has revealed to the public the insufficiency in hospital arrangement for air raid casualties which might happen in the Tollygunje and Ballygunje areas of Calcutta, and the reservation of a more than proportionate number of beds for the treatment of European air raid victims. He says:

"I learn that there are only 3 hospitals for receiving air raid casualties for Southern Municipal areas of 24-Parganas, Tollygunje, South Suburban, Matiabruz in addition to these of South Calcutta with the following accommodation:

Presidency General Hospital—100 for Indians and 317 for Europeans.

Sambhunath Pandit Hospital—264.

Prince Gohar Mahammad Hospital, Tollygunje—10 and probably 20 more for Europeans.

The British were so long very generously providing for reservation for Muslims and Scheduled Castes. The statement quoted above

THE WANDERING MINSTREL
By B. Karmakar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

reveals that they have now ranged themselves by the side of the Muslims and Scheduled Castes clamouring for reservations. After the protector has stooped down to the level of the protected, can the backward people expect any protection?

China Relations Officer

The New Delhi Correspondent of *The Hindu* understands that "an interesting appointment has just been made, namely, the China Relations Officer at New Delhi, Mr. Pridaux Brune being the nominee for the post." Sir Robert Reid, on relinquishing his office as Governor of Assam, was appointed China Relations Officer. It is not yet clear whether Mr. Brune is going to succeed him, or that it has been considered necessary to make provision for two gentlemen for the same duty. We do not exactly know as yet what Sir Robert Reid was doing to enable China "to understand India better." In fact we find the Chinese Consul General for India and the Calcutta branch of the Chinese Ministry of Information trying to make contacts with the Indians with a view to understand India better and circulating bulletins in English and in vernacular languages.

China and India have maintained good and neighbourly relations with each other for centuries past and hope to continue it for ages to come. A Reid or a Brune will not be needed to bring about a "better understanding between India and China" so far as the peoples of the two countries are concerned!

Calcutta University's Queer Decision

In view of the prevailing circumstances, the University of Calcutta have decided that no examinations (Matriculation, I. A., I. Sc., B. A., and B. Sc.) will be held this year outside the provinces of Bengal and Assam, as was done last year—this news has been published by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

The University had made arrangements for holding examinations outside Bengal and Assam when they had joined in the general panic and stampede last year and failed to show any sign of foresight, courage and steadiness. When there was only panic and no bombs, examinees were allowed to appear at centres outside Bengal. But now when bombs have begun to be dropped in Calcutta and when the need for evacuation of boys and girls have become real, they have backed out and withdrawn the facilities granted last year.

Is Rationing Desirable?

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha has adopted a resolution suggesting the desirability of taking necessary steps for introducing rationing system in the city. Of late, suggestions for the introduction of ration cards have been made without giving much thought to the real problem. A proper and intensive study of the present economic conditions in India would reveal that ration cards would provide no solution. The problems consist of lack of transport, inadequate supply and absence of co-ordination between the public and the price control authorities. These three causes together with the inflation which has placed enormous wealth in the hands of the rich speculators, have completed the vicious circle which is tightening its grip on the throats of the poor consumers. Corruption and inefficiency in the price control department have suffered hoarding and desperate profiteering to go unchecked.

If ration cards were introduced under such conditions, it would make the life of people still more miserable. Already every day we witness the nauseating and disgusting sight of long queues consisting even of women and children standing in the sun for hours together for a few seers of rice or a *powa* of sugar. The number and length of these queues will be multiplied if ration cards are introduced before bringing the supply and transport organisations to at least a working order, cleansing the stable at the price control department and setting up a real co-ordination between the price control authorities, the business communities and the consuming public. A new organisation for this purpose is required. The "popular" Ministers have failed to solve even a fringe of the problem; they have rather permitted themselves to be degraded to the level of glorified clerks and have confirmed the belief that they are holding office by sufferance of the Civil Service.

Public bodies would do well to study the problem in all its bearings before they proceed to give economic suggestions of a far-reaching character.

Relief Operations in Midnapore

Relief operations have commenced in Midnapore, three months ago, but no full and authentic account of how and to what extent relief has been given to the stricken people has been published by the Government besides occasional and scrappy news released to the Press. The Government should have been more generous in the

publication of fuller accounts of their activities because they knew that their activities were being watched with a shrewd suspicion. Their actions had come in for a good deal of criticism and the best way to regain public confidence was to take the public into confidence. But their activities do not seem to lend support to the view that they have been able to raise themselves above criticism.

The report published on January 14, states:

The difficulties of the various organisations, carrying on relief work in the cyclone-affected areas in Midnapore district, with special reference to the problem of supply of rice and medical equipment were discussed at a meeting of the Workers' Sub-committee of the Bengal Cyclone Relief Committee held at the Secretariat. Mr. P. N. Banerjee, Revenue Minister, presided.

With a view to securing the services of an adequate number of medical practitioners for relief work it was decided at the meeting to raise the salaries of the medical officers required for this purpose to Rs. 100. It was stated that several additional doctors and large quantities of medicine had recently been sent to the affected areas to cope with the epidemic diseases which had almost been brought under control in different thanas.

The meeting also discussed the problem of supplying cattle to the cyclone-stricken people. Decision on the matter was postponed pending the receipt of definite suggestions from the various organisations.

The Additional District Magistrate of Midnapore and the Special Relief Officers of Contai and Tamluk were present at the meeting.

The Government of Bengal have so far spent about Rs. 83,00,000 for relief work in the cyclone-affected areas in Midnapore and 24-Parganas. Out of this, about Rs. 65,00,000 has been distributed in cash and the balance in kind.

It is learnt the Government of Bengal have agreed to release 10,000 ft. of tubes for the Mayor's Relief Fund for sinking tube-wells in the cyclone-affected areas. Two tube-well engineers have agreed to sink these tube-wells at cost price. It is being arranged to sink 20 tube-wells at present.

The Revenue Minister has stated that the Government have spent Rs. 83 lakhs for relief work in Midnapore and 24-Parganas. Is this amount sufficient? The same Minister had made a statement in the Bengal Legislative Council on November 12, 1942, that "nearly 7 lakhs of huts had been destroyed making over 15 lakhs of people homeless, and 75,000 heads of plough and milch cattle had perished." Even if we consider that most of this sum, out of this Rs. 83 lakhs were spent in Midnapore, it works out at less than Rs. 6 per head of the suffering people numbering 15 lakhs for a period of nearly 3 months, i.e., barely Rs. 2 per head per month for a people who have lost their all—their belongings, their homes, their cattle, in short everything. We do not as yet know the total amount spent by the non-official organisations, but judging from the lists of donations published by them, it seems that the help rendered by them

would be far less in quantity, because they had to depend for funds solely on public charity. Where the Governor of the Province has himself collected barely Rs. 5½ lakhs, including Rs. 2 lakhs from London, the non-official organisations cannot be expected to make better collections in these hard days.

Whatever small harvest there has been in the devastated areas, is absolutely insufficient to make the people live on it till the next harvest. Mr. Horace Alexander states from his personal knowledge that "rice has all been cut, but there was no grain in the rice." Even where rice was made available to the sufferers at Rs. 8 per md., the *two-rupee* dole would be fully consumed in the purchase of ten seers of rice which would be insufficient for two meals a day. The Government themselves proposed to give 8 chhittaks of rice per day for each adult, leaving nothing for the purchase of salt and *dal*.

The following news item published on January 15 states that the Government have sanctioned Rs. 45 lakhs as agricultural loan, but it gives us no idea of what has been done to replace the 75,000 heads of cattle destroyed and to remove the salinity of the soil washed by the tidal wave:

In pursuance of their scheme for distribution of agricultural loans in the cyclone-affected areas in Midnapore and 24-Parganas districts, the Government of Bengal have so far sanctioned about Rs. 45,00,000. They propose to sanction further amounts, if required, for this purpose in future.

The Director of Agriculture, Bengal, is now engaged in collecting *amon* seeds which will be required in large quantities for the people of the affected areas and in making plough cattle easily available to them for purchase.—A. P.

On January 18, the following news was published:

Definite and detailed instructions regarding the grant of loans for house-building purposes, for the purchase of cattle and for the maintenance of all deserving families in the cyclone-affected areas in Midnapore and 24-Parganas districts have been issued by Mr. B. R. Sen, Additional Commissioner, Presidency and Burdwan divisions. Orders have also been issued for the grant of loans to traders, businessmen, artisans, etc., to enable them to restore their business so that normal condition in the area can be brought back as early as possible.

As regards the distribution of gratuitous relief, the Additional Commissioner has directed that the programme of distribution should be gradually curtailed as the local people having lands collect their harvest or as the landless and other people are given employment in the test relief and embankment repair works and under business loan schemes of the Government.

The relief work in the area will be carried on by the Government as long as it will be necessary.—A. P.

What are those "definite and detailed instructions" issued regarding the grant of loans

for house-building purposes? What is the amount of money sanctioned for this purpose? The Revenue Minister had stated that 7 lakhs of huts had been destroyed. At least a hundred rupees would be required to build one hut, and at this rate 7 crores of rupees would be required for the rebuilding of the destroyed huts. Why does the Government feel shy about disclosing the amount sanctioned for this purpose?

The report quoted above also mentions that "definite and detailed instructions" have been issued for the maintenance of all *deserving families* in the cyclone-affected areas. What is the basis on which families have been classed as deserving and undeserving? Has the idea of teaching a lesson to the rebels anything to do with such classification? More than three months have passed since this great calamity took place but the Government have not yet been able to make any full and frank statement clearly showing what they have actually done to help the sufferers. From time to time large figures are dangled before the eyes of the public through short and vague statements, carefully avoiding any detailed and clear statement.

The Additional Commissioner's direction asking the non-official organisation to curtail gradually their programme of distribution will be considered as cruel and undesirable. The public have as yet received no report from Midnapore which would lead them to think that conditions there have so improved as to render any further help unnecessary. The Government have themselves been unable to make out such a case. Under such conditions, it is simply inhuman to ask the non-official organisations, who have not thrived on Government money, to stop their activities. The public will not in the least be convinced about the desirability to discontinue gratuitous help till a joint report of the non-official organisations tells them that it is time to wind up.

Chimur Incident and the Reaction of the Press

For the first time in the history of Indian journalism, nearly one hundred newspapers of the country joined in a protest against the unjust order passed on the Press by the C. P. Government calculated to hide the disgraceful Chimur incident. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, in its leading article on January 14, summed up the facts of the case very ably in the following words:

It is well-known that some Government servants had been murdered in that village early in August last.

The accused were in due course sent up for trial and the Judge, on the evidence placed before him, came to certain conclusions. The C. P. Government issued a *communique* on the basis of that judgment and stated that there was no foundation for the allegations made by certain inhabitants of that village against the police and the military posted there. It was alleged, for instance, that the troops and policemen concerned tried to terrorise the villages and committed excesses in disregard of the elementary decencies of civilised life. There was a public demand for expert and impartial enquiry into these allegations, which the C. P. Government were not prepared to concede. One of the grounds urged by them was that in all these cases the women complainants were related to or connected with persons involved in the unfortunate events of August and that there was absolutely no case for investigation into allegations emanating from interested sources.

Professor Bhansali took up the matter and joined in the public demand for an enquiry. Failing to get redress from the C. P. Government he approached the Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member, whose native village was close to Chimur and who was expected to take personal interest in the matter and use his high office for the ends of justice. Mr. Aney, however, declined to intervene and the result was that Professor Bhansali, as a *Satyagrahi*, resorted to fasting unto death on the issue of these grievances. It was then that the C. P. Government issued their order calculated to black-out all relevant news about the matter.

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference took a serious view of the order banning all news of Prof. Bhansali's fast and even a mention to this order. At its Bombay meeting, a resolution was passed declaring this act of the C. P. Government to be a breach of the understanding between the Conference and the Central Government and demanding redress from the latter. In the event of the Central Government not showing any inclination to compel the C. P. Government to withdraw the order, the Editors decided to stop the publication of certain categories of news, including the New Year's Honours List. It was also decided that Newspapers who were members of the Conference would suspend publication for one day, *viz.*, on January 6. This All-India *hartal* was observed by nearly a hundred newspapers all over the country. The order in question related to one calculated to stop the demand for an enquiry into serious allegations of dishonour done to women. When the public expected the British-owned newspapers in India to take up the strongest attitude in this case, the *Statesman* backed out and did not join the *hartal*. The Madras Government, at present run by British Officials, took up a vindictive attitude against the newspapers who did not publish the Honours List and adopted measures to punish them. This unprecedented unity amongst the Indian newspapers, however, shook the Government of the Central Provinces to its

senses within a rather short period of 12 days, and a *communique* was issued to the effect that "there was no intention on the part of the Government to attribute any ulterior motive to women of Chimur generally and that Government attaches and has always attached greatest importance to the maintenance of discipline among the military and police engaged in restoration of order and considers the respect for honour of women and their protection from molestation is and shall be the first essential of good discipline."

The following correspondence which passed between Dr. N. B. Khare and Prof. Bhansali and was released at the Press Conference held by the Chief Secretary of the C. P. Government would throw a flood of light on what the Provincial authorities were trying to hide.

NAGPUR, Jan. 12.

From Dr. Khare to Prof. Bhansali:

Dear Bhansali, I saw you on January 8 and had talk with you. I had as a result full and free discussion with His Excellency about Chimur incidents. As regards complaints as to outrages committed on women of Chimur the demand for public enquiry may not be pursued in view of the difficulty of identification after this lapse of time. I am in a position to assure you:

(1) The C. P. Government will issue a *communique* to the effect that there was no intention on the part of the Government to attribute any ulterior motive to women of Chimur generally and that Government attaches and has always attached greatest importance to the maintenance of discipline among the military and police engaged in restoration of order and considers that respect for honour of women and their protection from molestation is and shall be the first essential of good discipline.

(2) The ban on Press relating to Chimur and Bhansali affair will be removed.

(3) The *communique* or Press Note, etc., would simultaneously appear in the Press with the letters.

(4) I understand that there will be no restrictions to visitors to Chimur now, but if there is any they will be removed. I am in a position to assure you that the Hon. Mr. M. S. Aney will join you in your visit to Chimur and meet people and Government will not place any restrictions. If you so desire I have no objection to go with you. Yours has been a tremendous sacrifice, but in view of the above I would request you to break your heroic fast.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Khare.

From Prof. Bhansali to Dr. Khare:

Dear Khare.

Many thanks for your letter and your efforts. I am glad to find that Government are willing to issue a *communique* as suggested by you and remove the ban on the Press as regards Chimur news and the restrictions on visitors to Chimur. I am also glad that Mr. M. S. Aney will be kind enough to come with me to Chimur and meet the people of the village and thus concede my request to him; as a man devoted to religious life, I have always felt that molestation of even a single woman is a crime not only against society but against

God. Now it has been given to me to communicate this feeling to others—may be in a very small measure. I am therefore beholden to God so that he made me the instrument of awakening conscience on so vital a question as the honour of women. When I recover my strength I shall be glad to visit Chimur in company of Mr. Aney and yourself. In view of reasons given by you, I agree to drop the demand for an enquiry and break my fast. After I break my fast no restrictions will be placed on my movements or utterances which may be directed to the relief of Chimur, or which relate to my fast.

Sincerely yours,
(Sd.) Bhansali.

Wardha, January 12.

—A. P.

It remained for Prof. Bhansali to teach the British Officials of C. P. that "molestation of even a single woman is a crime not only against society but against God."

Allegations of Dishonouring Women in Midnapore

What was successfully secured in C. P. was passed unnoticed in Bengal. The Ex-Finance Minister of Bengal in his statement issued in November 23, after his resignation stated that "Allegations affecting the lives, properties and honour of men and women have been made which are of a most serious character." This portion of his statement was not contradicted by the Government of Bengal. Neither did the Ex-Minister try to mobilise public opinion on it. Bengal lacked a *Satyagrahi* like Bhansali. The British Officials in India of the present day do not seem to attach any importance to cases of dishonour done to women, when these women are Indians. The Bengal public will refuse to believe that the Ex-Minister failed to bring these allegations to the notice of Sir John Herbert, the Governor of Bengal.

Will America Share White Man's Burden?

January 26 is observed in India as the day of the declaration of Indian Independence. This year three incidents, apparently isolated but converging into the same object, happened on this auspicious day. An Independence Day Dinner was organised by the India League of America in New York. Speaking at this Dinner, Miss Pearl Buck declared:

"When Englishmen tell us that we must help them to bear the burden of Asia if we want India free, isolationists among us come to new life. We see in India, thanks to England's emphasis on all possible differences there, something even more troublesome than Europe.

"We Americans really have no wish to take our share of the white man's burden. There never was

white man's burden, except in the sense the white man made a burden for himself by trying to force his rule upon reluctant peoples."—*Reuter*.

On the same day, the following incident happened in Washington :

WASHINGTON, Jan. 26.

Five persons including a girl of 20 and a 30 year-old clergyman picketed the British Embassy at Washington today (Tuesday). They carried placards proclaiming that it was the thirteenth anniversary of India's "Declaration of Independence" and appealing "to Britain of democracy to renounce Britain of the Empire."—*Reuter*.

Again, on the very same day, the following passage appeared in an advertisement inserted in certain daily papers in India by the United States of America :

"This people of the New World turned their pioneering drive to make a society in which all men are free. These are the people who have committed themselves through their President to defend human freedom all over the earth."

Rights of Man, and not merely the rights of the white man, were confirmed in America. Whole Asia and Africa have laboured under the white man for the past three centuries. The white man "made a burden for himself by trying to force his rule upon reluctant peoples," and created separate rights for the white and the coloured man. The millenium old civilisations of Asia and Africa faced a new Christian Civilisation thrust upon them and a 'conflict of civilisations' followed. Commercial interests in Asia and Africa divided the white men themselves, the white man's burden boiled down to ideas of race supremacy and war followed war during the past two and a half centuries.

The United States of America has solved the race question within her own borders. She has removed the separatist tendencies among her different races and minorities by refusing to give "emphasis on all possible differences" and has succeeded in achieving the present remarkable unity among all elements which compose her national life. If she can extend her idea of the rights of man, irrespective of race, colour and religion, beyond her borders and all over the globe, she will be remembered by posterity as the true Arsenal of Democracy.

Mr. Winant on British Colonial Policy

Addressing a lunch-time meeting of the Royal Empire Society on July 28, Mr. J. G. Winant, American Ambassador in England, made the following observation on the British Colonial Policy :

"It was not without some misgivings that I accepted your invitation nor have I had sufficient leisure since

accepting to develop any real contribution to your thinking on the problems of Government. Like most Americans I would feel on more familiar ground if I were permitted to join with you in a discussion on the British Commonwealth. You are an island empire, while we are a continent nation with few appendages. Our great contribution has been to accept peoples from many parts of the Old World, who are under a "government of the people, by the people and for the people" have learned to live in peace with one another, enjoying certain inalienable rights such as "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." We have less in common with your Colonial empire. A careful survey of public opinion in the United States showed there was a greater divergence of viewpoints on British Colonial Policy than on any other subject that divided us."—(Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.).

Rupee Note No Longer Legal Tender ?

Following the Calcutta Tramway Company and the Government controlled shops in Calcutta, the East Indian Railway have notified intending passengers to come to the booking offices with the exact fare. What was so long going on unofficially has now been consecrated by official sanction.

East Indian Railway is a Government institution and therefore legally bound to accept ten rupee, five rupee or one rupee notes when they are tendered for the payment of fares. The mint is owned and worked by the Government and it is the duty of the Government to provide the people with small change. It is unlawful for the people to construct mints and manufacture coins and the Government cannot lawfully expect the people to make small coins for tendering to the Government institutions.

The attractive value of the metal content is hardly any argument for the shortage of small coins. In that case, the silver half rupees and quarter rupees would have disappeared first. But in fact, copper pice was the first to go out of circulation, followed by a sudden disappearance of half anna, one anna and two anna bits made of nickel and brass.

Some coins have no doubt been hoarded by unscrupulous speculators but it would not be unreasonable to make inflation of currency mainly responsible for driving metallic currency out of circulation. When the standard money falls due to inflation, unit of currency rises. We find this is exactly the case here. Pice, half anna, one anna and two anna bits have gradually and progressively disappeared from circulation. The quarter rupee has now become the unit of currency for practical purposes. If things go on like this, the quarter and half rupees will disappear in another jerk and paper rupees may become the units of currency.

Story of the German mark and the Russian rouble is not yet out of public memory. Unless the Government takes real precautions against inflation, a currency crisis seems inevitable.

Government has also shown slackness in hunting out the speculators who have hoarded coins. It were they who helped these unscrupulous people to get huge amounts of coins from a comparatively small number of sources. The Tramway Company's and the controlled shops' veiled orders to tender exact fares and prices led to large accumulations of small changes in the hands of their employees. The coins might have proceeded to the speculators from these sources. This may account for one of the reasons for such a rapid withdrawal of coins from circulation. The Special Branch Police shows great activity in hunting out leaflets and pamphlets ; we do not know whether the Government requisitioned their help to discover the hoarders and the clandestine trade in small coins.

Attention should however be given to the principal reason—inflation of currency. An indirect premium has already appeared on notes in the form of forcing unnecessary purchases for the purpose of obtaining change.

Food Problem, Mr. Amery and the Importing of British Food Expert

Since the creation of the new Food Department under the Government of India two months earlier, the situation has shown no sign of improvement. When the people of India have grown disgusted and tired of the inefficiency of the Administration, Mr. Amery has come forward to shield them. His short statement betrays a lamentable ignorance of the Indian situation :

LONDON, Jan. 21.

The question of shipping wheat to India to tide over until the new crop is available is being urgently considered by His Majesty's Government, Mr. Amery told in the Commons today. He said that he hoped to make an announcement on subject in the near future. Replying to a series of questions he said : "The food situation in India is causing considerable anxiety. Last year's food crops were in general satisfactory but the loss of Burma rice of which about one and a half million tons normally go to India coupled with increased demands for the army and the serious failure of the millet crop in certain parts have caused prices to rise and food to become in many parts not only dear but scarce."

Flooding in Sind and cyclones in Orissa and Bengal accompanied by flooding have been contributory factors but have not, in themselves, caused more than temporary local shortages. At first the problem was mainly one of distribution but it must now be accepted that there is a shortage though it affects only urban and a few rural

areas where crops have failed. With care and proper distribution there should be enough to go round and there is no cause for alarm. But the distribution problem is undoubtedly difficult.

The Government of India's first measure to meet this vital problem was to centralise in the Food Department a number of administrative functions hitherto spread over various Government departments and also to arrange for purchase of wheat by Government agents from the producing areas. Similar arrangements have been made for purchase of other grains.

The results, therefore, have been disappointing owing to hoarding and profiteering which are difficult to deal with. The possibility of individual rationing in urban areas is being seriously considered. Preparatory measures are already being put in train in some larger cities but administrative difficulties obviously will occur in a country such as India.

The question of shipping wheat to India from overseas to tide over before the new crop is available in April is being urgently considered by His Majesty's Government and I trust it will be possible to make an announcement on the subject in the near future."

Answering other questions Mr. Amery said, that the control of prices is being very earnestly considered by the Government of India and transport had naturally occupied the attention of His Majesty's Government. Asked if the Government of India will attempt release of accumulated surpluses Mr. Amery said : "That is being done."—*Reuter*. (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.).

Mr. Amery has admitted that the Government of India have been unable to check hoarding and profiteering. The Indian Government which is unable to stamp out such corruption and inefficiency from its own officials. Even honest attempts in this direction do not appear to have been made.

The *New Statesman and Nation* of England has been able to take a more realistic and correct attitude regarding the food situation in this country. The following summary of an article in it was published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* :

LONDON, Jan. 24.

The *New Statesman and Nation* in an article expresses its belief that the British Government is now facing an enemy in India more formidable than the Congress, namely "Famine" which is man-made. It says that several explanations have been made which account for a shortage but not famine. "Nor does the explanation for deficient transport impress us."

It believes that the clue can be found in occasional leading articles of Indian newspapers that peasants are hoarding food under pressure of fear while dealers and usurers are hoarding for gain.

The article asserts that although the shortage has been growing for the past 6 months, nothing has been done until recently, but even the measures taken, though useful, will not halt hoarding. Indians are asking for rationing which, the writer believes, should certainly be carried out in towns but is unworkable in villages.

"The problem is to get at the hoarded food stored in jars by peasants and in granaries by dealers. Our first suggestion is that coercion should be applied to profiteers. If shooting there must be, why not start on

time and degree of devastation is unknown? In a country like India, where not even 25 per cent. of the ailing people can get hospital accommodation, it is inhuman on the part of the authorities to shut out beds for an indefinite period.

The recent air-raids have shown that there is hardly any justification for calculating the devastation on the scale of London bombing. The hostile air base in our case is further off and the raider is far less formidable in air strength than Germany. Almost the whole of the reserved beds in the Calcutta hospitals can, after the recent experiences, be released for the use of civil population. Reserving a few beds in the moonlit nights would seem to be more than enough.

High Price of Cloth : Its Real Cause

A pair of coarse *dhotis* is selling at Rs. 6-12. What this means to India's masses can be better conceived than described. In and around the town of Madhupur in Santal Parganas poor men, women and children congregate in large numbers in open spaces in the small hours of the morning, make large fires with dry leaves collected during the day and sit round them to ward off cold. They have not sufficient clothing. Men are thus little removed from the condition of monkeys. Wages here are four to five annas for ten hours' work. For the greater part of rural India this is true. We explained a year ago in the columns of this journal that the high prices of cloth, paper, etc., were due to the amount of Excess Profits Tax allowed to manufacturers in this country. Australia allows only 4 per cent. as profits to manufacturers. In Britain itself only 20 per cent. are allowed and even these are used to build up a reserve fund to be used after the war. A Bill is going to be introduced in the Stockholm legislature limiting Company dividends to 6 per cent. The Viceroy during the last week of December pointed out in the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta that the Excess Profits Tax was the lowest in India in the whole Empire. The Finance Member of the Government of India is also convinced at long last of the anomaly of allowing a wide margin of profit and then taking only 66⅔ of excess profits. But he confines his activities of reform to the State purchase of military requirements. If the Government will make the Excess Profits Tax here the same as in Britain, it will take the wind out of the sail of the mill-owners and prices will then come down. If, on the other hand, it

will limit profits to the same figure as in Australia, cloth will sell at the pre-war price of Re. 1-12 for a pair of coarse *dhotis*.

The owners of cotton mills are mostly Indians. Have they got no duty to their poor countrymen who through their representatives in legislature have imposed on themselves for years a self-denying ordinance in the shape of a high protective duty? When the scorched earth policy was discussed, these mill-owners invoked the names of labourers and our countrymen. Can not members in the Central legislature in the ensuing session press home this matter affecting millions? How long will the disparity between the prices of cotton and cloth continue?

SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAY

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru's Inaugural Address

In opening the fifth session of the Indian Political Science Conference, the Hon. Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru made a very important pronouncement. Pandit Hridaynath deals with the various aspects of the present political situation in the country in a comprehensive manner and exposes as completely as possible the policy followed by the British Government in dealing with it. He very appropriately urges that the people of India must be made to feel that the freedom for which the war is being fought is in some measure theirs already and that the defeat of the Axis powers holds out the prospect of its complete realisation. He shows how, on the other hand, the liberty of the people has quite unjustifiably been restricted by the Government's increased control over the Press, and their promulgation of drastic ordinances, as also the extent to which quite a large number of people have been punished and treated very unfairly and unjustly as a result of the imposition of collective fines. The speaker is right when he points out that "the control which Government have sought to impose on newspapers is due less to the needs of the situation than to the aversion of an irresponsible Government to a free Press." About the policy relating to the promulgation of ordinances followed by Government, Pandit Kunzru complains that "the legislature has been completely ignored and roughly speaking, but for its control over the finances, it would have been virtually superseded by the executive." From what he says about the financial control of the legislature, we fear Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru has failed to note, how ineffective and sterile has been this control as also to overlook

the implications of the present financial policy of the Government of India, which cannot in any way be stated to be in consonance with the wishes of the legislature. He very properly urges that in the interests of Government themselves, the injustice in the matter of collective fines should be rectified.

S. K. L.

Demand for Sovereign Status

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru's speech at the Indian Political Science Conference contains a clear and well-reasoned analysis, along with a scathing condemnation, of the policy that is being followed in the administration of the provinces. In the provinces which are stated to be administered normally by Ministers "the situations created by the war have tended to concentrate all real authority in the hands of the Government and the permanent officials," and the Ministers occupy a subordinate position. As regards other provinces where the constitutional machinery has broken down, he considers that to describe them as "autonomous and allow them to be governed in accordance with the wishes of a single person is contrary to all constitutional canon." In such provinces, the Governor has, in fact, become a dictator and the permanent official, the master of the situation. Pandit Kunzru has rightly come to the conclusion "that the working of the Provincial Governments has clearly shown that Responsible Government in the provinces cannot flourish under an autocratic central executive." In this connection, he did well in sounding a note of warning to the advocates of functional representation and irremovable executives. He said:

We do not know what solution the authorities have in view but suggestions were previously made that systems of government which did not make the executive dependent for its existence on the support of the legislature might be more suited to the conditions of India than those based on responsibility of the government to legislative majorities. What the authorities had in mind we do not know, but disillusionment awaits those who think the Indian political structure can be based on functional representation and irremovable executives.

Pandit Kunzru considers that the acceptance of the federal scheme with the authority that it retains in the hands of the British Government, as urged by the Viceroy in his Calcutta speech, is not a practical proposition at the present moment and then observes:

The last war was followed by radical changes in the constitutional status of the British self-governing dominions. It seems fairly certain that this war will also lead to new developments in the relations between them and England. They will probably cease to be thought as dominions and be acknowledged more explicitly as

sovereign states than they have been thereto. It will be a mistake therefore to think that at a time when the war is altering old political conceptions, India will be prepared to accept the dependent status. She can in future only be a sovereign state in free association with England and other nations. No lesser position has any chance of being willingly accepted by her people.

The future course of Indo-British relationship will, in this circumstance, have to be decided, as Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru says, upon a frank acceptance by Britain of this position.

S. K. L.

Indian Political Science Conference

It is unfortunate that the proceedings of the Fifth Session of the Indian Political Science Conference have not attracted adequate notice in the Press. At a time when the problem of after-war social and political reconstruction is being canvassed, both in this country and elsewhere, it is greatly to be desired that the discussion at such Conferences, bearing on a number of questions relating to this important matter, should receive close and careful consideration at the hands of the more thoughtful section of the politically-minded people in the country. There are people who, for obvious reasons, urge that all our attention should now be devoted to the prosecution of the war. But if countries like England, the United States of America, and even China, which are not less interested than India is, in the successful prosecution of the war, find it of imperative importance to discuss with energy and persistence such problems at the present moment, why should India, circumstanced as she is, remain placid and quiescent, rather than acting likewise if not with greater vigour and earnestness? As the Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar observes, in the course of his presidential address, at the last session of the All-India Educational Conference, held at Indore, the war is, in fact, the best time for carrying on such discussion for the simple reason among others that the conscience of mankind is stirred during the war against wrongs and injustice. The Conference met at Agra on the 2nd January last under the presidency of Principal Gurmukh Nihal Singh of H. L. College of Commerce, Ahmedabad, and its proceedings were opened by the Hon. Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, President, Servants of India Society and Member of the Council of State. The subjects discussed at the session, and on which papers were submitted to it, were of a wide range and variety. These were divided into four main groups, namely, Functional Representation; Socialist Theories and their applicability to India; Types of Executives; and Constitutional Development

and Constitutional Law of British India since 1935. The papers were contributed mainly by teachers of Colleges and Universities and these contain very useful information and valuable suggestions. The conclusions reached by the writers on these important matters deserve careful consideration by people interested in the future development of the country.

S. K. L.

India's Unity

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru is very emphatic in asserting, in the course of his opening speech at the Indian Political Science Conference, that the unity of India should be maintained. He is right in considering that the responsibility for the present unsatisfactory situation created by the propaganda carried on in favour of dismemberment of the country "must be borne in no small measure by Government." He says:

By their obstinate silence at a time when an assurance that the political unity of the country will not be allowed to be disintegrated would have been of inestimable value, they allowed the forces seeking the dismemberment of the country to gain steadily in strength. In spite of repeated demands for an unequivocal declaration that India will not be allowed to be broken up into a number of states they failed to make their position clear and Sir Stafford Cripps put forward proposals on behalf of the War Cabinet which contemplated the possibility of secession of certain provinces from India in certain circumstances.

Pandit Kunzru is not satisfied with Lord Linlithgow's pronouncement on the subject made in the course of his last Calcutta speech. In stating that he does not regard the utterance as a contribution to the cause of India's unity he observes:

Lord Linlithgow has recently broken his long silence on this vital topic and asked us to bear in mind the importance of unity to India's future and to consider whether its maintenance is not worth some sacrifice, if some sacrifice must be its price. I would have welcomed His Excellency's exhortations even at this stage as an indication of a change of attitude on the part of His Majesty's Government without whose sanction he could not have expressed the views referred to above, if His Excellency had unconditionally stated that no post-war changes would be allowed to impair the political integrity of the country, but he has made the maintenance of unity conditional on its willing acceptance by the minorities. His Excellency's warning that mere artificial unity without genuine agreement between component parts may well be a danger rather an advantage, takes away from his appeal the value it would otherwise have had. The destiny of the country is still dependent on previous agreements which is a prerequisite to unity and freedom. I cannot, therefore, regard Lord Linlithgow's speech as a change of policy on the part of the authorities. Both the supporters and opponents of the territorial integrity of the country can find something in it in favour of their views.

That the British Government have not yet abandoned the sinister idea of dismemberment of India is shown in the following extract from a pamphlet entitled "Fifty Facts about India" published by the British Information Services, an agency of the British Government in the United States of America, for the education (!) of the American public:

Acceptance and implementation of any constitution framed immediately after the cessation of hostilities by an elected body of Indians, was undertaken by the British Government in March 1942. If any province should not agree to the proposed constitution, that need not impede Indian independence, as Britain is ready to recognise that Province's independence separately.

S. K. L.

Principal Gurmukh Nihal Singh's Presidential Address

In his Presidential Address at the Fifth Session of the Indian Political Science Conference, which met at Agra on the 2nd January last, Mr. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, deals at considerable length with what he describes as the birth and growth of Muslim Nationalism in India and indicates the chief steps in the evolution of the movement which has culminated in the demand for Pakistan, which, in other words, means the establishment of separate and independent Muslim states. He also sets forth the different stages through which the British Government have furthered their policy of keeping the people divided in India beginning with the activities of Principal Beck of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, in the eighties of the last century down to the recent declaration by the British Government as embodied in Cripps proposals. The most important step taken by the British Government in promoting this policy was, in the view of Mr. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, the introduction of the system of separate communal electorates, under the Reforms of 1909. How his policy was systematically pursued at succeeding stages in the discussion on Reforms in India is shown also. He demonstrates completely by quoting from the writings and utterances of responsible British statesmen and writers that the responsibility for this policy rests wholly with the British Government.

S. K. L.

"Terrible Half Solution of the Indian Problem"

The speech contains an analysis of the more important among the causes that may be held to be responsible for the enunciation of the two-nation theory and the demand for Partition and

Pakistan on Sudetan lines. These are, first, the need felt by the Muslims "for an effective popular slogan, to rally the Muslim masses, which became an urgent necessity with the extension of the franchise and the starting of the 'Muslim Mass Contacts' programme"; secondly, "the failure on the part of the Muslim League to capture power in any of the four Provinces in which Muslims have a majority"; thirdly, "the decision of the Congress to accept office in the Provinces where it had a majority deprived the Muslims of those Provinces of the temporary advantages they had gained by the formation of interim ministries in which Muslims occupied a most important position"; fourthly, "the failure of the Congress-League negotiations for the formation of coalition ministries in the Congress-majority provinces, particularly because coalition ministries were functioning in the Muslim-majority provinces"; fifthly, "the inspiration derived from the Sudetan movement in Czechoslovakia which led to the separation of Sudetanland and its incorporation in German Reich in October, 1938"; and, lastly, "the existence of social customs among the Hindus which make real social contact with the Muslims an impossibility." The analysis though not a complete and perfect one—and Principal Gurmukh Nihal Singh in a way admits it—is certainly able and ingenious and quite good for a proper comprehension of the problem. He feels that as the question has passed "beyond the realm of thought into the irrational zone of highly surcharged emotion," it is no use going into the arguments for or against Pakistan. If the Indian Muslims have been able to create "the desire to live together and be one and to feel separate and distinct from others"—a condition, which, he says, "forms the supreme condition for constituting nationality," none of the other conditions being essential, "no denial on the part of others will prevent them from being a separate nation—opposition will only result in hastening the process and in bringing about its earlier materialisation." Mr. Gurmukh Nihal Singh describes this as a "terrible half solution of the Indian problem." He, however, admits that the British Government might not ultimately accord its approval and support to the League proposal, although he fears "that the League is sure of the support of the British Government in which Mr. Churchill is the Prime Minister and Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, and which has already announced its adherence to the Cripps Proposals." After describing the stupendous nature of the difficulties of any proper solution of the problem looked at from the point

of view of either the Muslim League or the Hindus, the President of the Indian Political Science Conference comes to the following conclusion:

In my opinion the future of India will depend upon how the problem of minorities is handled in Hindustan and as to what efforts are made to bring about a real fusion of the peoples into a single whole. A good beginning might be made with composite cabinets and by guaranteeing complete religious freedom and protection to the language and culture of minorities but a determined effort must be made to cultivate a purely secular outlook in public affairs and to discard untouchability of all kinds and to abandon personal, local and communal conceptions of law and politics and thus create in course of time denational, socialist States in the country. When that is accomplished the separated States shall return and form a Union of the Indian Socialist Republics.

It appears to us that the President of the Indian Political Science Conference has taken a too pessimistic and gloomy view of the situation. He ignores the fact that the better minds amongst the Muslims have already begun to realise the unwisdom of the course advocated by Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. He also utterly overlooks the growing volume of opposition of other communities to the project. Further, he fails to take into account the effect of the forces that are likely to flow on the termination of the war against all Fascistic tendencies.

S. K. L.

The Rt. Hon. Jayakar on Educational Reconstruction

The Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar delivered a comprehensive and thoughtful address as President of the All-India Educational Conference, held at Indore, on the 27th December last. The speech deserves the closest attention of all interested in the future welfare of India. At the outset the distinguished speaker condemns in the strongest terms the present educational policy of Government which discourages education by curtailing educational expenditure, taking over buildings of educational institutions for military purposes, and by other ways, and commends to the notice of the authorities as also the Indian public the examples of Britain and China in pushing forward educational advance even though confronted with the greatest difficulties. The main part of Dr. Jayakar's speech is, however, devoted to a consideration of the pressing problem of reconstruction of the Indian educational system. He emphasises the need of devising a wider and more sound system of public education with the ultimate goal of creating a loving faith in freedom, truth and

beauty and the establishment of national unity and peace. Before this onerous task is undertaken, he urges, they should decide what kind of society they desire to create, "what ideologies to promulgate, whether the present organisation and competitive system is to be replaced by a co-operative one securing the common good of the various classes supplementing one another, whether we shall think on terms of individual or class profit in place of common good." In doing this they shall, of course, have to keep in clear view Indian traditions of education and build on their basis, the main Indian tradition embodied in their ancient literature being "that right education must be aimed at the freedom of the individual all round, freedom to think and believe, freedom for self-evolution and self-expression against all the tyrannies of sacred books and the fanaticism of political and religious zealots." The general belief that a time of war is not the best time for planning whether in the sphere of education or in any other sphere finds no support in Dr. Jayakar. On the other hand, he holds the view that a time of war is the best for pushing forward educational schemes. The war is bound to give a rude shock to all sorts of institutions in all countries. India cannot hope to escape this universal change and it is only by a reconstruction of her educational system that she can expect to meet the requirements of the new era. The failure of Government in the matter to do its duty, Dr. Jayakar thinks, can be no excuse for Indian leaders not to do theirs. On the contrary, it makes all the more binding upon them to do it, and, indeed, to redouble their efforts to make up for the lost time and energy.

S. K. L.

Truth and Glory

A great English poet wrote of his homeland once, on some great occasion,

"Many a time in this island's story
Truth has been the Path to Glory."

We are quoting from memory and we cannot recall the occasion on which it was written. Imperialism always has had the false glory of outward splendour attached to it, under the surface there is always a very sordid and inglorious mass of festering filth. History teaches us that no empire was ever built without breaking every one of the Ten Commandments. The story of all conquered nations makes it clear that whatever else may be associated with Imperialism, Truth cannot be said to have any considerable relation with it.

"Fifty Facts About India"

"Fifty Facts about India" is the title of a small pamphlet that is being circulated in America for the education of the people of that country about the Government of India, the people of the country and her war effort, and the nature of the present relation between the United States and India. It is published by the British Information Services, an agency for the British Government in America. Some of the "Facts" which have been stated in the pamphlet prove the truth of the saying that half-truths are more dangerous than untruths. We desire to refer very briefly to two or three of these "Facts," a word which indicates conformity to reality and accuracy, to show the nature of propaganda that is being carried on in America against India by responsible British authorities. One of these "Facts" runs thus:

British Indian Provinces have enjoyed self-government since 1937, each of the eleven having virtually the same powers as those enjoyed by individual States of the U. S. A. In each Province an Indian Prime Minister and Cabinet administer finance, law, education, health, agriculture and similar matters, and are responsible to an Indian legislature, representing an Indian electorate.

The dismissal of Mr. Allabux, Chief Minister of Sind, the resignation of Mr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, Finance Minister of Bengal, and some of the statements made by the Hon'ble Fazlal Haque, Chief Minister of Bengal, have proved the illusory character of the autonomy possessed by the provinces which are still stated to be governed smoothly and in a normal manner. In the other provinces, the Governor, who is a dictator, and the permanent officials, who actually control the administration, govern the country in an entirely autocratic way. The Hon. Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, to whose pronouncement on the subject we have referred elsewhere at some length, shows that in no way can any of the provinces of India be said to enjoy autonomy and responsible government. In this circumstance, nothing could be further from truth than any comparison of the provinces of India with the States of the United States of America. Another "Fact" referred to in the pamphlet speaks of India's Fiscal Autonomy. American citizens are told:

India has had Fiscal Autonomy since 1921, which means she has the power to impose tariffs upon goods from Britain as well as from non-British sources—a power which has frequently been exercised.

Is it not a fact that the Fiscal Autonomy Convention was given a decent burial when on

technical grounds the Convention was ignored and Preference was granted to British steel and textiles about fifteen years ago? One will recall in this connection the spirited protest of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the observations on the subject made at the time by the late Mr. V. J. Patel, the then President of the Indian Legislative Assembly. But worse things were to come. In fact, the method of concluding the Ottawa Agreement and the implementing of the Mody-Lees Pact and the Indo-British Agreement (mainly in relation to the steel industry) robbed the so-called Convention of all but a debating point only. The records of the debates of the Central Legislature are there to show how strongly India's public men have felt in this making a mockery of the much trumpeted India Convention. Another "Fact" states: "India pays no taxes to Britain either direct or indirect." When one takes into account the entire financial policy of the Government of India together with the enormous drain of India's resources to Britain in numerous ways, can it be said that this statement conveys with exactness and precision the actual financial relationship in which India stands to Britain? The situation demands that some responsible organisation should come forward with statements of actual facts in all cases in which the pamphlet referred to above transmits to the American people an entirely wrong and distorted view of actual Indian conditions.

S. K. L.

Enemy Agents Ordinance

We are, perhaps, approaching a time when no activity of any individual living in India will be outside the scope of an Ordinance issued by the Governor-General of India. Recently an Ordinance, called the Enemy Agents Ordinance, 1943 (Ordinance No. 1 of 1943) has been promulgated which provides for the trial and punishment of enemy agents, and persons committing certain offences, with intent to aid the enemy agents. The Ordinance provides that whoever is an enemy agent, or with intent to aid the enemy, does, or attempts or conspires with any other person to do, and act which is designed or likely to give assistance to the naval, military or air operations of the enemy or to impede the naval, military or air operations of His Majesty's forces or to endanger life shall be punishable with death. The Ordinance will apply to offences committed at any time after the 2nd September, 1939, and will thus have retrospective effect. Offences punishable accord-

ing to the provisions of the Ordinance will be tried by Special Judges having jurisdiction throughout British India, appointed by the Central Government. Any person who has acted for a period of not less than two years in the exercise of the powers of a Sessions Judge or an Assistant Sessions Judge may be appointed to such special judgeship. The Central Government may, at any stage of the proceedings before a Special Judge, transfer the case to another Special Judge. In such case the Special Judge, to whom the case is transferred, shall not be bound to re-summon or re-hear the witnesses or any of them unless he is satisfied that such a course is necessary in the interests of justice. Further, where a person is charged before a Special Judge with an offence committed as an enemy agent, or with intent to aid the enemy, in terms of the Ordinance, he may also be charged with and tried at the same trial for any other offence with which he might under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1938 be charged at one trial, and the procedure of the Ordinance shall also apply to the trial of any such other offence. The Special Judge is empowered to pass any sentence authorised by law. In cases in which a person convicted is sentenced to death or to transportation for life or in which the Special Judge certifies that, in his opinion, the case has involved questions of special difficulty, whether of law or fact, or is one which for any other reason ought properly to be reviewed, the proceedings shall be submitted for review by a person appointed by the Central Government in this behalf, from among the Judges of a High Court in British India and the decision of that person shall be final. When the Judge grants permission to the accused he may of right be defended by a pleader. Such pleader, however, shall be a person whose name is entered in a list prepared by the Central Government or who is otherwise approved by the Central Government. When the statement of any person has been recorded by any Magistrate, it may be admitted in evidence in any trial before a Special Judge even if such person is dead or cannot be found or is incapable of giving evidence. There shall be no appeal from any order or sentence made or passed by a Special Judge or a reviewing Judge under the Ordinance. Any person who, without the previous authorisation of the Central Government, discloses or publishes any information with respect to any person proceeded against under this Ordinance, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both. These are

the main provisions of the Ordinance. There are other provisions with equally reactionary features. The Ordinance is of so drastic a character, the wording of some of its provisions are so very vague and elastic, its sweep is so wide, and its scope so comprehensive, that we think that before this dangerous weapon is employed by the authorities, they should place it before the legislature with a view to a proper revision of such of its features, as the exclusion of the jurisdiction of the High Court, the Federal Court and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the various restrictive provisions put in the defence of the accused, and other similar objectionable provisions.

S. K. L.

Censorship in Jails

A rather unusual type of censorship in the Dum Dum Special Jail has been reported to us. The *Indian Messenger* and the *Tattwakowmudi*, the two organs of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and which deal mainly in theology, were sent to S. J. Prabhat Chandra Ganguli but the jail authorities have refused them to be delivered to the addressee. We are quite sure that these two journals do not publish any matter which may place any obstacle to the proper prosecution of the war. Is this the type of censorship enforced in the jails where political prisoners of learning and experience have been detained?

Open Letter to Mr. Churchill

The *News Review* of London in its issue, dated 8th October, published an open letter to Mr. Churchill under the main caption *We Can Lose This War*. This letter, we are told in a later issue, received wide notice in the outside world. Needless to say, we in India knew nothing about it until the arrival of the said journal in India after a considerable lapse of time. Two paragraphs of this open letter are of special significance to India. The opening paragraph reads:

Dear Mr. Churchill,—The common people of these islands have stood behind you through some grim and awful days. They have trusted you, and believed in you, for two and a half portentous years. But now the

supreme test has come upon you. This can be the decisive Winter of the war. It is up to you.

In the six months which lie ahead you must weave the pattern of victory cast upon the loom of heroic Stalingrad. If you fail now, it will be too late. Six months! Six months in which to sweep away class prejudice, sloth, timidity, inefficiency and corruption. Six months in which to capture immortality in the minds of all free men. It is a terrible responsibility; it is a glorious opportunity.

And the paragraph preceding the closing one goes as follows:

If we are to give Russia effective aid in 1943 there is no time to be lost. We can clear the way to victory if you, Mr. Churchill, act with resolution now. Let us stop wrangling about the fuel shortage; send more miners back to the pits and ration us until they have filled the yawning gap between output and consumption. Let us stop moaning about the shipping crisis; give us less food, fewer "frills." Cease trying to preserve the old ways of life; remove the obstruction of vested interests. Give the soldier, sailor and airman decent pay. Sack the incompetent gentlemen who have wrangled themselves into soft Whitehall jobs. Stop the policy of drift over India.

Class prejudice, sloth, timidity, inefficiency and corruption clogging up the wheels of victory at the fountain-head, in the Britain of Mr. Churchill. What about the conditions prevailing here? If the reality were known about what is happening here, the appalling spread of corruption, that is now eating deep down the vitals of the country, the truly colossal inefficiency of those in power in all matters relating to this country and its people, the all-consuming spread of class-prejudice—a pet of those who govern—and the truly amazing quality of sloth now associated with red-tape, then the Editor of the *News Review* and all right-thinking men with him would really be plunged into despair.

Regarding the second paragraph, we would wish the Editor Godspeed in his mission, if he still has any hopes. Three of the six months of winter he refers to have already passed. The Russians have fought on gloriously and magnificently in another grim winter campaign. They have ceased calling for aid from their Allies and indeed they have even absented themselves from Allied Conferences. We do not know what are in the Allied plans for future—action all round or just Imperial drift.

LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

My very dear friend, before I sail for China, the time for which is drawing near, I must thank you for the delight that your last letter has given me.

Pearson had an abundant gift of friendship which he freely offered to those, who, because of their obscurity, failed to attract notice. They were like night's background against which his love found its light fully revealed. He was sensitively conscious of the immense value of the individual man, irrespective of his special merits and uses, and this made him keenly suffer whenever that individual was ignored or hurt in consequence of social mal-adjustment or tyranny of organisation. This grew in him to such an extent that he became jealous of all institutions which represented some ideal which had a wide range transcending the limits of the concretely personal. In fact, lately his mind was distracted when Santiniketan outgrew its vocation as a mere educational body belonging to the immediate locality, when it tried to respond in its various efforts to what I consider to be the great call of the present age. He was afraid lest our attention should in the least measure be diverted from the children attending our school into a channel for the communication of ideas and formation of a community. I was feeling anxious about him for some time before he died when he grew restless at the apprehension of encroachment of his adventurous ideal into the happy realm of his personal service. No doubt, idealism is a disturbing factor in all settled form of life and therefore prosperous people have a vigorous suspicion against it. There is such a thing as the enjoyment of emotional prosperity where the stimulation to our personal feeling of love is constantly supplied. Pearson found it when he first came here and his own natural instinct of attachment had its full scope among our school children and the neighbouring villagers. Then came the idea of Visva-bharati like a strong breeze, scattering the petals from our ashram-flower, claiming its fruit. Pearson never was fully reconciled to it to the end of his days. Intellectually he had nothing to say against it, but his heart ached—for his mind was like the bee which has nothing to do with the fruit but only with the flower.

I understand this conflict in his mind

because I myself have a kind of civil war constantly going on in my own nature between my personality as a creative artist, who necessarily must be solitary, and that as an idealist who must realise himself through works of a complex character needing a large field of collaboration with a large body of men. My conflict is within myself between the two opposite forces in my character, and not, as in the case of Pearson, between my individual temperament and the surrounding circumstance. Both of the contending forces being equally natural to me I cannot with impunity get rid of one of them in order to simplify my life's problem. I suppose a proper rhythm is possible to be attained in which both may be harmonised, and my work in the heart of the crowd may find its grace through the touch of the breath that comes from the solitude of the creative mind.

But unfortunately at the present moment, the claim of the organisation is rudely asserting itself, and I do not know how to restrain it within bounds. The poet in me is hurt, his atmosphere of leisure dust-laden. I do not wish that my life's sunset should thus be obscured in a murky air of a strenuous work, the work which perpetually devours its own infinite background of peace. I earnestly hope that I shall be rescued in time before I die;—in the meanwhile I go to China, in what capacity I do not know. Is it as a poet, or as a bearer of good advice and sound commonsense? With love,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

26th Feb., 1924

[W. Pearson came out to India as a professor of the London Mission College, Bhowanipore. He met Rev. C. F. Andrews (1912) in Delhi and both visited Santiniketan (1913) while the Poet was still away on his third European tour (1912-13). Both decided to join the Ashrama as life-long workers and both served splendidly the cause of the Indians abroad. Pearson visited South Africa, Fiji, etc., and toured through Japan and U. S. A. with Rabindranath (1916-17). Pearson was the life and soul of the Santiniketan school managing with rare insight and love some of the most difficult boys of the Ashrama. Pearson wrote an excellent book on the School and also translated the famous novel *Gora*. I had the joy and privilege of knowing him intimately and I met him a few days before his tragic death in a train accident in Italy (1923). He came to see Mon. Romain Rolland while I was staying with M. Rolland as his guest. Before leaving us Pearson expressed to me, sitting on the bank of the Lake Lemana, his desire to return to India and serve the neglected adolescents of our country.—KALIDAS NAG.]



BETWEEN TWO WARS: WILSON AND ROOSEVELT

By SUDHINDRA PRAMANIK

THE memorable part played by President Wilson in the direction and conclusion of the last imperialist war throws a curious sidelight on the role of the 'democratic' nations of Britain and America in this momentous war of our times. It partly reveals the nature and possibilities of the mightiest drama that is being enacted and unfolded before our eyes. There is a strange affinity between the role of two famous Presidents of the U. S. A., Wilson and Roosevelt, though they are separated by two decades and a different historical epoch, as signified by the rise of fascism in the declining state of imperialism. Evidently, Roosevelt speaks a more radical language and foresees a better future like his illustrious predecessor than what Lloyd George or Churchill has ever given vent to and anticipated. He may be aiming at a better kind of freedom for all oppressed and exploited peoples and a more stable foundation of world peace than what the diehard Premier of 'democratic' Britain is working for. But there is, as yet, no evidence that he is playing a more progressive role than President Wilson although the former is fighting a people's war against the world's common enemy—fascism, not merely in alliance with imperialists but also in alliance with the progressive and revolutionary forces headed by the Soviet Union, while the latter had to fight an "imperialist" war against the people's interests and revolutionary forces and bargain with sworn imperialists for a better peace through his famous 'fourteen points'. On the contrary, it looks as if Wilson was more outspoken in condemnation of the imperialist policy of the Allies and their attempted imperialist peace than Roosevelt has ever been. The following facts tell their own tale.

The last war was undoubtedly an imperialist war in every sense of the term. Yet the Allies, the same 'democratic' countries fought it in the name of defending world peace and freedom and the same social democrats and their Labour Parties fell so readily in line with the imperialist policy of their ruling classes to fight out an imperialist war. They indulged in all sorts of make-belief and misled their politically-backward peoples. But the world

lived to learn that they were fighting only for their vested interests, for colonies and raw materials, when Lenin's Government mercilessly exposed their 'democratic' pretensions by publishing the secret Treaties made by the Allied Governments to partition the world among them.

History has to record as well a severe indictment against the Allies' imperialist designs from unexpected quarters, from the pen of no less an authority than Colonel House, a personal envoy of President Wilson, who so truthfully recorded in his *Intimate Papers* the role of President Wilson and of the Allies in the last world war. He was despatched by the President to Europe in November 1917 to try to

"persuade the European Allies to issue a joint statement of war aims, which would weaken German propaganda and help the Allies to maintain relations with Russia. Such a step, he maintained, was more necessary because of the Bolshevik peace proposal and the increasing demand on the part of liberal and labour elements in Allied countries for an assurance that the war was not being continued for imperialist ends." (*Intimate Papers* of Colonel House, Vol. III, p. 184).

Exactly the same kind of assurance is being demanded by the Indian people and liberal and labour elements in the Allied countries from the very beginning of the war but without any visible effect on the ruling classes who have still upperhands in the conduct of the war. Even the military necessity of a people's war could not persuade the imperialists to discontinue their traditional policy.

On the occasion of the Pope's peace note of August 1917, Colonel House suggested that the Allies might associate themselves with Wilson's reply (to abandon the imperialist secret Treaties) and that

"this would in itself go far towards a co-ordination of war aims and perhaps indicate a tendency towards the revision of the more extreme territorial aspirations of the Allies." (*Ibid*, p. 170).

But "the President was conscious of such a difference between his point of view and that of the European Allies that he feared to reach an agreement." (*Ibid*, p. 172).

The President felt the "vital need" for "revision of what some termed the imperialist aspirations of the entente. . . Only thus could the enthusiasm of liberal and labour elements be maintained." (*Ibid*, pp. 172-3, 176-7).

But the President failed to persuade the European Allies even to agree to a policy which, according to him, indicated nothing more than "a tendency towards the revision of the more extreme territorial aspirations of the Allies."

But nothing about these fateful negotiations were known to the outside world or even to the British and American peoples whose Governments were negotiating behind their back but on their behalf to make or mar their future. So Colonel House wrote:

"Historians have often wondered why Wilson chose to make the speech of the Fourteen Points at the particular moment he selected."

According to evidence in the House Papers:

"It was because the American Mission failed to secure from the Inter-Allied Conference a manifesto on war aims that might serve to hold Russia in the war and result in an effective diplomatic offensive against the Central Powers."

"Because of the failure to achieve this unity President Wilson was compelled to undertake the diplomatic offensive on his own responsibility." (*Ibid*, pp. 291, 324-5).

However,

"The Allies were ultimately forced (by this diplomatic offensive) to concede to the Fourteen Points with some reservations on the threats of a public exposure of their real war aims."

It is significant that nothing but that threat of a public exposure of their real war aims could induce them to concede to the Fourteen Points, still with some reservations. Colonel House was first jubilant over this achievement. But he lived to learn that the Allies were too shrewd for them and his Fourteen Points could not prevent them from concluding an imperialist peace. He sadly wrote on March 3, 1919:

"It is now evident that the peace will not be such a peace as I had hoped, or one which this terrible upheaval should have brought about. . . . If the President should exert his influence among the liberals and labouring classes, he might possibly overthrow the Governments in Great Britain, France and Italy; but if he did, he would still have to reckon with our people and he might bring the whole world into chaos. The overthrow of Governments might not end there, and it would be a grave responsibility for any man to take at this time." (*Ibid*, p. 732).

What a confession from a great diplomat! President Wilson, faced with the only alternative of overthrowing the Governments of Britain, France and Italy that sabotaged his peace terms, had to ultimately swallow his good intentions because he could not take that "grave responsibility". He achieved his first diplomatic victory

"in the face of a hostile and influential Junta in the United States and the thoroughly unsympathetic (to his

Fourteen Points) personnel constituting the entente Governments."

But that very Junta won the final victory which alone counts in the ultimate analysis.

Yet social democrats and Labour Parties and Radicals of Europe were misled by the democratic pretensions of their Governments and believed in their peace aims like simpletons. But it goes to the credit of Wilson that he had no such illusions. On board the *George Washington*, on his way to the Peace Conference,

"The President remarked that we would be the only disinterested people at the Peace Conference, and that the men whom we were about to deal with did not represent their own peoples. . . . With great earnestness he re-emphasised the point that unless the Conference was prepared to follow the opinion of mankind and to express the will of the people rather than that of their leaders, we would soon be involved in another break-up of the world, and when such a break-up came, it would not be a war but a cataclysm."

His prophetic words have come to be true to the letter. But did the imperialists or Labour Parties and Radicals learn anything from these significant lessons of history? Nothing appreciable so far. Popular forces are being misled into false security in the same old way. Every attempt to conduct the war in the people's way is being sabotaged by the same influential

Junta. That very history is being repeated before our eyes in a very remarkable manner. President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill dramatically signed the Atlantic Charter and openly pledged their determination to fight for peace and freedom of all peoples of the world. The redoubtable labour leader and Churchill's Deputy Attlee announced to the world that the Charter obviously applied to India and other dependencies. But his diehard chief and conscience-keeper immediately corrected him and stated that it did not necessarily apply to India, as European peoples were in their minds when they made that declaration. Although the Charter clearly referred again and again not merely to "the European peoples" but to "all peoples of the world," yet Roosevelt, the other principal signatory, preferred not to correct him or give his own interpretation openly for reasons best known to himself. Attlee and his whole Labour Party had to swallow their own words. Although fascist propagandists quite logically took every advantage of that significant departure, Roosevelt maintained his silence to the great dissatisfaction of all coloured peoples of Asia, Africa and other parts of the world. It is not known what diplomatic pres-

sure he exercised on the British Government behind the scene. But the very fact that Churchill's statement went unchallenged in spite of the repeated demand of many representative Indians and other influential peoples of the world to clarify the real meaning and scope of the Atlantic Charter spoke a volume about the difference between a declaration and its interpretation, not to speak of its application. According to Churchill, not merely Indians but also other coloured peoples of Asia, Africa and America did not enter into the rosy picture drawn by the Atlantic Charter. If he could interpret so glibly the oft-repeated phrase "all peoples of the world" as meaning only European peoples even before the ink in which the Charter was written could be dry, what reliance the oppressed and weaker peoples can place on their "solemn" assurances! Again, the die-hard imperialist Junta triumphed through a tiny loophole in the Charter which, while referring to "all peoples of the World," did not specifically mention the freedom of all colonial and coloured peoples.

This naturally created a lot of misunderstanding in India, China and other countries. Influential journals and notable persons in America began to clamour for a Pacific Charter and a categorical declaration from Roosevelt on that all-important point. This demand in relation to the present and future status of India became very insistent during the rapid collapse of the British citadels in the Pacific. Many Americans showed much sympathy for the aspirations of the Indian people. Yet they could not move the American Government to intervene in the Indian dispute which was still officially regarded as a "domestic" matter of the British Government. Roosevelt might have used a certain amount of diplomatic influence on the British Government which was indicated by the role played by Colonel Louis Johnson during the Cripps mission in India. But under the cover of the tragic failure of that mission the American opinion again beat a retreat. The manner in which the Cripps proposal was trumpeted as the grant of virtual freedom to India and its rejection deprived India of much of the earlier American sympathy showed how easily even well-meaning peoples can be misled by interested propaganda and vague assertions. Conscious of a coming decisive war in the Pacific and even in the Indian soil, the American opinion seems to be recovering from that reaction in favour of pursuing a bold policy towards India and Asiatic countries in order to

enlist their solid support by guaranteeing freedom of Indians, Burmans and other Asiatics in the immediate present. That mood is partly reflected in the recent reference by Roosevelt to the freedom of all peoples including those of Asia and in the statements of some spokesmen of the U. S. A. Government regarding the importance of India as the war zone and immense value of the Indian peoples' wholehearted support. The arrival in India of the personal representative of Roosevelt and his role will be watched with great interest by all freedom-loving peoples. All this, however, indicates nothing more than a growing American interest in a more speedy and satisfactory solution of the Indian issue in the best interests of the common war efforts.

In contrast with the role of President Wilson in the last war, one cannot, therefore, help observing that although the stake is far greater than ever before and the present war is being fought between progressive and reactionary forces, President Roosevelt could not appreciably rise equal to the occasion in making a timely and categorical declaration regarding the meaning and scope of the Atlantic Charter, or in coming swiftly to the aid of Russia and China, or in preventing the Indian situation from drifting from bad to worse during the most fateful phases of the war. These lapses are by no means accidental but significant in their own way. The talks of preservation of the French Colonial Empire by 'democratic' Generals De Gaulle and Giraud, of formation of the United States of Africa under the virtual hegemony of white peoples and of the joint control of the world production and supply by Britain and America can not but produce a bad effect on the morale of the coloured peoples fighting for the survival of the United Nations. What a blindness not to guarantee freedom of the Burmans on the eve of the Burmese campaign! Roosevelt has just delivered a great message to the 78th Congress. He has talked of "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" and of "economic stability". But he did not explain how all these admirable things can be secured without liquidating imperialism and without disturbing the capitalist mode of production, distribution and exchange. He "shuddered to think" what will happen to humanity... if this war ends in an inconclusive peace! Yet he has no better peace to offer to the war-ravaged world than an Armed Peace secured and maintained by the strong arms of the Allies by disarming for all time Germany, Italy and

Japan. He does not even dream of disarmament of all nations and maintenance of an international armed force to secure an abiding peace under the terms of the League of Nations and on the basis of freedom of all peoples including the vanquished. He condemns not merely fascists but the entire proud and civilised peoples of these fascist states to eternal damnation. He looks upon these "aggressor nations" as nothing better than "predatory animals". What a colossal folly to cleanly forget the history of all other predatory and aggressor nations and the bitter lessons of the Versailles Treaty and its carefully-secured armed peace so soon. What a pretension to claim that "after the first World War we tried to achieve a formula—a formula for a permanent peace based on magnificent idealism"! No wonder, Roosevelt again forgot to declare to stand unequivocally for freedom of all colonial peoples and dependencies.

It is painful to contemplate that even a strong and progressive President like Roosevelt is failing to assert his own against the powerful Junta and to play even that much role which

his illustrious predecessor had the courage to pursue against a far more powerful Junta. Yet Wilson undoubtedly lacked that much popular backing which Roosevelt will surely have from his great Allies, peoples of Russia and China as well as from all oppressed and weaker peoples. The entire progressive forces of Europe and America would back him if only he dares take action in the right spirit of the Atlantic Charter which he has himself signed. Chiang Kai-shek virtually made that appeal long ago. The Soviet Union stands four square for complete freedom of all exploited peoples. A timely action on the part of the President to solve the Indian issue not in any uncertain future but today may yet turn the tide of Indian opinion irresistibly in favour of the United Nations. This courageous righting of a historic wrong at this critical phase of war at the very doors of India may well prove to be the last knell on the coffin of Fascism. But will he dare? The future of India may not say, of the whole course of the war does not say, of his timely intervention.

WHEN THE WAR IS OVER

By V.

Now, as twenty-five years ago, we are fighting a World War to save Democracy. Will the results be the same? Did the end of the last war see the Rights of Man acknowledged and established on a firm and permanent footing? Or did the world continue as usual—Business before Humanity? The answer is well-known to all men. After fighting the bloodiest battles in history, mankind went back to its sordid pursuits. Ignorance, poverty and injustice continued to prevail and Big Business ruled supreme everywhere. So we came into another World War.

At the end of this war, are things going to be different? Are people going to be less ignorant, less poor and more just? If not, then what is the good of all this tall talk about Justice, Freedom, Democracy and so forth. Given their proper dimensions these words mean Food, Housing, Education, Medical Aid, Comforts, Luxuries and a Self-respecting Existence. Without these, the creation of a number of empty designations for a limited number of men means nothing. As far as India is concerned,

the situation can be summarised quite easily and in brief. About two hundred years ago, British traders obtained a hold on this land by fair means or foul—it does not really matter which; for human outlook was different then and what was good for Clive and Dalhousie is not moral and just for Churchill and Co. After the British got their hold on India, they tried energetically to make it a sound and profitable business. If they did any good to the people, it was done incidentally, as part of a sound business programme. The outlook was one of making a profitable business out of this political control. This can be proved by the results. While millions of Indians have remained poor, ignorant, ill-fed, ill-clad, dominated by sporadic diseases and epidemics, the British have made good by their Indian connection and have seldom gone out of their way to make Indians prosperous, efficient strong and intelligent. Any impartial observer with a working knowledge of arithmetic will be able to prove this to the hilt, if he only went about it the right way.

It is, however, not so very important to try and fix this guilt on the British rulers of India.

Nor does it help the British to try and prove that a large number of Indians connived at this tremendous business of governing millions of poor ignorants with a view to build up a super-structure of profit and good living for the benefit of a small number of Britishers and Indians. The main question is, are we going to continue with this or is there any hope of a better state of affairs at the end of this war. The Indians are potentially as good producers of wealth as the members of any other race. Had the British tried during the last two hundred years to make the Indians produce as much wealth as they could—for their own well-being—instead of following the business principles of international trade which only guaranteed profit to exporters and importers, the Indians would have by now built a pucca house for each family, good roads for all villages and public utility services for everyone. They would have by now set up an economic structure in which all men would have fitted in for the production of all necessary goods and services required for comfortable existence. Instead of that the policy has so long been one of buying and selling internationally for the benefit of men other than the common people of India. Chambers of Commerce and Trades Associations will not make India come into her own rights, and this statement includes such bodies run and organised by Indians.

If I remember right, some American person of importance made a statement sometime ago about teaching Indians how to increase their standard of living. If this meant only starting some American-controlled business houses in India, the promise is not a very thrilling one. India does not require to adopt an American outlook upon life. With all respect to American powers of production, one may yet ask the workers of that great country whether they have achieved contentment and happiness. What is known as a higher standard of living is not necessarily a better standard. Intensive industrialisation does not yield a maximum of national happiness, and we Indians should study the full implications of any economic programme before we start on it.

In summary; when the war is over are we going to follow a national economic policy which will bring the greatest happiness to the greatest number of Indians or are we going to increase trade, commerce and industry in the present, established manner? We must realise that the two are not the same; far from it, they are antagonistic to each other in many ways.

Leaving aside the question of material wealth, let us dwell upon the question of national honour, pride and self-respect. When the war is over shall we still have to meet the loud-voiced, arrogant and half-educated *Sahibs* in our workshops, offices and institutions? Should we still have to see highly educated and well-bred Indians working as subordinates, at half or quarter pay, to people who have wangled a good job in India? There may be nothing in our Law and Constitution which gives the foreigner a higher place than Indians; but the fact is that India is infested by a bunch of bullying men who have been overrated by themselves as well as by their employers and who roam this fair land as living symbols of racial antagonism. This type must be removed from India, if Britain wants the two countries to remain friendly and at peace. We know that pride and arrogance are not unknown vices in India. We have many obnoxious types of superior beings. But the Empire-building type of Britisher can give a few lessons to the average Nazi in racial arrogance and playing the superior. If one studied Indo-British relations during the period that India has been under the British and tried to single out the causes which made the relations bitter and intolerable, the place of honour would undoubtedly go to the lower-middle class Britisher who happened to become a big noise in spite of all lack of qualifications. By far the majority of Indians who feel strongly about India's political subservience to Britain can trace back their feelings to some encounter with one of these *Burra* or *Chhota Sahibs*.

Britain has passed through a great ordeal. She has not yet overcome all the difficulties that she will have to before victory is achieved. One of her promises to India and to the world has been that she will see justice done to all men and all nations. America, Russia and China have endorsed this promise. We in India alternately believe in and doubt Britain's promises. This is due to the fact that our experience in the past has been rather unhappy. But we like to think that a great change has come over the world as a result of this life-and-death struggle against Fascism. And, we would like to believe that this war will end that phase of human history during which all men exploited each other, and will inaugurate an era of mutual help and universal well-being. If our hopes are unfounded and we are merely the victims of a colossal bluff, then this war will lead to others, yet bloodier wars. One can only wait and see.

MISSIONS AND SWARAJA

By CYRIL MODAK

THE *pundits* of the National Christian Council are arranging a "Conference on Indian Theology." True to its British traditions the Council is only fifty years behind the times. For when in this year of grace 1942 the real issue is "Can Christianity survive?" the National Christian Council is getting absorbed in the question of an Indian Theology. The spring-time of wishful thinking is past. The time has come when Christians everywhere must grapple with icy realities and weather the blizzard of facts. They may avoid reading these words. They will not be able to evade the disaster that is impending.

In this War Christianity has chosen to be one of the belligerents. It has crossed the Rubicon. Not only in the prayers offered from a thousand pulpits every Sunday, but in statements made by its officials, Organized Christianity has declared that it is on the side of the Anglo-American cause. That cause has been defined in the Atlantic Charter by the combined ability of Roosevelt and Churchill. The albinocratic spirit of the Atlantic Charter is unmistakably opposed to the Christ-intention. Christianity has, thus, deliberately espoused an unchristian cause. The reason is not far to seek. It had to. It had no other course because of its political and socio-economic entanglements. The political and socio-economic set-up of the Anglo-American group is the chief target of the Axis. If this political and socio-economic structure should collapse, will Christianity escape? Figuratively, Christianity has stepped aboard an Anglo-American battleship to join the fray. Can it survive if that battleship is sunk or captured?

Turning nearer home, what are the prospects for Christianity in Missiondom? In Asiatic countries under foreign domination there has been the same albinocracy underlying Mission policies as those of the governments. But Mission funds have come from White supporters. That was expected to justify everything. Legally justifiable or not, the albinocratic grip on the throat of Christianity in Missiondom has had three fatal results. It has perverted the national and cultural integrity of a vast majority of indigenous Christians. It

has steadily alienated those non-Christians who have observed its working. It has destroyed the confidence of those indigenous Christians with nationalistic convictions.

William Carey, the great pioneer missionary, enunciated the policy: "Westernize Indians in order to Christianize them." In diverse subtle ways this policy has been implemented. If all westernized Indians did not march to the baptismal font at least most educated Christians came to be westernized. This sounds innocent enough. In fact, it would do us good to be westernized in some things just as it would be good for Westerners to be Indianized in some ways. If it is a choice, critically made, it is valuable. But when the Indian Christian is pressed by the Mission system to smother his conscience and declare, at least in the presence of missionaries, that British rule is an unmixed blessing for India; that the Mission system with its glaring inequalities and its theocratic totalitarianism is a God-send; that Indian culture is of the devil; that everything Western, from collars and ties to Amery's latest pronouncement, is perfect, it is nothing short of demoralization. Obviously, it is done in nine out of ten cases for the pragmatic purpose of retaining or securing a Mission job and possibly other missionary favours.

The proof that this is the common practice in Missiondom is to be found in the cases of those Indian Christians who are called "dangerous" by missionaries and safely kept out. They may be qualified abroad and have unquestioned ability and influence. But their unpardonable sin of refusing to be "Yes-men" renders them in the eyes of the Mission system unfit to serve the Church. With scrupulous care they are kept out of all official paths of service and of course out of Mission employment. While the "Yes-men" both in the employment of the British Government as well as of Missions by the necessity for "loyal submission" have been unable to point out the folly of certain policies or the disasters on the road chosen by the authorities. Follies have been added to folly. The harvest is ripe. Who shall reap it, foreign Missions or the Indian Christian community?

Observant non-Christians, the rank and file

no less than leaders, have seen these effects of missionary activities. The best of them, with all the goodwill in the world, and genuine respect for the Christ-impulse have been disappointed with, at times annoyed at, and ultimately alienated from the missionary enterprise. "A Hindu or Muslim who becomes a Christian is lost to the Motherland," is a common remark one hears from thinking non-Christians. The tragedy is that it is true. With the surge of nationalism which has flooded the country since 1885, no Indian nationalist can help feeling out of sympathy with a movement which by its albinocratic spirit aggravates the bitterness of racial discrimination aroused by British Imperialism and directly or indirectly gains numerous supporters for it from among its converts.

In a recent issue of the *National Christian Council Review*, the Rev. E. C. Dewick shows how between 1927 and 1937 even Mahatma Gandhi's attitude has changed from friendliness to hostility.

"In 1927, we find him telling the Colombo Y. M. C. A., 'If I had to face only the Sermon on the Mount and my own interpretation of it, I should not hesitate to say: O, yes, I am a Christian!' In 1937, he tells a sympathetic American missionary bluntly that while he is willing to find a place for Jesus in Hinduism, as one of the many incarnations of God, he is not prepared to give him a supreme or even a unique position."

The point is not whether Mahatma Gandhi would have become a professing Christian, but that the attitudes, conduct, methods and activities of missionaries in general have driven him to oppose organized Christianity and its theology. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in his recent book, *Unity of India*, has a strong denunciation of the anti-Indian implications of the "Missionary Pledge" whereby all foreign non-British missionaries pledge "to do nothing contrary to or in diminution of" British Imperialist rule, euphemistically termed, "the legally constituted authority of the land."

The precious little homilies read out to India by sections of the American Press, at the failure of the Cripps Mission, and the somewhat absurd echo of them by some foreign missionaries and many Indian *padres*, have only made matters worse. The presence of non-British foreign troops in India, whatever the real motive, constitutes in the sight of nationalists an unfriendly threat by these countries to the legitimate aspirations of Indian nationalism. They can hardly be expected to feel friendly towards missionaries or others from these countries. The frequent criticism of the Indian National Congress by missionaries and Indian agents of

Missions, even if made from behind the camouflage of *khaddar*, have only proved in which direction their real sympathies lie. We may regret these unpleasant facts. We cannot alter them. We should not forget them in our assessment of things later when the storm is over.

A few Indian Christians have lacked the pragmatism to compromise either the Motherland or the Master. They have felt, and most of them have expressed themselves in no ambiguous terms, that the Gospel of Christ is the proclamation of justice, freedom and brotherhood and not a charter for exploiters, dictators and lawgivers from across the Mediterranean or Atlantic. They have urged their comrades of the faith to fight political, economic, social and ecclesiastical injustice and domination and race and class discrimination wherever and whenever contacted. They have seen, from experience and careful observation, that the long-distance control of foreign funds is the root-cause of the evils in the missionary system. They have urged the necessity of a radical reformation of this system as well as a transfer of control to Indians. They have pointed out that the establishment of the Indian Church, free from foreign censorship in its expression, is of more fundamental importance than all the diplomatic negotiations for Church Union. Their reward, as they perhaps deserved, has been ostracism from Missiondom. Official Christianity has all but struck their names off the roll. Whereas, actually those few Indian Christians who suffered for their convictions, and not the "Yes-men," would have been the best assets of the Indian Church in a free India. But the missionary machine has gone on unheeding, unrelenting. Can it survive?

And if Missionary Christianity does not survive in a free India, will India be to blame? In the heat of that moment the natural tendency for missionaries, foreign supporters of Missions and many Indian Christians will be to charge Indians with ingratitude, totalitarianism, bigotry, and even vindictive hate. But will such charges be warranted? When one considers how for centuries India has been hospitable to Christianity; how Indians have borne the albinocracy which in every sphere of life has been tinged with insolence; how India has been scandalized by countless missionaries 'home' on furlough while speaking to raise missionary funds; how Christianity has been made a tool of Imperialism in India; how the missionary system has persecuted those foreign missionaries and nationalist Christians who have demanded

liberty, justice and equality in the name of the Christian Manifesto; how the economic control of foreign mission boards has demoralized a large majority of "mission-compound" Christians in every part of India, can Indians be blamed for objecting to a repetition of such a tragic story in a self-governing India? Would America or Britain behave differently under these conditions? It is most unfortunate that the good that the Missionary Movement tried to do has been overshadowed by its albinocratic spirit which has made it an unconscious ally of British Imperialism.

Nevertheless, as it happens, most Indians are inclined to be thankful for small mercies and to philosophize even in the midst of a fight. So, perhaps, a free India will be disposed to

temper justice with mercy and not visit the sins of the Missionary Movement on the children of the Indian Church unto the third and fourth generation. But it will be well for the Indian Church (if, indeed, such a thing exists) to come out of the torpor induced by the opium of Mission funds and missionary patronage and take its stand unequivocally on the side of freedom, justice and brotherhood, the eternal verities of the Christ-Revelation. Let Indian Christians as a community be up and doing now while it is yet day, for the night cometh when no man can work. It is not yet too late to realize that a religion of expediency is unworthy of Christians and unworthy of Indians. Truth is the highest religion. Ultimately, Truth alone triumphs.

A YEAR'S PROGRESS OF ART IN INDIA

By O. C. GANGOLY

WITH the black shadows of War all over the world obliterating the Book of Human Culture, it is idle to expect the pages of Art to shine with any manner of brilliance, particularly in India, where the lamp of Art has been burning very dimly in the twentieth century. India has not very much 'progress' to report, for the year just passed, in the sphere of Art, under the deepening gloom of economic depression. The buzz of bombers and the thunder of guns inevitably silence the still small voice of Art, and the Arts of War over-ride the Arts of Peace. For, Art comes out of the superabundance of Life, which it is the business of War to destroy.

The Memorial Exhibition held at Lahore of the Art of Amrita Sher-Gil (21st. December 1941 to 16th January 1942) offered an opportunity to lovers of Art in the Punjab to pay their tribute to that reputed artist whose untimely death cut off a career of great promise. The beginning of the year 1942 offered opportunity to Christmas holiday-makers to come back to Calcutta and see the very interesting Exhibition of the works of the Twentieth Century Painters of Bengal organized with commendable enterprise by the Kamalaya Stores (Dharramtolla Street, Calcutta). It was a retrospective exhibition of the progress of painting in Bengal from the beginning of this century. It was a brave and ambitious attempt somewhat hastily planned and not generously supported by all owners of modern Bengali Pictures. Even the New School of Tagore was

not fully represented, and, not also, in worthy specimens. Nevertheless, it was a very commendable effort well worth repeating with greater thought and co-operation. Much more organized and carefully planned was the "Art in Industry Exhibition" sponsored by the Burmah-Shell, and held during January 1942, at the Government School of Art, and patronized by H. E. the Governor of Bengal. It is the second year of the enterprise which provides a very practical way of patronizing Art in its application to Industry. It derives added interest from the fact that it affords excellent meeting-ground between Indians and Europeans in a spirit of helpful co-operation. It has been felt that to push commercial products in Indian markets, the aid of the Indian Artist, and of Indian aesthetic motifs is of great use and significance. The large number of prizes given by many European commercial firms and some generous Indian patrons have opened a new avenue of employments for many a starving artist. The Typographical section was a new and a very interesting section patronized by the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and *Hindustan Standard*. The Exhibition is growing every year and has evoked a good deal of popular interest in Art and will undoubtedly help to make the useful things of life more beautiful and attractive. The sponsors have published a very attractively printed report of the Exhibition with many colour illustrations. A much more significant Exhibition of the year was the

first Child Art Exhibition, held at the Town Hall, Bombay (6th to 13th February, 1942), under the auspices of the Child Art Society, an enterprise of great value to the fundamental psychology of education. Hitherto we have done our utmost to kill the artistic pre-dispositions of our children by our regimented methods of teaching drawing. The aim of the Exhibition was to demonstrate how children, when surrounded by things of beauty, react spontaneously and guided by their natural instincts are prompted to create original designs in form and colour in a symbolic language of their own evolved in direct relationship to their spontaneous power of expression and vivid imagination, yet existing in a nascent state, unimpaired by the sophisticated knowledge of the adult derived from book-learning. The credit of the Show, first of its kind held in India, is due to Mr. Pulin B. Dutt, Art-Teacher of the Fellowship School run by the Theosophical Society.

But the most important Art event of the year was undoubtedly the first Provincial Art Conference held at Bombay on the 24th January 1942, under the auspices of the Art Society of India. The credit of planning and organizing the Conference goes to Mr. V. P. Karmarkar and to Mr. N. M. Kelkar. It was presided over by Mr. Ravi Sankar Rawal, the well-known artist of Ahmedabad, Editor of *Kumar*, and a person of remarkable charm and distinction. The Conference was certainly a tremendous success, although it appears to have offended certain vested interests. The leading problems of Art in India today were discussed and many valuable suggestions were made and embodied in resolutions, some of which could be immediately worked out in concrete efforts. It is hoped that the Secretary of the Conference would take early steps to implement the least expensive resolutions by practical projects.

Modern Indian Art has received rich reinforcements by the magnificent Frescoes executed by Mr. Nanda Lal Bose at the Palace of H. H. the Gaekwad of Baroda. If the example set by this generous patron were followed by every Indian Prince and Potentate,—Art could become once again a vital factor in Indian life and recover many of the glories of its past history.

The Exhibition of the works of students of the Government School of Art, Madras, is regularly chronicled in the pages of this *Review* and offers evidence of the advances made from time to time in the practice of the Arts in the South. The joint Exhibition of the works of

Stanley Jackson and D. P. Chowdhury held at Madras in December last is a happy example of the spirit of comradeship in the field of Art which British and Indian soldiers are evincing in the field of battle. But a more live centre is now offered by the *Kalā-Khsetra* (The Sanctified Area of Art), at Adyar, on which the President Rukmini Devi continues to shed her energetic lustre. Though principally pre-occupied with Dance and the Drama, her influence is dynamic in a general rise of Art-consciousness in the South, the birth-place of some of the best phases of Indian Art. In the Department of Publication, the *Kalā-Khsetra* has to its credit two volumes by Dr. Cousins, one on drama (*Hound of Uladh*) and another a collection of essays (*The Faith of the Artist*) which convey Dr. Cousins' faith in the regenerating mission of the Arts and the necessity of their inclusion in educational programmes. We would appeal to the President to open a Department to study and popularise the best phases of Indian Painting and Sculpture, ancient and modern,—phases of Art, hitherto neglected, if not ignored by the *Kalā-Khsetra*. The State Gallery of Mysore should be congratulated for its acquisition of a series of twelve landscapes by Bireswar Sen, one of the oldest and talented disciples of Dr. A. N. Tagore whose teaching duties have not interfered with his creative productions. It is, however, a very questionable policy for any public Museum or Gallery to acquire a number of works by the same artist. Museology is in its infancy in India and our Museum Directors and Curators have yet to learn the ethics and principles of new acquisitions.

All the annual Exhibitions of pictures usually held at Calcutta in December had to be abandoned owing to the emergencies of war, so that Calcutta's record for the cold season in matters pictorial offer a dull blank page, except for the short-lived Exhibition of the oils of Satish Sinha held at the rooms of Hall and Anderson and the Exhibition of students' works held at the Government School of Art, Calcutta. This year's show had a happy feature by the inclusion of works by the former students of the institution. The only important and very outstanding show of pictures and sculpture, held last year in Calcutta, was that offered by Subho Tagore for the relief of the distressed Artists and Poets of China, and, appropriately opened by Dr. J. C. Pao, the Consul-General, on the 30th May 1942. It was a small collection but a very distinguished one, particularly in the

large-sized decorative panels of surprising colour schemes, and daring methods of design.

In matters of Art, Bombay is fast outstripping Calcutta, as is evidenced by the opportunities of perpetual exhibitions provided by the Bombay Art Society in a permanent Exhibition Hall at Rampart Row, lent freely to all artists, to show their works for public appreciation. Of the series of such exhibitions the most interesting was the one of the works of Mr. K. H. Ara, originally a motor car cleaner, and an artist by self-education, like the great French modern Landscapist, Rousseau. This self-taught artist has a very original style of his own, particularly in his colourful and spontaneous landscapes.

Except at the Calcutta University, there is no permanent place of Art in any of our educational institutions; sporadic activities of some of our universities, therefore, call for a passing notice. The Punjab University had arranged for a series of Illustrated Lectures by Eric Dickinson, that enthusiastic educationist whose professorial duties have not squeezed out his passion for Art. With the help of such enthusiasts we could hope for pictures competing with books in the class-rooms, some day. The Dacca University has to its credit, thanks to the interest of Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, its late Vice-Chancellor, a series of Illustrated Lectures delivered last year on Early Buddhist Art, Mughal Architecture and Painting. Such lectures should form a permanent item in the

syllabus of all universities, if only to give to our college students a nodding acquaintance with masterpieces of Indian Art which are all but forbidden fruits to our University students.

With a view to awaken interest in Indian Art in England the enterprising Editor of the London *Studio* issued in August last—a Special Indian Number, to draw attention to some of the old masterpieces inspired by the Indian genius in the Visual Arts. The letter-press somewhat meagre and one-sided has been accompanied by a wealth of illustrations, not very well-chosen, demonstrating the high quality of Indian Applied Art and Artistic Industry. Though some colour reproductions of old Indian and Khotanese Frescoes and some examples of Architecture were included the Number has signally failed to convey the high achievements of India in the sphere of Architecture, Painting and Sculpture—the schools of Painting and Sculpture being very inadequately represented, not a single masterpiece of Mughal or Rajput Schools having been cited.

A word of commendation is due to the All-India Radio, which, at its centres at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, and Dacca—occasionally included Talks on the various phases of Fine Art many of which have received warm appreciations.

Let us hope the New Year will chide away the shadows of War, reinstate the Images of Art on its lofty pedestals.

TAGORE'S MESSAGE OF LOVE OF THE EARTH

By R. R. KUMRIA,

Lecturer in Educational Psychology.

AGAINST the deep-seated other-worldly philosophy of life, against the icy cold ideal of *Nirvana* Tagore set up a standard of revolt. Couched in exquisite language he offered the warm message of Spring and love of this earth. To a people whose first and last love is the Beyond and whose highest effort is directed towards its attainment he called out:

Come out into the highways of life. Come out, ye youthful renouncers.
In the open world all is change.
All is life, all is movement;
And he who ever moves and journeys
With this life-movement, dancing and playing
On his flute as he goes, he is the true renouncer.

"We are the true renouncers because change is our secret. We lose in order to find. We call to every one to carry all their joys lightly in a rhythmic measure. Our words don't speak; they sing."

"It is not those who become adepts in turning out quantities of work, nor those who are ever telling the dry beads of duty, it is not those who win at last. But it is those who love because they live, these truly win, for they truly surrender."

The lover of this earth never feels the weight of sorrow's burden. He feels that his hair shall never turn grey. He shall die old but never attain age. He is a butterfly freed from the cocoon of age. Old age comes and nature tries to rub out the green of youth and paint everything white. The lover of this earth feels a newer glory. The descending shades of age have another meaning for him. He knows and rejoices to know that in the heart of the white dwell all the colours of the rainbow. So he works on and on and with ever-increasing gladness fulfils the law.

This aspect of Tagore's teachings has not been fully taken notice of by western writers. Perhaps for them it is not a new thought. But for us, Indians, it is new, since it has come to us after more than two thousand years. And we know we were in great need for it. Unless we love this earth and its values our social and political problems will never be properly solved. With the insight of a genius Tagore saw where the trouble lay and love of this earth became his central message.

"I shall pour my songs into your mute heart and my love into your love. I shall worship you with labour. I have seen your tender face and I love your mournful dust, Mother Earth."—*Gardener*.

"The world puts off its mask of vastness to its lover. It becomes small as one song, as one kiss of the eternal."—*Stray Birds*.

Tagore drives home this message by means of a parable :

At mid-night a would-be renouncer got up and said : This is the time to give up my home and seek for God. Ah ! Who has held me in delusion, here ? And God whispered : I, but the ears of the man were stopped.

His wife lay in bed with their baby peacefully sleeping by her side. The man turned to them and said : Who are you that have fooled me so long ? The voice said again, They are God, but the fool heard it not.

The baby cried in sleep and clung close to her mother. God commanded, Stop fool, leave not thy home, but still he heard not. God sighed and complained, why does my servant wander to seek me, forsaking me ?

God dwells in every heart and the kingdom of Heaven is within. It is wrong to turn one's back upon the current of life and seek God in solitary jungles and caves. It is the heart where you have to look for Him. "How far are you from me, O fruit, I am hidden in your heart, O flower." When the heart opens itself to the world in pure love, the process of God-realization begins. And then the King of the Dark Chamber smiles and says : "I open the doors of the dark room today. The game is finished. Come, come with me, come outside into the light." The secret of Realization lies in selfless love, in giving. "To all things else you give, O God, from me you ask." "Life is given us; we earn it by giving it." The lover is like the autumn cloud, empty of rain, but he sees his fulness in the field of ripened rice. The lover has thrown his lot with the humble and the lowly. For him God is there "where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path-maker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and shower, and his garment is covered with dust." The lover is the Divine King's postman, lantern in hand, delivering letters of confidence,

courage and hope from door to door. There is pain, there is suffering, there are limitations in this life. What then ? Shall we run away from them ? No. Lovers never complain. They

"... welcome each rebuff
That makes earth's smoothness rough."

In love thralldom is as glorious as freedom, pain as welcome as pleasure. Evil is an opportunity for good and pain is our true wealth as imperfect beings and makes us great to take our seat with the Perfect. Even Death is welcome.

"Death, thy servant, is at my door.

He has crossed the unknown sea and brought thy call to my house.

I will set before my guest the full vessel of my life. I will never let him go with empty hands.

I have got my leave. Bid me farewell, my brothers.

I bow to you all and take my departure.

When I go from hence let this be my parting word, that what I have seen is unsurpassable."

This is a very robust message. India needs love of the earth. This is the foundation on which all effective political and social philosophies can be built. From this point of view Tagore is the herald of a new era.

Love of the Earth, to Tagore, does not mean the crude materialistic point of view. He does not give up the highest ideal of the Upanisads, the ideal of finding one's true essence, the ideal of being in tune with the Infinite. What he emphasises is that God is in the life-process and you have to find Him there. Saffron clothes and a long face do not bring God any the nearer. If you wish to find God, "put off thy holy mantle and even like Him come down on the dusty soil." The life-process is his great Lila. He is for ever bound with it. Why do you want emancipation from this Lila ? In doing so you are not true to the Law of God.

"Deliverance ? Where is this deliverance to be found ? Our master himself has joyfully taken upon him the bonds of creation; He is bound with us all for ever."

"Come out of thy meditations and leave aside thy flowers and incense. What harm is there if thy clothes become tattered and stained. Meet Him and stand by Him in toil and in sweat of thy brow."

In the *Sadhana* Tagore gives his metaphysical position which is the same as that of the Upanisads. He says : "The same stream of life that runs through my veins night and day runs through the world and dances in rhythmic measure. The same Spirit dwells in the most distant Sun and in the darkest depths of the soul. . . . Self and not-self are only relatively opposed. It is the business of man to break down this opposition and make both express

the same Spirit. If, then, there is the all-embracing Spirit the glooms and shadows of life lose their edge and bitterness. Such a philosophy of life is necessary for the lover of the Earth. It bears him up through all the tribulations and privations of life. Without it, if he is sincere, the lover will lose anchor and go down. So a real lover of the Earth has also to be a sincere lover of God. And you meet a lover of God at his best in the *Gitanjali* and *Poems*. The *Poems* was published after his death and contains the Poet's superb expression of mystic love of God. It gives the various moods in which the lover of God finds himself. But nowhere do

we find him even dreaming about running away from the rough and tumble of life.

Come friend, flinch not, step down upon the hard earth.

Do not gather dreams in the dusk.

Storms are brewing in the sky, lightning flashes are striking at our sleep.

Come down to the common life.

The web of illusion is torn, take shelter within walls of rough stones. (2)

Again,

Let honour come to me from Thee through a call to some desperate task, in the pride of poignant suffering. (24)

Death-long tapasya of suffering is this life, to win truth's terrible value, and to pay all debts in death. (118)

KESHAB CHANDRA SEN AND THE GREAT PROHIBITION MOVEMENT OF BENGAL OF THE LAST CENTURY

By REBATI MOHAN LAHIRI, M.A., B.L.

THE excise policy of the Government of India was vehemently attacked by Mahatma Gandhi during the non-co-operation days and indeed the boycott of Excise shops became one of the most important planks of the non-co-operation movement. It is of interest to learn that during the early seventies of the last century a similar movement was launched in Bengal under the auspices of Mahatma Keshab Chandra Sen and Peari Charan Sarkar. It became a force in the land and the Government of the day had to amend the Excise Act according to the wishes of the people. Even at that distant date, leaders of public opinion realized the baneful effect of the Excise policy of the then Government and tried their best to eliminate drink evil by all possible peaceful agitation. Judging from the activities of persons and institutions connected with that Temperance movement, it can be said that they were the forerunners of the movement that followed nearly half a century later on an All-India scale. All the arguments and persuasion that were used by Mahatma Gandhi had been in their lips and memorials; and Keshab Chandra Sen became the central figure of the modern movement. The Prohibition movement of the last century was not an isolated event. Like the Prohibition movement of the present century, it had a link with the politico-religious movement that came towards the end of the last century.

There was a considerable increase of in-

temperance among the people of Bengal, specially among the educated classes of the society, during the second half of the last century.¹ The following figures will show how the consumption of opium increased during the 21 years under review beginning from the year 1851-52 :

	Consumption	Net Revenue
1851-52	196 mds. 26 srs.	Rs. 35,399-0-0
1854-55	203 mds. 8 srs.	Rs. 36,576-0-0
1859-60	279 mds. 19 srs.	Rs. 83,818-0-0
1864-65	1,822 mds. 24 srs.	Rs. 8,14,003-0-0
1871-72	1,655 mds. 15 srs. 8 ch.	Rs. 9,74,142-0-0

The sale and consumption of Ganja, the sister intoxicant of opium was equally alarming as the table below will indicate :

1864-65	9,048 mds.
1871-72	10,710 mds. 34 srs.

The traffic in liquor was equally thriving. The total revenue from the sale of liquor both country-made and foreign amounted to more than Rs. 31 lakhs in 1871-72, as against Rs. 23 lakhs in the year 1867-68.

The Excise policy of the Government and the spread of English education were responsible for the spread of intemperance amongst the people who were naturally averse to all such intoxicating habits. Up to 1867, licenses were freely given to all the applicants who were not suspected characters. Complete freedom of trade was the theory and the rule. As a sequel to this liberal policy of the Government, the liquor shops

1. Government of India Financial Proceedings, May 1875, Nos. 21-31.

flourished everywhere, and all intoxicants and drinks were within the easy reach of all. The officials who helped the administration by increasing the excise revenue were praised by the Government and were rewarded with promotions. The spread of English education and the impact of western civilisation effected a radical change in the habits and temperament of the educated youths of the land of that period. The old attachment to religion and religious habits was greatly loosened, old prejudices and checks were removed and the newly enfranchised youths of the land fell an easy victim to the vices of western civilisation. What the Baboos did in the cities and town were imitated by the half-educated villagers and rustics of the countryside. The wide prevalence of drunkenness amongst the people of the lower provinces, specially amongst the educated classes, was admitted even by the authorities of the time.² The Board of Revenue in their excise report for the year 1870-71 freely expressed the opinion that

"A very large majority of Mofussil Officers are of opinion that the use of stimulants by the people is steadily on the increase, and that this increase is far more noticeable amongst the better educated than among the poor classes."

The effect of the habit of intemperance that was steadily on the increase was most disastrous on society. The happiness of domestic life was gone. The very foundation of the Hindu society was crumbling to pieces. The educated community of the country forgot their old virtues and noble tradition and were already slaves to the vices of the West. A new generation sprang up free from any religious scruples or moral restraints, steeped in the grossest vices of the western civilisation. Pauperism was on the increase. A wave of crime and immorality swept over the whole country. At no time, the condition of the Hindu Society was so deplorable and appalling as it was during the second half of the 19th century. The following is a very painful picture of the educated *Bhadraloks* of that period:

"It is sad to think that this has been the effect of education, but it is too true to be overlooked. No Hindoo can become acquainted with European Science without disbelieving his own religion. Without any religious conviction and without moral training he leaves the college a slave to his own passion, and blindly follows the example of the rich and influential around him. Having no fixed ideas to guide him, he yields to his own inclination and adopts habits which are foreign to his race; caste observances are broken through and all that a Hindu regards as obligatory. . . . Friends never meet now a day without spirit being consumed . . . nearly nine-tenths of the Bengalis instructed at our

English Colleges and Schools indulge in the demoralising habit of private drinking."³

Such was the condition of the educated community of Bengal at that time. It seemed that Bengal was rushing headlong towards an infernal abyss. If this state of things had gone on unchecked not only the whole population would have become drunken and criminally-minded, the Bengali Society with all its culture and rich heritage would have been a thing of the past. The religious and political regeneration that baptised the Bengali society towards the end of this century would have been of no avail against the inroads of western vices. But happily at this time there still remained in the Bengali society a handful of public-spirited men who could realise the hopeless position of the society, and led by Keshab Chandra Sen and Peari Charan Sarkar ultimately saved the Hindu Society from utter ruin and destruction. Multifarious were their activities and wide was the scope of their benevolent mission. They mobilised all the available resources they had at their command and carried a systematic campaign against the monstrous evil of intemperance. Under the guidance and leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen and Peari Charan Sarkar a great prohibition movement was launched, it gathered momentum as it spread. A magazine called *Mad-na-garala* (Wine-or-Poison) was started to preach against the evil of intemperance and ultimately not only the administration had to listen to their appeal but the educated public was also awakened to their senses.

At first a memorial was submitted to the Government of Bengal by Raja Kali Krishna Bahadoor, President, and Peari Charan Sarkar, Secretary, Bengal Temperance Society. After alluding to the spread of the habits of intemperance and to the vices that it brought in its train, the memorial suggested the following remedies towards the eradication of the evil.

- (1) That the number of liquor shops should be limited.
- (2) That no liquor shops should be allowed to exist in the vicinity of an educational institution, or a place of public worship.
- (3) That no license should be given at any place where two-thirds of the local people object to.
- (4) That the sale of liquor in hotels should be regulated.
- (5) That all liquor shops should be closed at sunset.
- (6) That the rates of license fees and duty on intoxicating drinks or drugs should be raised so high as

3. From a Medical report embodied in the Minute of A. Monev of the Board of Revenue, dated the 25th January, 1875.

2. Revenue Board's Annual Report for 1871-72.

to afford the greatest possible discouragement to their use.

This was followed by another memorial which was addressed to the Viceroy and Governor-General-in-Council signed by Raja Ramanath Tagore and fifty-one other Bengali gentlemen. The memorialists quoted the opinion of the Commissioner of Orissa, who observed that

"Opium eating is yearly becoming an ingrained habit with all classes, all sexes, and ages. That Government system has facilitated this, there can be no doubt. The drug appears to have become almost a necessary of life."

The memorialists opined that a greater misfortune could not befall the country than a deep-rooted habit of opium taking and prayed that the consumption of opium be prohibited except as medicine. Raja Kali Krishna Bahadoor sent another petition to His Excellency the Viceroy on behalf of the inhabitants of Bengal in which the petitioner expressed his disapproval of the custom hitherto observed by the local Government of bestowing high praise on subordinate officers for their successful efforts to increase the excise revenue. Not only the landed aristocrats and the public-spirited citizens were out to check the drink evil, every class of Society joined the campaign of prohibition. The anti-drink campaign, became a sort of crusade. Rev. John D. Don and other 26 members of the Calcutta Missionary Conference joined the campaign and sent a petition (dated the 20th March, 1873) to the Government of Bengal and drew the attention of the Government to the efforts then made by the English statesmen at home to regulate the liquor traffic of the United Kingdom. Then came the memorable petition of Keshab Chandra Sen. It was an ably drafted petition addressed to the Viceroy of India. He quoted facts and figures showing the growth of the habit of intemperance and condemned the excise policy of the Government. These are his memorable words:

"The avowed object of the Excise administration is to meet a public want without detriment to the public weal. Experience, however, has proved otherwise. Far from checking, the Excise Department has rather facilitated the spread of drunkenness by multiplying liquor shops."

And to verify and strengthen his contention he quoted the following words of Mr. Money, the then head of the Excise Department:

"It has always been a blot on our *abkaree* system that it had brought temptation undesirably close to every man's door."

Keshab Chandra after enumerating in detail the harm that has been caused by the existing excise policy of the Government suggested certain remedies and urged upon the administration to enhance the duty on liquor both country-made and foreign and to impose higher rates of license fees. Keshab Chandra lamented that frequently boys of 15 or 16 years of age were found to indulge in the excesses of drinking. He took the following lines from the Convocation Report on Intemperance in England and appended to his Memorial:

"No evil more nearly affects our national life and character and therefore no question more immediately demands the zeal of our clergy, the attention of our Statesmen, the action of our Legislature and the thoughtful aid of our philanthropists."

When Keshab Chandra was issuing pamphlets and drafting memorials and was thundering against the drink evil from the public platform, the Press of the land did not remain idle. The *Statesman* then really acted as "friend of India," which it even now poses to be, when it strongly criticised the Government in the following words:

"Unfortunately half a century of our vile Excise laws, only now slightly modified, has deliberately taught the present and rising generation, the brutal pleasure of intoxication. Are we not as a Government and a Christian nation guilty, through the utter carelessness of our system of licensing, deliberately tempting to drink a people who but for us, would have, in this respect at least, retrained the simplicity, the innocence and the happiness of their ancestors that were an example to Christendom?"

The other newspapers of the province such as the *Hindoo Patriot*, *Shom Prakash*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, and *The Indian Daily News* joined the chorus of protest against the vice of intemperance that tried to undermine the very basis of our religious life. The movement travelled beyond the bounds of Bengal and enlisted the sympathy and co-operation of papers such as the *Indian Statesman*, *Oudh Excelsior*, *Lucknow Witness*, and the *Bombay Guardian*. The *Indian Daily News* which was run by English proprietors wrote in wrath:

"The utter failure of the Akbaree Department may be traced to the fact that while flirting with English principles of Political Economy it has made the best of both worlds, by feeding upon and encouraging an abnormal phase of native immorality."

Another important memorial which was signed by the prominent public men of all sexes and communities, which may be termed as "an all party manifesto" by our present-day generation, was submitted to the Lieut.-Governor

of Bengal earlier in the struggle. It was signed by eminent persons such as Raja Kali Krishna Bahadur, Raja Komal Krishna, Maharani Sharnamayee, Baboos Ramanath Tagore, Joteendra Mohun Tagore, Digunbar Mitter, and Annoda Prosad Banerjee, Pundit Ishwara Chandra Vydyasagar, Moulvi Abdool Latif Khan, Messrs. W. S. Atkinson, H. Woodrow and John Sutcliffe, Rev. J. Barton, and James Long. Testimonials testifying to the prevalence of the vice of drunkenness were also secured from Rai Rajendra Mullick Bahadur and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Eminent physicians of the city such as Dr. B. D. Smith, M. D., Dr. T. E. Chartew, M. D., and Dr. S. G. Chuckerbutty M. D., also came forward with their manifestos and condemned the spread of intemperance.

It is interesting to note that every community joined together and condemned the excise policy of the Government. When all parties joined together in demanding the revision of the excise policy of the Government which was held mainly responsible for the growth of the intoxicating habits amongst the native population, it was a foregone conclusion that public opinion should be listened to, and respected by the Government. The correspondence that passed between the Governor-General and Lt.-Governor of the province on the point at issue throws a flood of light on the official attitude which offers a pleasant contrast to the stereotyped and hostile attitude of the officials of the present generation.⁴

It is gratifying to learn that His Excellency the Governor-General of India cordially recognised the public spirit of the gentlemen who addressed the Government on the excise administration of Bengal, and most cordially sympathised with the desire manifested for the discouragement of intemperance. He further assured the Lt.-Governor of Bengal of receiving every support of the Government of India in any measure that he might adopt for limiting the consumption of Ganja. His Excellency went so far as to say that "*if the use of drug could be altogether suppressed without the fear of leading to its contraband use, such a course would be justified.*" Had even an ounce of moderation and sympathy which was exhibited

by His Excellency been shown by his successors who were at the helm of the Indian Administration, during the time of non-co-operation movement, much bloodshed and suffering might have been spared. Mr. A. Money who was at that time at the head of the excise administration of Bengal drew up a minute reviewing the excise policy of the Government. Though he admitted⁵

"that all over Bengal there is more drinking now than there was twenty years ago, and there was more twenty years ago than forty years ago, he tried to refute the allegation of Keshab Chandra Sen and termed his allegation 'as' a piece of sensational writing."

But Mr. Money was hoisted by his own petard as he had written a few years ago in his Annual Report (1870-71) "that it has always been a blot on our Abkaree system that it had brought temptation undesirably close to every man's door." After all, it was a face-saving minute. However, the necessary permission was obtained and a bill was prepared to amend Acts XXI of 1856, Act XXIII of 1860, and Act IV (B. C.) of 1866 which covered the whole of the Excise system of the Government. Though the bill did not meet all the points urged upon by the memorialists, it went a long way to put the growing evil under check. It remained for the activities of the Temperance Society and the eloquence of Keshab Chandra Sen, backed by the press of the land, to awaken the educated community to their moral senses and put any effective check on the drink evil. In the meantime the Revivalist movement had set in and the educated community, free from the vices of the drink evil, became ready to be caught in the whirlpool of Renaissance that swept over Bengal towards the close of the 19th century. Keshab Chandra Sen and his worthy associates did the spade work and freed the liberalised minds of Young Bengal from the vices of the Western civilisation and thus prepared them to receive and appreciate the "message of the new order." Therein lies the greatness of Keshab Chandra. Temperance movement under review is not an isolated and temporary movement. It should be studied in the background of the politico-religious regeneration of the last decade of the last century.

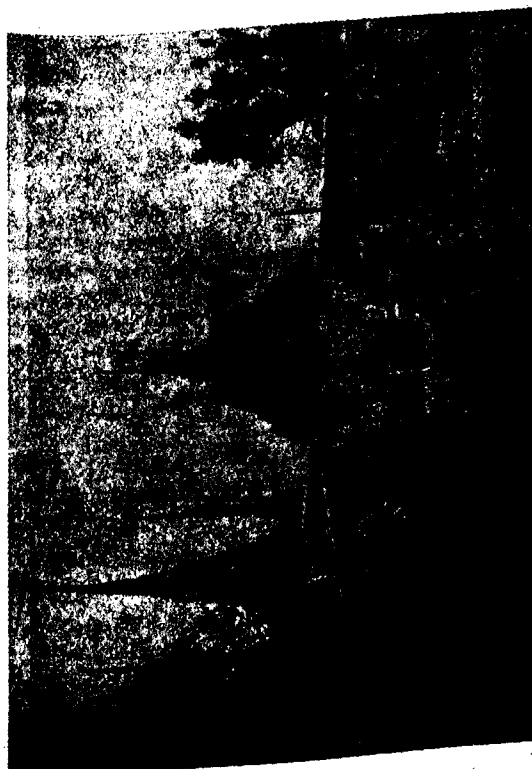
4. Letter No. 469, dated the 29th April, 1875: Government of India Financial Department.

5. Letter No. 439, dated the 22nd February, 1875, from the Government of Bengal Revenue Department (Miss Rev.).

SIAM



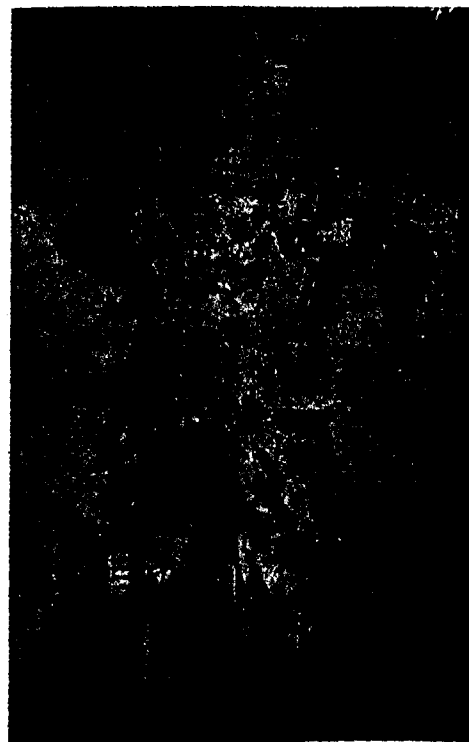
Scorpion-tail boat which was used in the past before the railway for conveying passengers and goods from Chiengmai to Bangkok



Wat Po, one of the most extensive temples in Bangkok



Flooded rice fields at Petchaburi, Central Siam



The floating market in Klong Mahanak, the busiest canal in Bangkok

UDAY SHANKAR'S SHADOW PLAY



Rama reaches the forest and is blessing Kevat



Exorcism

Photo : S. K. Koparkar

UDAY SHANKAR'S SHADOW PLAY

By HARIN CHATTOPADHYAYA

On Sunday, the 18th October, 1942, last day of the Puja celebrations at the Uday Shankar India Culture Centre, Ramaleela, was staged as a Shadow Play before a huge audience which numbered over twenty thousand. I watched the evening come on with its twinkling stars, and the little lights of Almora, the quiet Himalayan town, beat time to them and to the hearts of the people who thronged to witness the great performance, brimming over with a reverence only matched by that which they feel when they go to see their gods. Thousands and thousands of figures, men, women and children, came winding up the steep slopes of the hills of Almora, living streams of unspoilt and sincere beings, their faces aglow with the thought of the immense experience they were going to have that evening. Hundreds came trudging all the way from surrounding villages, old men with wrinkles as old as the hills themselves, old women with tired bodies grown alive with the excitement of the feast promised them by the Centre which for that evening at least was nothing but a sacred shrine; little babies in arms, little growing children prattling on the way of Uday Shankar, whose name

is as familiar all over this part of the country among the masses as though it were the name of one who was bringing back a lost light, the faded splendour of the gods, back to these Himalayan heights. It was for me, at least, more than a mere rich artistic experience—it was nothing short of a political one. For I felt that art, for the first time, while retaining its new inspiration was keeping pace with the modern tempo and standards of finish, was serving the purpose of filling the life of the people with rare colour and beauty thus uplifting them from merely the religious sentiment to one of cultural progress. Shankar by reviving the Ramaleela has succeeded in reaching the very heart of the people who have now begun to look up to the

Centre as they look up, for a similar reason, to the Himalayas.

It was a massive shadow play. The theatre which was constructed temporarily by Shankar's uncle, a silent worker at the Centre, was in itself an achievement of no mean dimension. A giant stage, which has evolved in three successive years in size and technical qualities, stood on 140 vertical shafts planted into the ground which slopes at a sharp gradient. With a total frontage of 60 feet and an effective opening of 45 feet, it gave a depth of 40 feet and a height



Bharat-Milap

Photo : S. K. Koparkar

varying from 45 in the front to 30 at the back. The natural formation of the hill itself on which the stage stood lent an air of an amphitheatre, and indeed, the acoustics which it afforded were almost perfect; it reminded me of the splendid, famous large amphitheatre in Verona where I had some years ago witnessed from the start to finish the production of a D'Annunzio play.

The technique of the shadow play has been carefully evolved on a mighty scale by Shankar; it is a technique which one can scarcely get acquainted within an hour or a day or a month. The inner workings of a shadow play are as erratic to witness as perhaps the inner workings of a deranged brain itself. Everything is

topsy-turvy. But the whole affair needs sane and precise calculation without which the shadow patterns and the nuances and movements and rhythms are impossible. Shankar had to put in, all told, about nine months' work

This form of shadow play is Shankar's invention and I believe that it has a capacity all its own to produce such emotions as not the theatre nor even the cinema is capable of doing. It has only just been inaugurated.



Rajyabhisheka

Photo : S. K. Koparkar

to produce his two and a half hour play. And to witness this Ramaleela, which traditionally last for days and nights the crowds came from forty and fifty miles and then trudged back all the way after the show!

The shadow play was a dream in rhythm and although the outer eyes could not see colour, the inward vision revelled in hundreds of colours that came and went as the play was in progress . . . the splendid city of Ayodhya, the glow on the faces of Sita and Rama and Lakshman, the passionate blush on Hanuman's tail when he burnt Lanka and set it ablaze.

One saw the shadows stained from colour to colour, golds and greens and blues and purples and violets and browns and the whole range of colour that one imagines in connection with a play of the gods and the demons!



Rahu and Chandra

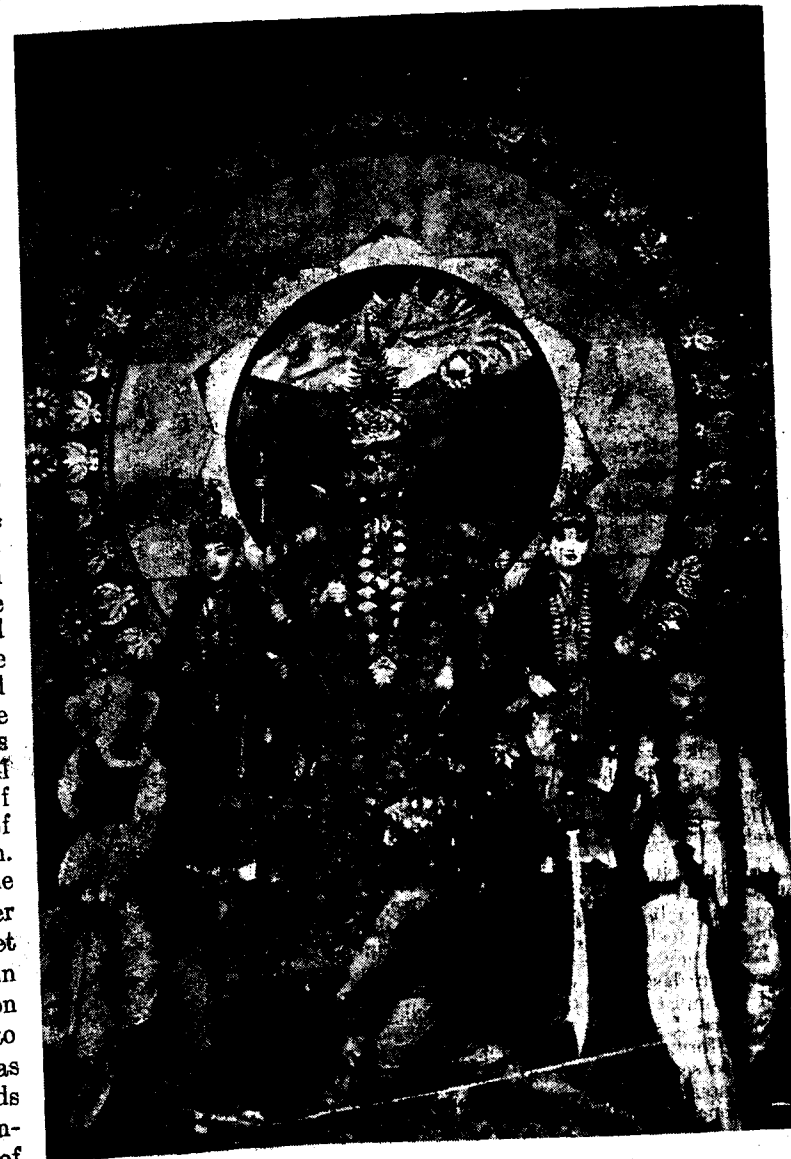
Photo : S. K. Koparkar, Poona

the result of a disharmony between man and the light within himself; chaos is a most certain indication of a natural and inevitable necessity in evolution for spiritual re-adjustment. Post-war values will differ from pre-war values in an

unrecognisable manner, for after the war the centre of man's growth will shift from the individual human being to humanity itself. Our expressions will be large-scale ones in future; we shall have to outgrow the expression

of a comfortable isolation, in which the class artists have been living cosily during the past 200 years. The canvas on which the artist will be forced to paint will be one that will stagger history itself. The song of singers shall no more be content to be considered as merely beautiful or be immortalised on a gramophone record, for it shall grow restless to wing its way along vast horizons of collective human growth. The dancer shall no more be content to "dance the gods" as though they were something aloof from men but will "dance men" as being gods themselves. The theatre under such circumstances becomes for the first time a deeply historic and spiritual centre, ceasing to be merely a superstitious and religious one. But the theatre as it exists even today has hardly the dimension to fulfil the possibility of the need of a large-scale expression of large-scale human emotion. The cinema has solved to some extent this need for greater sweeps of pattern and yet there is something missing in both these forms of expression and the reason is not far to seek. The shadow theatre as Shankar has conceived it yields the richest possibility for painting on the largest canvas of human consciousness. The large white screen, which after the shadow show still remains white, may be compared to a giant consciousness looking on, breathlessly waiting to accept multitudinous forms, psychic distances. The shadow which is the result of light, to one who sees through the eye and not with the eye, is both substance and shadow. It is amazing

what worlds of psychic experience one derives while watching a shadow play staged by Shankar. The future will demand more and more psychic interpretations of the most human aspects of experience—plays dealing with the



Durga

Photo : S. K. Koparkar

huge tragedies of men, the defeats, the efforts towards victory, their victories, life, death—all these shall ache for a new method of presentation never to be fulfilled merely by the human body in spite of all its perfection and control over rhythm and expression. There is something

eternal about a shadow, there is something that grips the deepest vision in us when we come face to face with a shadow which is suggestive, all the

interest. Unfortunately such is the extent of our downfall in matters of art that many of us do not as yet fully recognise the importance and the value of the work that is being done in this Centre by Uday Shankar and his talented collaborators for the rediscovery of our capacity to understand, appreciate, and to express beautiful thoughts. This work has been so far rendered possible by the generosity of friends in foreign lands to whom India must be grateful. And, if I could broadcast to the world right now, I would say that this is something worth doing, worth cultivating and above all worth helping with our money, with our influence and sympathetic interest in other ways.

I must express our unstinted praise and thanks to the members and to the students of the Centre, who so successfully co-operated to give this beautiful experience.

I pray that Uday Shankar and his collaborators may have the



Durga procession

Photo : S. K. Koparkar

time suggestive of the mighty drama set afloat by some hidden light behind. As such a shadow play becomes the nearest approach for an artist towards an instrument of expression fulfilling itself on an eternal plain while rooting itself firmly on the plain of substance. Shankar has done the country an immense national service not only by his dances but by this most important creation of the shadow play.

RAMLEELA IN SHADOW PLAY

[A talk by Dr. Panna Lal, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Advisor to H. E. the Governor, United Provinces, at a dinner after the Shadow-Play on October 18, 1942, at the Uday Shankar India Culture Centre, at Almora.] Friends,

We have just had a unique experience—a veritable feast of beauty. And, before we disperse, I should like to express on behalf of those of us who have come as visitors, the feeling that has been roused in our hearts. His Excellency the Governor, who saw this Ramaleela Shadow-Play last year, returned full of praises, and said that I too must see it for myself. Well, all that I can say is, what I said to Mr. Uday Shankar at the close of the performance, that I feel happy to have lived to this day to see so magnificent a work of art. It will be presumptuous for a layman like me to hold forth on its excellence or technical skill. All that I am aware of is that I sat spell-bound right through and was sorry when it came to an end, and I am sure so too felt the vast concourse of humanity that had filled this imposing Himalayan amphitheatre.

As one scene followed another with its faultless precision, I marvelled that the unassuming but distinguished-looking man, who sat by my side, so calm and unperturbed, was the wizard, who had created it all and planned its minutest details. It makes me feel proud to be an Indian today, that it is in India and by an Indian that this thing has been conceived and achieved, which anywhere in the world would attract a tremendous



Apsara

Photo : S. K. Koparkar, Poona

strength and support to carry on this laudable effort for the revival of culture in the truest sense, and that this Centre may, by the help of us all in this and other countries, become in every way not merely the national heritage of India, but also in a larger sense the heritage of the entire world of art. Thank you.

CHINESE WOMEN AND WAR

Development of Social Consciousness

By WAHIDA AZIZ

From the building of the Burma Road to the education of China's children, women are playing a new role in the Middle Kingdom. This is due to Madame Chiang Kai-shek's influence which, not only since the outbreak of the war but for a long time, has been tremendous. She has come to symbolise for the world Chinese womanhood.

Save for the pampered few of the wealthier classes, who have remained in Shanghai or gone abroad, Chinese women have displayed an amazing fortitude in readjusting their lives. And during the six years of war, they have developed a social consciousness which is one of the more hopeful aspects of this struggle against overwhelming odds.

In the earliest days of the war, in 1937, many were astonished to see Girl Guides and Boy Scouts, girls and boys from good families, out in the streets in constant danger helping refugees to get to hospitals or camps. Today there are supposedly 79,000 Girl Guides in China, about 3,000 of whom are on active service at the front.

VARIOUS ACTIVITIES

There are students who have moved incredible distances by all possible methods of transportation, including their own feet. They now live in barracks, some of which they have to build for themselves. There are all the teachers, many of them women, who have moved west too, struggling to carry on their work without adequate equipment. Text-books, paper, laboratory materials especially, all are sadly lacking, but this has not discouraged them.

There is the 'propaganda' brigade whose members, many of them students in vacation time, go out through the villages to explain to the tribal-minded peasants what the war is about and why they must help. Units of this

brigade usually travel by bus, which also serves as their stage.

The medical corps, too, makes use of these travelling units. Frequently, a part of their entertainment consists of instruction in bodily and household cleanliness and simple rules of hygiene. This is done dramatically with the aid of large coloured posters which have a tremendous significance.

Among the armies of China who are fighting for their land, the best are the guerillas fighting



Chinese Girl Scouts distributing rice which has been donated by the American Girl Scouts to the poor and war-victims of China

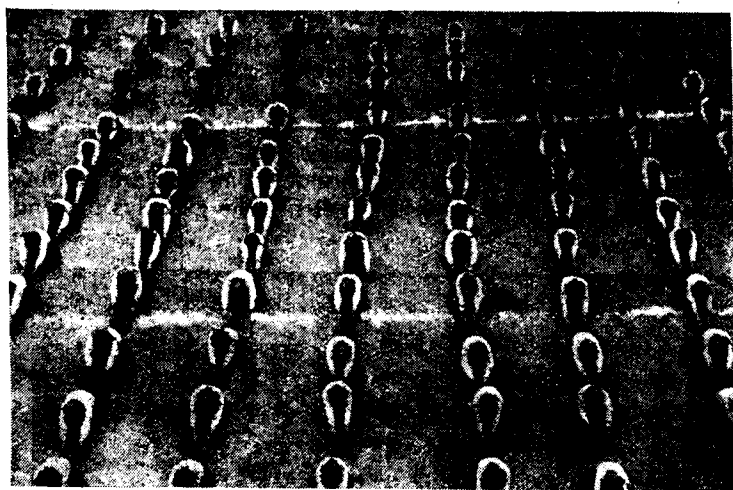
near their own homes. They are, for the most part, student groups who have acquired a national unity from their common cause.

Tales come from the front of these young boys and girls who have joined the political workers in urging the people to turn against the invader. One of the girls' units helped evacuate people from an area of fighting about Nanning, and then remained to incite the people to destroy the road after the withdrawal of the Chinese troops.

STUDENT ARMIES

These student armies also go about helping the soldiers, persuading the people to return from hiding places in the mountains to re-taken areas, and trying to bring about closer relations between the army and the people.

Not only are they bringing much-needed knowledge to the people, they are themselves developing a sense of social responsibility previously lacking among women of their class. They have come to realise that if China survives



Girl Scouts doing gymnastics

it will be nine-tenths due to the broad and sturdy shoulders of China's peasants, men and women.

There is a story about old 'Mother Chao,' the guerilla leader, who has harassed the Japanese for so long in Manchuria and North China, and who commands a swarm of 30,000 guerilla fighters in the wild hills west of Peiping. The farmers did not think a woman could know anything about fighting, and would not listen to her. So she drew her pistol and shot two out of three fleeing Japanese. The farmers decided to heed her words after all!

AMATEUR EXPLOITS

Though her soldiers are amateurs, mostly students, 'Mother Chao' is sure that this is the only kind of war that can break the invaders' morale. She knows that her soldiers would be crushed in an open fight against a modern military machine, but there have been times when they have killed entire companies of Japanese.

Mother Chao is one of China's bravest women. It is said that not long ago the

Japanese army offered a reward of 50,000 yen for her capture, dead or alive—preferably dead! The last time the invaders sent an expedition against her base, they used 6,000 soldiers and 50 planes. When the noise was over she crawled back into her hole laughing, for the guerillas had lost only 17 men. An elusive angel of death, she is still uncaptured, harassing all the more and fighting against the modern machine age.

Less spectacular may be the trials of the mere housewife, but they require a degree of ingenuity and patience unimaginable to those who have not experienced them. They can be summarised very simply: there is nothing, and you must do everything yourself. Food must be cooked on charcoal, and there is not enough of it for the swollen population.

FANTASTIC HOURS

Everything for the household from beds to butter—no, not butter, that is non-existent—everything must be made, and the makers have moved out into the villages to avoid raids.

There is little plumbing of any description and what there is, is perpetually out of order due to bombings. On account of raids, marketing must be done at fantastic hours.

These and various other things are only a few examples of the difficulties that confront China's housewives. But they smile and get things done after some fashion.

The messages they send to their husbands, brothers and sons who have left for the front are always encouraging and say: 'Fight the enemy, defend our land, our children, our freedom. If need be, we will work for you day and night. When necessary, we will fight beside you.'

To the peasants and the people of the cities alike, the war has come as a passing phase and they face it with the same resignation that made living possible for their ancestors through the centuries of sudden revolt and turmoil that have made Chinese history—times when often they did not even know who ruled them.

AT THE FRONT

And strange as it may seem, the spirit has grown so intense that many women are march-

ing today on China's fronts. With shaven heads, in any sort of uniform, they train rigidly; and their regiments take their places beside the men and fight as comrades. Those too young or too old are doing magnificent work in keeping China's industries going under most difficult conditions.

The development of industrial co-operatives has been one of the most notable features in Free China. These establishments have been moved ahead of the Japanese invaders far into the interior, where they are functioning and turning out all manner of supplies, military and civil.

The workers are mostly women who manufacture 200 different products from soap to shoe-laces, and are responsible for giving square meals to thousands of orphans and war refugees who have to be fed.

The women are also providing clothes for more than 20,000 war orphans who are now housed in 49 refugee homes established by the members of their sex under the leadership of Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

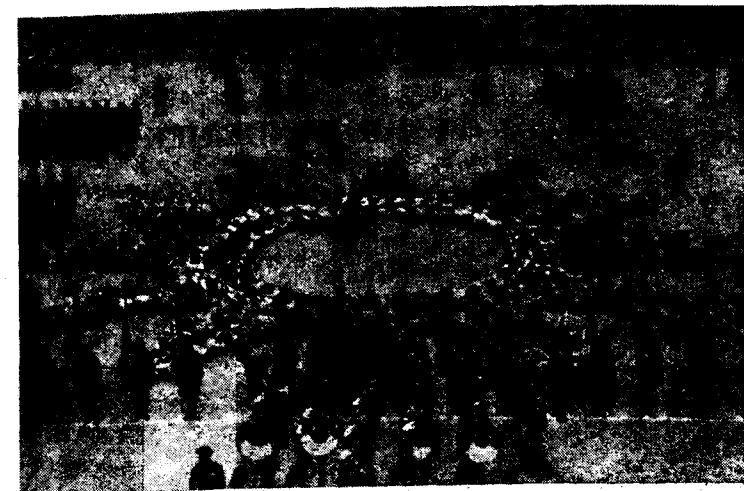
The women of few other countries in the world could have presented a more united or more powerful front than those of China. They harbour no delusions about Japan's 'Co-Prosperity Sphere.'

CHINA'S PAST HISTORY

There is much in China's past to refute the theory that it can be conquered by the Japanese. The Chinese have lived in a territory which we call China for thousands of years, and throughout that period they have kept inviolate their

cultural solidarity. They have on occasions been over-run by barbarians who came down from the north, but they have never been conquered. Those who have sought to rule them have been absorbed.

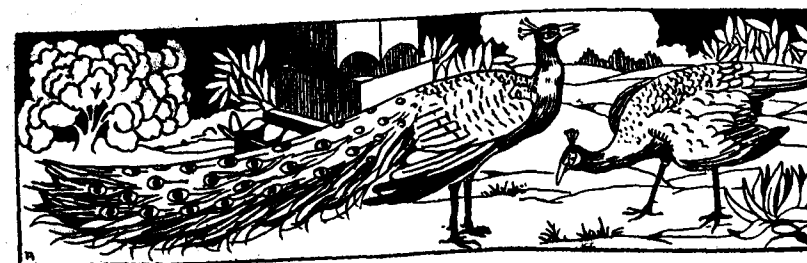
The Japanese remember China's past record, so even the most optimistic among them never speak of absorbing the Chinese. They know that it would not be a case of the 70,000,000 Japanese absorbing 400,000,000



After a parade the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts formed the Chinese Star

Chinese, for the Japanese are in Japan—not China. It would, therefore, be a case of 500,000, or say even 1,000,000 armed men seeking to absorb 400,000,000 people who consider their own culture greater, their history more admirable, and their way of life more satisfactory than anything the Japanese have to offer.

The women of China have realised that they are as much a part of the resistance to the invader as are the men. And if China survives to win, women will be as much a part of the ultimate victory.





A Bengal village. Design for a mural

SUSHIL MUKHERJEE—AN ARTIST

By WILFRID S. LYNCH

UNDER the masterly guiding hand of Roy Chowdhury, who is far too well-famed to need introduction or praise from me, a young Bengali painter is fast developing into an artist, whose

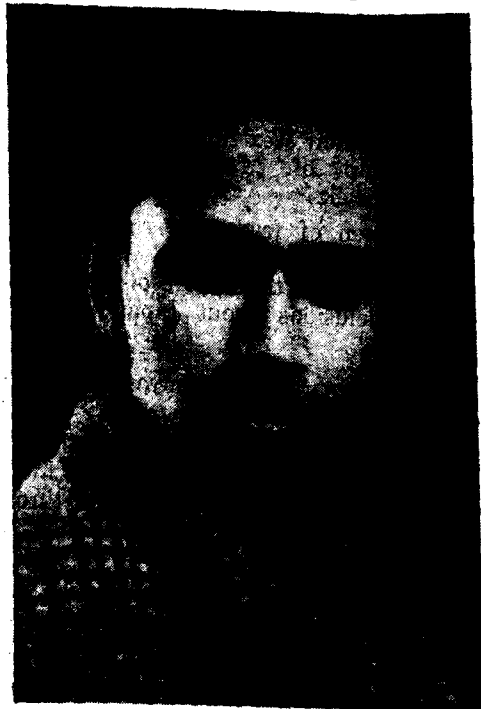
to Intermediate Arts. The need to concentrate solely on his painting made Mukherjee leave the University without taking his Degree much to the surprise of his fellow under-graduates, who



Wash and line sketch in Chinese ink

works will be known and enjoyed on more than one continent.

Sushil Kumar Mukherjee is a Brahmin, educated firstly at Ranchi College, Bihar; he went on to Patna University where he read up



Sushil Kumar Mukherjee

could not appreciate his apparent disregard for academic honours. Whilst at College and University, Mukherjee played plenty of cricket. Sushil told me the other day how greatly he enjoys cricket and the atmosphere it creates.

His mother and maternal uncle have passed to Mukherjee their artist temperaments and ability, his mother being a musician and his maternal uncle a lover of painting. His father was an author. I know little of Indian music but I am told by good authorities that Mukher-



Wash and line sketch in Chinese ink

jee is an exponent of Indian music. There are no other members of the family who show artistic talent but Sushil seems well-qualified to represent them in the artistic field.

This young man urged by his desire to create, left his home to learn from D. P. Roy



The Philosopher. Water colour

Chowdhury at the Madras School of Arts. Now, after imbibing the learning, technique, expression and personality of his master, Sushil Kumar Mukherjee has proved, he is deserving of the high opinion his master has of him. Mukherjee has read wisely and widely on both Indian and

European Art realising as few artists do that an understanding of the works and methods of past masters is an invaluable help in attaining ease of expression of his own emotions.

As I write I have before me several of Mukherjee's paintings. Everyone of these paintings show that this young man is completely sincere, so sincere perhaps that at times he appears to be restraining himself. He sets himself out not to create an immediate effect but to tell quietly and faithfully his story.



Decoration. Water colour

Although his results are very decorative I cannot imagine Mukherjee painting without real depth of thought motivating it.

His drawings are careful and his compositions forceful and in this the influence of Chowdhury is most evident. In spite of the fact that his use of colours is very fine, I get the impression that as yet he is a little afraid of using them boldly if the subject calls for it—new influences and a few more years will remedy this fault if indeed fault it is. Again a melancholy strain vibrates throughout his works but with new experience the range of emotions with which he will deal can be greatly expanded.

"Dancing girls" is a well-composed work.

dealing with two court dancers in the evening resting on a verandah. The subject is treated surprisingly powerfully for so young an artist. He has used his colours sparingly but with fine effect.



Dancers resting. Water colour

"The Philosopher" is a very different subject, the treatment of which is, as Mr. Stanley Jackson pointed out to me, greatly influenced by Whistler's portrait of his mother. Mukherjee has by no means aped Whistler but used his own "impressionistic devices" with great effect.



Birahini Radhika. Design for a mural

I like Mukherjee in this mood and hope he gives us more works like the "Philosopher." "The Poet" shows originality and rhythmic composition. I cannot help being greatly affected by the depth of feeling in this painting

just as I am impressed by the perspective which gives a sense of height and vastness increasing the intenseness of the subject rather than detracting from it as might easily have happened.

Mukherjee has achieved by the building up of tones and centering of light on his principal figure a really beautiful decorative piece in his "Wedding Procession of the Princess."

An unusual work "A Bengali Village" is worthy of note as it shows an unusual treatment and an original use of subdued colour in a way I have never seen employed by another painter.

Mukherjee as a man is modest but self-assured; his aims and views are definite but he is anxious always to hear and profit by the opinion of others. A most unusual virtue in an artist, a virtue which Mukherjee has, is for the artist to listen to constructive criticism of his works without immediately setting out on a long plea of self-justification. As a lover of all forms of artistic works, I have seen in England and on the Continent of Europe many paintings and their painters. I have lived among them in the atmosphere in which they work; I have seen paintings without technique, without soul, without design, without sense of colour and above all without sincerity. Not one of Mukherjee's works is as these.

In the course of conversation, I asked Sushil which was the factor playing the greatest part in his self-expression. His reply was definite—Colour. From there I lead him on to say that without perspective but not without design, colour could express the emotions or ideas of the artist and thence to the logical conclusion that "Surrealism" is a fake.

Much more could be written of this young artist and his achievements, undoubtedly much more will be written.

All who see his works will realise how far he has already got and what a fine future lies ahead of him. Soon the great artist Chowdhury will have given to the world of Art another scion from the tree of beauty.



The princess and the parrot. Water colour

EVACUATION AND RURAL BETTERMENT

By L. M. CHITALE, F.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I.

Chartered Architect and Town Planning Consultant, Madras.

EVACUATION and urban life have now become inseparable. The total war has added to city life this new danger. As long as aerial attacks remain a possibility so long will the inhabitants of crowded cities must remain prepared to quit their homes and possessions at very short notice and face the consequences. This is the lesson of recent history. Every city threatened by the air arm sent out as many of the civilian population as possible. India, too, had its experience lately.

Modern cities constitute the danger spots of national defence and they can no longer assure security to citizens in times of war. Both the people and Governments realise with Herbert Morrison that "absence from the scene of danger is the best protection of all." Citizens flee for safety to villages; Governments move to the interior; and business houses to the outskirts of cities; all this with no small sacrifice, discomfort and dislocation.

The grave consequences of evacuation have become apparent not merely in the battered West, but in India too. That this is fraught with grave consequences to the nation is evident from the careful observations and studies made by expert authorities in Great Britain, whose evacuation scheme, costing £36,000 a day, was hailed as the best possible experiment ever put into practice. Within four months of operation, the position revealed was as follows:

"Husbands have been parted from wives, children from parents. Domestic privacy has been invaded. Urban and rural ways of life have been brought into

sharp conflict. The educational system has been temporarily reduced to a shamble and a great strain has been placed upon Local Government authorities in areas which have received a great influx of population."

The setback to education has been considered the greatest disadvantage to the children of the present generation. The dangers of ignorance and indiscipline, it has been pointed out, are more serious than the risk of being killed or maimed by enemy bomb.

The harm evacuation can cause to a nation can only be assessed after sometime, but whatever is now apparent is sufficiently grave. Stated summarily, on its personal side, evacuation results in the distraction of home life on an unprecedented scale; the separation of parents from the children and of husbands from wives. On its commercial side, it leads to an exodus of banks, insurance offices and other undertakings to unsuitable residential buildings in the suburbs which must inevitably have detrimental economic consequences. In regard to dispersal of the Government offices, it leads to inconvenience to officials and pressure and strain upon localities selected for reception.

Under these circumstances, voluntary dispersal fails to achieve permanent success and no wonder, the evacuees returned back to London and other vulnerable cities within a short period. They would rather risk air-raids than face the problems, social, psychological and economic, given birth to by the separation and the new environment for which they are misfits. Even in India, within the last few weeks, the difficul-

ties of evacuees have become so prominent as to invite the attention of authorities and local bodies. The abnormal rise in rent in areas flooded by the citizens, the inadequacy of water, sanitary facilities, medical aid, etc., the trouble of securing suitable accommodation, have drawn the attention of Government. In one city, where the Government advised evacuation of non-essential population, women and children returned a week after the scare.

There is no knowing, for how long the threat of aerial bombardment would continue for our cities. The evacuees will inevitably return, complicating the task of Government. Even in Great Britain, where accommodation in private homes was available for 5 million people according to surveys carried out before the great evacuation, many camps of a semi-permanent type were erected. The committee of the association of architects, surveyors and technical assistants carefully studied this problem and their report presented an overwhelming case for the creation of special buildings for evacuation, including schools. They are considered absolutely essential on health, education and moral grounds and their absence a sure cause of collapse of schemes of evacuation.

In India for very much less expenditure, semi-permanent structures could be erected at convenient spots within the access of cities which would make evacuation effective and harmless. These structures would not become valueless after the war like defence constructional measures but would serve a great social and educational need in that town. Children could, in summer, spend a part of their term time in these fully equipped camps. Local Authorities, Insurance Companies and Co-operative Building Societies could be induced to invest part of their capital which could be recovered from holiday-makers and others in the post-war period. Such camps could develop small industries catering to the cities and might even be made self-supporting.

These post-war holiday resorts could be gradually developed into townships, residential estates, educational centres, sanatoria, etc., so as to bring about effective dispersal of our urban population over the land and such a gradual transformation so as to give India the correct balance of urban and rural interests. This could easily be brought about if only this task is assigned to an expert body, who could visualise and plan a new India through the camps of today.

The advantages of such a scheme are far

more than what is apparent. Not merely will they help the citizens to be safe with the minimum of dislocation during the present emergency, but will in the most effective fashion lead to the improvement of the countryside, which all of us desire. It will enrich rural life which is very badly needed: it will relieve urban congestion, it will restore the broken links between town and country, and establish the lost balance between agriculture and industry. Even in Great Britain such a programme is expected to "end that lack of sympathy between town and country which the present scheme has exposed."

This can enrich rural life and at the same time, broaden that of the town; this can keep our children in safety by measures of defence that will not only protect from attack but would give lasting benefits.

The Fabian Society, after careful examination, feel that to make evacuation a complete success the social pattern of the countryside has to be re-fashioned in a relatively stable direction. A well-designed experiment in social reform would leave the country a heritage of camp schools, village halls and clubs, nursery, hostels and the like, such as it had never before enjoyed. Permanent links could be established between urban and rural community. A sense of values of right feeding, of air and sunshine, of child nurture and of social enterprise could be carried to half the homes of the land.

A well-designed scheme worked out by an expert body could achieve considerable economics and a healthy national growth with the aid of these permanent structures by securing permanent decentralisation of population and production. This will end to a large extent the need for evacuation whenever national security is threatened.

Permanent camps will further supply the ladder back to land which will surmount the artificial barrier that at present divides town and country. This is necessary to check

"the inverted snobbery of an educational system that thinks only in urban terms and regards the urban calling as the natural goal of the bright boys in school."

The land wants the bright boys and the problem is a simple one of education and apprenticeship, increased opportunity, better rural housing and modern amenities. Conjoint with these steps, are required educational and propaganda drives to unite the farmers and win over the townsmen and especially the 'hard core' of industrialists to what is in effect a reversal of modern economic policy.

Students of rural economy in India would realise that such schemes would check the drain of men and resources from rural to urban areas and arrest the pace of impoverishment of rural India by diverting the flow of men and resources of Indian cities back to land. Village betterment is possible only if enterprise and resources are directed from urban to rural centres and if enlightened interest in rural welfare is made possible to those responsible for governing the country who generally reside in towns by frequent contact between the two. Evacuation schemes can be successfully harnessed to this purpose and rural betterment will automatically follow. A wonderful opportunity has now presented itself for all those interested in rural welfare. The development departments of the Provincial Governments have now an ideal time to concentrate and carry out experiments in their respective fields and rural reconstruction associations could offer their valuable help in making such experiments a success.

It is high time we relieve urban areas of the congestion, overcrowding and their consequent evils and develop garden cities and satellite towns which would free citizens from dust, noise, smoke, etc. Many attractive places abound all over the country which could serve as reception centres for the present and the ideal townships

of to-morrow. Seaside resorts, pilgrim centres, market centres and healthy areas fit for sanatoria could be selected. Suitable structures—not like one room tenements which are in evidence in urban life—but fit to suit Indian conditions surrounded by vegetable gardens, poultry farms, dairies and play grounds, as well as cooking accommodation are needed. A school for the children of the surrounding area could be built.

We should, however, remember that these camps should be in small units away from the main roads to prevent urban development and to be less vulnerable to air attacks. Adequate provision should also be made for safety, for marketing and for transport. Sites should be chosen with care since they have to be future townships. The Development departments of Government could arrange periodic demonstrations to bring home to the people new ideas and improvements. Such centres could be developed so as to supply protective food and other requisites for adjoining cities and herein lies the "Open Sesame" for rural regeneration.

Every cloud has a silver lining and if the present emergency is taken advantage of to bring about the regeneration of rural India the recent air threat to our cities would not have been in vain.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

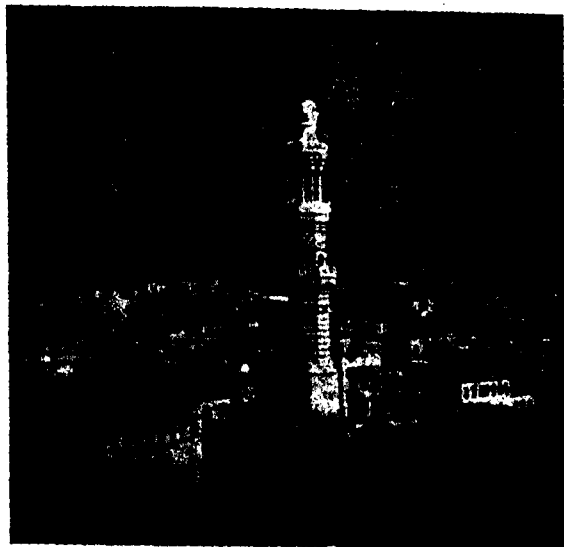
AN EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE
SYNDICATE, DATED 18TH DEC., 1942

"50. Considered reports from Mr. Ramnanda Chatterjee, M.A. and Prof. Radhakamal Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D. on the result of their adjudication of the thesis entitled 'Banga Sahitye Gram' (Village in Bengali Literature), submitted for the Jubilee Research Prize in Arts for the year 1942 by a candidate under the motto *Rus in Urbe*.

Resolved—That the report be adopted and that the prize be awarded to Sreemati Kamala Devi, M.A."



Sreemati Kamala Devi



Cairo, the headquarters of the Eighth Army



A typical Wadi of the eastern desert, Upper Egypt



Alexandria

SHELLEY AND NON-VIOLENCE OR AHIMSA

By DIWAN BAHADUR T. BHUJANGA RAO, M.A., B.L.

THE great apostle of non-violence in India has often quoted the following lines from Shelley's poem, *The Mask of Anarchy* :

Let them ride among you there,
Slash, and stab, and maim and hew,
What they like, that let them do.

With folded arms and steady eyes,
And little fear and less surprise,
Look upon them as they slay
Till their rage has died away.

These lines were addressed by the poet to the "Men of England" soon after the Peterloo massacre of the year 1819 when a large gathering of men, women and children, assembled peacefully in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, to demand a reform of Parliament, was mercilessly charged by the military under the orders of a nervous and foolish magistracy and dispersed, leaving more than 600 persons lying dead and wounded on the ground. The reform of Parliament was overdue and came in 1832. But a helpless and unoffending crowd had to meet death before the reform could come.

To understand the full significance of the above lines, one has to take them along with the last lines of the poem :

Rise like Lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number—
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you—
Ye are many—they are few.

At first sight it might look as if these last lines were a call for an armed insurrection on the part of the people against the myrmidons of a tyrannical administration. But Shelley was no advocate of violence. He was addressing a united, manly and brave people with traditions of freedom and democracy, and asked them to realise their strength and the cruel humiliation inflicted on the nation but to meet the offenders non-violently. Love is the silken cord binding the universe; and Shelley asked the men of England to act with love in their hearts and forgiveness towards the offenders. It was the non-resistance of the strong that he taught.

This teaching has long been known to Indians as the teaching of *Ahimsa*. It teaches, not the supine non-resistance of the weak, but

the non-resistance of the strong due to the outpouring of love. Swami Vivekananda, no disciple of Tolstoi or Thoreau, said of *Ahimsa*, long before Gandhiji, as follows :

"Buddha gave up his throne and renounced his position, that was true renunciation; but there can not be any question of renunciation in the case of a beggar who has nothing to renounce. So, we must always be careful about what we really mean when we speak of this non-resistance and ideal love. We must first take care to understand whether we have the power of resistance or not. Then, *having the power* (italics mine), if we renounce it and do not resist, we are doing a great act of love."—*Lectures on Karma Yoga*.

How, it may be asked, did Shelley come to preach this doctrine of *Ahimsa* of far-off India? It was by the transformation, or rather the sublimation, by him of the doctrine of Necessity imbibed by him in his youth from Godwin.

It is needless to say much about Godwin's theory of Necessity. In his *Political Justice*, edition of 1793, Godwin wrote as follows :

"If we form a just and complete view of all the circumstances in which a living or intelligent being is placed, we shall find that he could not, in any moment of his existence, have acted otherwise than he has acted."

From this Godwin drew the inference that we should not "entertain resentment, indignation and anger against those who fall into the commission of vice." Shelley imbibed this teaching and taught it in his earlier poems. In *Queen Mab*, written in his 18th year, Shelley deified Necessity and wrote thus :

Necessity, thou mother of the world !
Unlike the God of human error, thou
Requirest no prayers or praises.

It may here be incidentally mentioned that the above doctrine of Necessity should not be confounded with Fatalism. A fatalist believes that certain main points in the chain of events of a man's life are pre-ordained but would concede free will to man with regard to the intermediate points. But the Necessitarian believes that the whole chain of events, and every link in the chain, is pre-ordained and follows the universal law of causation. Thus, a fatalist may blame a judge for committing him to the gallows for the commission of murder, because, according to the contention of the

fatalist, the murder was done under inner compulsion and he had no choice of action. But it is not open to the Necessitarian to blame the judge, for, if the murder was done as an act of necessity, the judge's order was also passed as an act of necessity. As Leslie Stephen says in his *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, with reference to this doctrine of Necessity:

"Like an atmosphere pressing equally in all directions, it leaves the previous equilibrium unaltered."

By denying free will to man, it saps the foundations of morality and makes a mechanized automaton of man.

But Shelley soon outgrew this soul-less jejune creed. In reaction from the Calvinistic theology which prevailed in his time and which, according to Shelley, spoke of a 'jealous' anthropomorphic Deity wielding thunderbolts and lightning and ordaining the 'reprobation' of the greater part of mankind, Shelley began to conceive of God as the God of Love pervading the universe and said:

The Spirit of the worm beneath the sod
In love and worship blends itself with God.

—*Epipsychidion*

Again, addressing the Spirit of Love, he wrote:

Thou art the wine whose drunkenness is all
We can desire, O Love! . . .
Thou art the radiance which where ocean rolls
Investeth it; and when the heavens are blue
Thou fillest them.—*Prince Athanase*.

He was also profoundly affected by the teaching of love and suffering in the New Testament with its narration of the crucified Christ. As a result he conceived of the highest duty of man as being to forgive his enemies and act through love. This, in fact, is the main teaching of his masterpiece, *Prometheus Unbound*. Prometheus was a Titan and a god. By befriending the human race, he offended Zeus, who had him chained to the rocks in the Indian Caucasus where the Furies sent by the tyrant inflicted cruel tortures on Prometheus, including the nailing of him to a cross. But, being a god, Prometheus knew his strength; he could not be killed. At first, unable to bear the tortures, Prometheus cursed Zeus, saying there would come an hour when Zeus would fall from his seat in heaven through boundless space and time. But later, Prometheus felt sorry for the curse, saying:

It doth repent me: words are quick and vain;
Grief, for a while is blind, and so was mine,
I wish no living thing to suffer pain.

The curse of a god, however, can not go in vain. The hour struck; and down went Zeus into the abyss, dragged by Demogorgon, the Greek Yama, the embodiment of the principle of Justice.

In regard to this teaching of Shelley, and indeed in regard to the Hindu doctrine of *Ahimsa*, one may ask, "Is not life sacred? Is it not the duty of man to save his own life when attacked by a cruel foe? Is not this duty higher even than the principle of loving one's enemy?" Shelley gives the answer thus in the final address of Demogorgon to Prometheus:

To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy Power, which seems omnipotent;
To love and bear—
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory.

The goal of life is to attain that state of spirituality which would exercise love towards all, even towards enemies. It is possible that, by or during the exercise of our love, the enemy may be converted and may repent; or, it is possible that retributive justice may overtake him in the shape of a Demogorgon. But, in our exercise of love, even if our bodies are slain, what does it matter when the goal of earthly life has been achieved and life everlasting has been secured?

It is undeniable that this doctrine of love is too heavenly a regimen for ordinary mortals. It is said of Confucius that, recognising this, when asked by a disciple whether it was not his duty to return good for evil, Confucius said:

"If you return good for evil, with what will you recompense good? Recompense good with good, and evil with justice."

So far as Hinduism is concerned, while prescribing *Ahimsa* as the duty of the spiritually advanced men who have universal love in their hearts, Hinduism recognises the fact of men being in various evolutionary stages and prescribes different duties for different classes of men. The teaching of Hinduism is thus briefly put by Swami Vivekananda:

"Our duty is to encourage everyone in his struggle to live up to his own highest ideal, and strive at the same time to make the ideal as near as possible to the truth."

This may in a sense be called a compromise of the highest truth; but it is inevitable in the present stage of the evolution of the human race. In fact, the greatest advocates of the principles of non-violence and love have been found to

commit themselves to action involving a compromise of those high principles. Has it not been said of Gandhiji that he gave up his pacifism recently to defeat the aggressive ends of Japan? And Shelley too was prepared for a similar compromise. A biographer (H. S. Salt), quoting a passage from Shelley, writes of Shelley:

"He did not disguise his belief that if the aristocracy and plutocracy set themselves stubbornly against the introduction of reforms, a forcible remedy would be justifiable."

Thus do the limitations of man force themselves even on those who may be justifiably classed amongst idealists and visionaries.

SUKANTA

By MANINDRALAL BOSE

(A Short Story translated by Sreemati Lila Ray)

Who would have thought that the last pages of this notebook would stay blank? I have been going through it the whole morning. The latest chemical formulas, the history of the newest theories, notes from American and German scientific magazines, what an amount of information it contains! This chemical research worker's notebook is the record of my youth's endeavour. Every page is replete with my dreams and joys and strivings. Well, it's over, done; all the dreaming, all the trying, have come to an end.

The doctor tells me repeatedly, "Sukanta Babu, you ought not to brood over those notebooks. They only depress you more. Your temperature will rise instead of going down."

But he does not tell them to take these books and notebooks away. He knows death has given me notice; perhaps I can derive a little satisfaction from them during my last few days. I turn over the pages. Sometimes my eyes like weary birds alight in the middle of one and rest quietly. Sometimes page after page goes by.

If I had had another year to work on this experiment I might have been able to discover a new element or law. And the new easy way of obtaining sulphuric acid I thought of—that worked. Yesterday in a German magazine I read where one of their scientists was trying for that very thing. The German magazines came in the last mail. How pleased I was! Our intellectual link with Germany was destroyed in the fire of the last war. Now once again a narrow bridge of intercourse has spanned the river of blood. For several days I have done nothing but read these magazines. How happy it made me to see that a couple of Berlin scientists, driven by the war and working day and night, have made some of the experiments I had planned to do. They got results too. News that a scientific worker anywhere, no matter where, has succeeded in discovering something fills me with joy.

There still remains so much in so many fields to investigate. Ways of making useful things more cheaply and more easily must be thought out every day. I filled this manuscript with outlines of long and difficult researches but the work was scarcely begun when the command to stop came.

The scientists of the West received with acclaim the theses I sent. Is it anything to be proud of? If I had been able to work perhaps I could have done some-

thing that no scientist anywhere has yet thought of. Yes, I know everything will be tried eventually but I might have indicated the right way to do something before others.

Well, it's over. I have no regrets. My hand has tired writing these two pages. My chest is weary with coughing; my ribs are full of pain. The pain is rising into my chest again and if I cough now there will be blood.

* * * *

The red main road is directly beneath my window. In the morning pilgrims to the temple of Baidyanath take this road. In the evening Bengali children in their bright clothes pass on their way to the Dharoya river and back. Descending from the lap of the mountains, passing through forests of sal, crossing mountain streams and rocky plains, the road comes to this town. It wends its way through the bazaar, past the temple, and below the shops into the open fields where it stretches out one arm toward Nondon Hill while the other, like the thirsty throat of a crane, goes down to the Dharoya. There a thin silver thread of water flows across the golden sand. Pausing, after its long journeying, to drink the silver water the road leaps up past the fields of sugarcane and then races along beside the railway line to the station. Watching the road my days pass, nights come, nights pass, days come.

I lie and gaze at this straight and open road, the open fields, the open mountains, brimming with the noon sunlight. How beautiful! What a pure blue the sky is! Not a speck of even the whitest cloud! Days can pass looking at it; there is no surfeit. In this enchanting light one can weave dreams, dreaming throughout the day, entranced, I am drinking myself full of the beauty of the earth. Never before have I had time to look at the sky or at the land. I spent my days among the gaseous smells of the laboratory, in the light of a Bunsen burner, with test tubes, in the kingdom of acids and salts. And the nights as well. Many are the nights that have passed studying the Chemical Journals of other countries.

Holiday, I have been given a lifetime holiday from all experimenting and study. The day I received death's notice my holiday began. I have been set free in this scent-filled, beauty-filled, delight-filled world. So I stare at this arid, stony plain with its bare Nondon

Hill and black rocks. In Bengal one feels that the earth is really a mother with a mother's rich resources and stintless giving. How well-watered, how fertile she is! How full and divine a beauty is hers! But looking at Chotonagpur one sees her as an emaciated ascetic wearing matted hair and an ochre robe. In the intensity of her striving the very earth has been burnt into stone. Still my eyes seek and gather wherever they can find it the meagre and miserly beauty that remains.

Across the road is a small golden paddy field. Beside it on higher land is a smaller field of yellow mustard. Next to it on still higher land is a green clump of bamboo on a little mound. A white-breasted kite flies by my window. My eyes follow his half-black, half-white wings to the end of the sky where the black head of the mountain and the long leaves of a date-palm are drawn on the blue background.

I have been lying here as quietly as that hill for the last ten days, day after night, night after day. How hushed it is at noon, like a bright night! The empty house next door is hushed also with its shuttered doors and windows. All is still.

My eyes begin to close. Sundry noises come to me. A dove coos plaintively on the roof of the silent house. Several sparrows whirl away. A wasp enters my room and buzzes round, dashing repeatedly against the window panes. Rattling the doors and windows of the neighbouring house a gust of wind circles upward noisily. A pair of pigeons that have built their nest in a corner of the roof awake and call.

I gaze hungrily at the light in the sky and on the earth.

I scribble all this haphazardly without the desire or the strength to write connectedly. The stainless blue sky is like the unflinching gaze of serene blue eyes. A flock of egrets, white as milk, wheel round and round as though hypnotised. They have disappeared. Like them, flocks of thoughts drift about in the sky of my mind and are suddenly gone. My mind is as clear as that sky, without a trace of sorrow or concern. All effort, all worry are over and done with. I await death.

It is as if someone else seated in my mind were spinning spiders' webs of words that tear when I try to catch them in writing. I did not use to have this distressing habit. It must be that my illness has weakened and disordered my nerves.

I am watching the red road. A hired carriage in a cloud of dust is coming this way. The coachman's worn whip hisses and snaps above the skinny black horses. Trunks, baskets and bedding are crowded on the top of the carriage. Hanging their heads out of the window a little boy and girl look happily about them. Above the rattling of the carriage rises their sweet laughter. The carriage stops in front of the empty house next door. A young man is the first to alight, then an old man holding the arm of a young girl. Afterwards the little boy and girl. Behind them another carriage pulls up. Their Brahmin cook, another servant and the luggage thuds down. Through it all the smiles of the children.

The road is growing dark. Bengali girls are chatting as they pass. The one in a lavender sari says to the other who wears a red one from Benares. "My dear, it took you ten minutes to climb Nondon Hill. I did it in five." A younger girl in a blue sari cuts in with raillery. There is argument and laughter.

When they come here Bengali girls forget to keep their heads covered with their saris. Under this liberal

sky they come out of their kitchens, leave their pots and pans, and are free. As I have been freed from the laboratory. Like a tiger which, intoxicated with his first taste of human blood, greedily stalks more, these girls, tasting freedom for the first time, try to appropriate the entire freedom of the whole outdoors. Their faces are indiscernible in the darkness of the street but their words reach me. How far they walked, where they have been and similar talk. Walking is for me a thing of the past. I lie here quietly. Their talk of walking satisfies me.

The empty house has filled with people. I can hear all sorts of sounds from my bed. I seem to have passed from the world of movement into the world of sound. Every little noise has a special mysterious meaning for me. From the eastern window of my room on the second storey one can see into the kitchen and one room on the first floor of the neighbouring house. In this room the young girl has arranged her books upon a table and made it her own.

Her kitchen fire sings a song that is very sweet to me. I never noticed the rhythm of fire when I used to boil acid in a flask over gas. This morning she was cooking something special for her ailing and elderly father. The whole process was musical. Her bracelets kept time with their tinkling to the boiling of the water, the sputtering of the oil and the bubbling of the curry. I watched the care with which she sliced the vegetables and ground the spices. How pleased she was when the curry was done to her liking! The kitchen might have been a temple. She seemed to be worshipping her father with offerings to the fire.

What thoughts come to me when I look at her dainty room! I am surprised at myself and ashamed. A woman's world is completely unknown to me. Apart from a few words at mealtime I scarcely ever spoke to my mother, aunts and sisters at home. I never associated with women outside the family. I have heard that the reading of novels, plays and poetry gives one for me either. I never quite understood poetry. I have an insight into the hearts of women but that was not returned many a novel after reading only a couple of pages. But if I knew how to arrange the words that are filling my head today perhaps it would be poetry. Surely my illness has affected my brain; I am growing very sentimental.

But her room is really very pretty. It is full of charm even though the furniture is carelessly placed and her table untidily cluttered up with notebooks and books, comb, mirror, inkwell, matches, and a box of biscuits. A young woman has nested there and her look, her scent and her voice fill the whole place.

The chink of tea cups, footsteps, whisperings, what a variety of sounds! I can not hear all that is said but the melody of her speech reaches me. The hum of conversation floats up. Sometimes in annoyance, sometimes in rebuke, sometimes in merry laughter: "Father, why did you stay so long? O, the caretaker again declares he will not touch bread! Dada* will never get back from the market. He must have stopped to chat with someone. What do you want, Khuki?† Another biscuit? But it's time for lunch now. All right, go and get one from the tin. Bulu, be a good little brother and go take your bath. Rub yourself with oil first! Thakur,

* Dada: elder brother's affectionate title.
† Khuki: affectionate name for a little girl.

have you finished your cooking? Move over, I must get Father's jhol done quickly."

I have found out today how sweet the ordinary words we use day and night can be. It seems a greater discovery than all my scientific ones.

I have been listening to their chatter all afternoon. "Deedee, Deedee dear, won't you be going out? Deedee, where is my blue sari? Deedee dear, you must come for a walk. Wear your pink sari. Minee's sister wears the nicest saris. . . ."

"Khuku, stop it. Bulu, put on your socks like a good boy. You may walk across the Dharoya bridge."

"Deedee, what shall I cook for supper?"

"O, the vegetables are all ready for you. Thakur, how can we fry *tuchis* with so little ghee? Dada will never wake up. Dada, O Dada . . . Khuku, bring me some water, please."

Yesterday afternoon Satish came to see me. We went to school together, parting at the crossroads of school and college. We met again after ten years. He brought back my childhood to me. We talked long of old students and teachers. In the midst of our conversation I said, "Satish, sing me a song. I remember your singing at a Prize Distribution. I liked it very much."

"I don't know very much about singing, but my sister does," he answered. "I'll bring her over tomorrow."

"Please don't trouble her," I protested.

"It's no trouble at all," he said, "She will be glad to come. You are all alone and so ill."

Satish brought his sister over yesterday. I have never associated with women outside the family and know nothing of etiquette. I have no idea how, according to Brahmo Samaj usage, one ought to receive a young unmarried woman. I was afraid, at first, that she would think me rude. I was apprehensive lest I ask or say something in bad taste. That is why I told Satish not to bother.

As she entered the room I lifted my folded hands in a *namashkar*. She acknowledged it with a nod and began talking easily, without the slightest hesitation. Surprisingly I found it easy too. With simple small talk she learned all about me in a few minutes. How long I have been ill, which doctors have been consulted, what opinion they express and what treatment I am receiving. Satish remarked laughingly that when she heard she was to come to see me, his sister had borrowed a book on tuberculosis from a friend who was a doctor's daughter and spent the noon studying it. The girl blushed. Abruptly stopping the conversation she declared that perhaps they had made me talk too much as it was for complete rest was essential. Satish said naughtily, "In a single day with a single book you have become a doctor."

"O Dada," she exclaimed, "don't be silly!" hesitating a little she went on, "Dada says you like music. I do not sing very well. I wonder whether you will like it." She spoke without conceit.

"You need not be afraid to sing to me," I said, "I can count on my fingers the number of times in my life I have heard anyone sing."

† Deedee: affectionate title for elder sister; feminine equivalent of Dada.

With a gentle smile she said, "But ought you not to ask the doctor? Music might constitute 'excitement'."

"Come on and sing!" Satish interrupted, "Forget your medical book." I said nothing. Surely she understood what I tried to tell her with my eyes when she looked at my worn dark face. Why the doctor again? The time to break my bowl of life has come long before it was full. Pour a little of the honey of your song into it for me.

Sweetening the rosy evening light she sat beside my window and sang song after song. Once I said that I did not understand what all of them meant. "It is the melody that matters," how delightfully she laughed, "The words are for singing, not for explaining. What if you don't understand them all? Do I?"

It struck half past seven. Stars had filled the sky. Bringing the last song quickly to an end she jumped up. "It is time for father's supper," she said, "I must go now. Dada, you stay."

"Come over now and then . . ." I said slowly.

"Of course I will," she said, "but you really must ask the doctor." She left us hurriedly. I keep thinking I ought to have said something more, thanked her . . . and . . . ! But polite conventional phrases did not occur to me then.

It is five. She will be coming soon. She did not come here to sing to a tuberculosis patient; she came for a change. Why should she waste her afternoons with me? Yet I know for sure that she will come.

I have been too preoccupied to write these last few days. She comes over every afternoon. Satish as well. The bright evenings are beautiful and gay with song and talk.

The house next door is alive with music now. She breaks into song in the midst of her work, suddenly. She is as a fountain of song. She sings as she comes from the kitchen after giving an order to the cook. She hums as she pours the tea or dresses the little girl. Khuku beats time with her. She sings as she unties the mosquito net, dusts and rearranges the book on the table. "In the month of Bhadra clouds fill the sky. . . ." In the profuse light of the clear morning this song of the rainy season in the cloud-darkened and rain-swept Meghmollar raga is particularly lovely. There is no sorrow or longing in it. I feel my temple is complete, my heart brimming.

What is the light that flares up in her bright eyes when occasionally mine rest on hers? Is it the light of love or of pity?

Beautiful? That I do not know. I never did any research in feminine beauty. All that I can say is that she is nice, very nice and I like her very much indeed. I would like to look at her and talk with her a long, long time.

Last night she was telling her father about me. I heard some of what was said.

"He is very ill, father."

"Hasn't coming here helped him any?"

"He is a little better. The temperature used to stay around 101°. A few days after we came it went down to a hundred. Yesterday it was ninety-nine. He is very fond of music."

"Well, whenever you find time, dear, go and sing to him but don't sit too near."

"You need not worry about that, father. At first he did not want us in the same room at all. Then he

Lord, forgive me my pain. I have done what life gave me to do, for my failures forgive me."

I am again looking through the laboratory notebooks; if only I could think out a new theory or something. It is no longer a pleasure to go through them.

It is the eleventh night of the waxing moon. She read Omar Khayyam aloud to me; today I spent the entire noon rereading the book. Reading it again and again has fixed one stanza in my mind:—

"Ah, Love! could thou and I with Fate conspire
To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,
Would not we shatter it to bits—and then
Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire."
Today I know for certain that my liking for her was love.

Who would have thought the last pages of this notebook would be filled like this? I have spent the morning turning over its pages. I no longer like to do so. Leave it, it is done. She came into my life like the beautiful Usha, goddess of Dawn; my dream of dawn is over! At the end of life when its five acts are finished the curtain of death falls. In these five acts woman appears in five guises—as mother she gives us loving birth, as sister she plays with us in our childhood, as sweetheart she builds an attractive home for us in our youth, as daughter she climbs into our lap, as an aging woman she holds the worn rope of life's battered boat and pulls it toward the ghat of the Living.

As a child I lost my mother of this same disease; the only sister I ever had died when a baby. Youth's act is scarcely begun but death's curtain is about to fall. I myself know it very well and yesterday the doctor also, as he went down the stairs, whispered, "There is no hope."

I do not know whether or as what I shall be born again. I do not know whether it will be as a human or not. I do not know what the soul is. I only know that everything in creation is immortal, no one can lose anything or take anything or receive anything. There is only change from one form to another. I remember lectured us for three solid hours on the Law of Conservation of Dalton we still did not understand it. To-day that law seems so simple, so easy to understand, becoming the other. Nothing is wasted or lost, each has so many shapes!

If I am born again in this world as a human I would ever so much like that she and I be born in the same family as brother and sister. She would be the

companion of all the play, study, music and chatter of my childhood.

The light of the evening seems as pitiful as the light in the eyes of a dying bird. The paddy across the road has been harvested. In the empty field lies a white egret with its head tucked under it.

Sometimes I would like very much to write her a letter, just a line, "I liked you very much." But no, I have no right to let her know how I feel about anything. The memory of my illness is scratched lightly on her heart. A few days more and my life will be over. That scratch also will slowly disappear. I will not deepen it into a lasting scar. I do not wish to pain anyone.

May you be happy, may you be blessed, may your home be full of joy!

I am myself neither rebellious or hurt. What has happened here with her seems like a story. God, the Cosmic Artist, alone knows why he writes stories in the lives of all of us in events and their repercussions and by joining life to life. And he knows why this particular plot has ended this way. I cannot figure it out.

I am unable to sleep at night. As I watch the shining islands of innumerable stars that fill the blue sea of the sky, again and again I seem to hear death calling me. He whispers that he will take me from planet to planet, from star to star. Down the fire-strewn path of nebulae we will pass on the journey without an end. Reverently circling Mars, passing Jupiter, surmounting Saturn with his belt of fire, beyond Uranus, leaving Neptune behind us we will go to the infinite region of stars!

All through the night in all the sounds that come to me, in the sighing of the trees, in the trembling of the house next door, he has asked me again and again, "Where will you go?" He has called me with the eyes of the stars, "Come, come!" At dawn the stars faded away one by one and the sun, like a golden baby, was born into the lap of the radiant Usha. The heavens filled with sparkling light.

Now the flawless blue sky is overflowing with light. A phrase from one of her songs, full of this same early morning splendour is sounding in my heart—"More light, pour more light into my eyes, O Lord!" But with my failing sight I cannot face such strong light. It is so bright my eyes seem about to burst. The light of the day waxes as the light of my eyes wanes. O, I know it. I can no longer write; I no longer want to write. Let my eyes burst, let me burst, into light.

[Translated by Sreemati Lila Ray from *Maya-puri*, a collection of Bengali short stories.]

IS THE INDIAN PROBLEM A DOMESTIC ISSUE OF BRITAIN?

By ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A., P.R.S.

DURING the last few months the increasing gravity of the Indian problem attracted the attention of the world. Although the spokesmen of the British Government tried their best to create an impression that India was enthusiastically co-operating with war efforts, it was probably felt in other countries that the unsatisfied political aspirations of the Indians constituted serious obstacle in the path of the United Nations. In the recent India debate in the House of Lords, the Duke of Devonshire, Under-Secretary of State for India, argued that a policy of concessions to India might lead to a reduction of war efforts. The implications of this strange statement were probably elucidated by Lord Crewe, who observed that "it was not impossible that they (i. e. Indians) would be more than willing to bargain with Japan even at the cost of an inferior position in Asia if it would mean complete severance with all European ties." Fortunately such arguments have not met with unanimous acceptance in allied countries. In his article on the Cripps Mission published in the *New York Nation* Louis Fischer observes:

"It is clear from the negotiations on the defence formula that the Indians wished to do more for the defence of their country than the British were ready to allow them to do. Gandhi's pacifism did not enter into it. Azad, Nehru, Rajagopalachari and other Congress leaders are not pacifists, and Gandhi knows it. They wanted to fight the war. Instead, they were told they could run the canteens, print forms, and conduct economic warfare."

It seems clear that the United States and China were convinced, even before the August Resolution of the Congress, that the Indian problem should be solved to the satisfaction of the Indians in order to secure their wholehearted co-operation with the war efforts of the United Nations. The secret history of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's visit to India and his conversations with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is not yet known to the public. The activities of Colonel Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's emissary in India, are less mysterious. It is well-known that he acted as an intermediary in certain stages of the Cripps negotiations. Louis Fischer says in the article referred to above:

"Throughout the month of February, 1942, watching Japan advance in the Far East, President Roosevelt had taken a lively interest in the Indian question, and when the British Cabinet finally decided to send the Cripps Mission to India, the White House dispatched to Churchill a proposal for the solution of the Indian

problem. President Roosevelt followed every step of the Cripps negotiations, and when the break came on April 9, he tried to persuade Churchill to keep Cripps in India and resume the talks. But Cripps did not stay."

The incidents of August last naturally intensified world interest in India. How could India be expected to exert herself fully against the Axis if serious disturbances, involving the dislocation of communications, broke out in every province? The American Government issued a statement, declaring that American troops in India would take no part in the suppression of these disturbances. President Roosevelt naturally remained silent, but the American public became uneasy. It was widely felt that the suppression of the disturbances was not enough; something positive had to be done. The British Government left no stone unturned to convince America that there was nothing wrong with war efforts in India. Lord Halifax and Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai were reinforced by mighty stalwarts like Mr. Amery and Sir Stafford Cripps. The result was not very satisfactory. Complaints were publicly made by British statesmen and newspapers that America was uneasy about the Indian issue.

In India there was a natural attempt to utilise this opportunity. Before his arrest Mahatma Gandhi dispatched two letters to President Roosevelt and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. It was not an invitation for direct intervention. Mahatmaji wanted to clear his attitude towards the Axis and to offer a definite reply to the charge repeated *ad nauseam* in England that independent India would make terms with Japan. The Hindu Mahasabha invited Mr. Willkie to visit India and, on his refusal, decided to send Missions to America and China. The Friends of the Soviet Union decided to send a Goodwill Mission to Russia.

The feeling that the Governments of U. S. A. and China should intervene in the Indian issue and provide a satisfactory solution of the deadlock, was not confined to India. Sometime ago, Mr. Bertrand Russell spoke over the American Radio on the Indian question and suggested the setting up of a Commission consisting of representatives from the U. S. A., England, Russia and China for the settlement of this crisis. Pearl Buck, the famous American novelist and Nobel Prize winner, declared that the United Nations should proclaim this war as a 'war for freedom for all alike, regardless of race and religion,' and give it practical application by extending inde-

pendence to India. Some leading prelates of America expressed the view that the troubles in India 'retarded the victory of the United Nations' and requested President Roosevelt to mediate on the Indian question.

Britain, however, is not prepared to admit outside intervention in a 'domestic question.' Mr. Amery observed in an interview broadcast on the North American Service of the B. B. C. that, 'from long experience' Britain knew 'the limits of what can be done by intervention in what is now essentially a matter for Indians to settle for themselves.' A far more specific statement was made by the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, a member of the War Cabinet. The following is an extract from the *Sunday Express* (London), October 11, 1942 :

"The Jam Saheb, who . . . believes in hard-hitting and plain-speaking, denounced as foolish and dangerous the suggestion made in some quarters both in India and this country that the United States should be asked to mediate between Great Britain and the Congress. 'Britain and India have been members of the same family for 200 years,' he said. 'We have had our disputes, but they concern us alone and not outsiders.'"

"I have also heard it argued that either Stalin or Chiang Kai-shek should be asked to intervene. Some Indians may support this suggestion . . . but three Indians out of four would reject it. The British Empire must settle its own problems without outside assistance or intervention."

It is useless to observe that, from the ethnological point of view, Britain and India do not belong to the same 'family.' Nor is it necessary to tell the Jam Saheb that 200 years have not yet elapsed since the establishment of the British Empire in India. But we may enquire whether 'disputes' between these two members of the 'family' are really local issues 'concerning us alone and not outsiders.'

It is admitted by Britain that the defence of India is so intimately connected with the anti-Axis operations that it is no longer a local problem. Mr. Amery has recently observed, "... the defence of India is so intimately linked up with the defence of the Middle East, of Persia and Ceylon, and with the relief of China, and depends so largely on British ships, British aeroplanes, and British troops, not to speak today of American and Chinese forces, that Britain cannot divest himself of the ultimate responsibility for its conduct." If Britain must control India because British ships, aeroplanes and troops contribute to Indian defence, why should America and China be denied that privilege? It is no secret that the Chinese troops and American aeroplanes played a large part in the Burma campaign. It is well-known that at the present moment India is garrisoned largely by

American troops. During the recent Japanese air raids in north-eastern Assam the burden of defence fell, probably exclusively, on the American air force. If Britain cannot defend all the members of her 'family' without 'outside assistance,' she must be prepared to tolerate 'outside intervention' in her 'own problems.'

There is evidence to show that Britain tolerates 'outside intervention' in military matters. Recently Mr. Edgar Granville, an independent member who is a frequent critic of Mr. Churchill's Government, asked Mr. Attlee whether "there is any regular consultations with the United Nations on the defence of India." Mr. Attlee replied, "There is full consultation." Why should Britain refuse to extend to political matters this policy of 'full consultation' on military problems, at a time when the solution of the political problem is an essential preliminary to the intensification of war efforts?

Theoretically it is difficult to treat India as a mere member of Britain's household. She has some sort of an international status, although it is not possible to be quite definite about the rights and obligations of that of the League of Nations and a signatory in her own right to the treaty of Versailles. Such a state cannot be treated as a pure dependency, like the Philippines, for example.

It is difficult to say whether Britain's claim to treat the Indian problem as a 'domestic' question will be tolerated by her allies for any length of time. China is undoubtedly sympathetic towards India, but her position is so critical that she cannot be expected to take a strong attitude against Britain. Russia is silent. America is uneasy. Sometime ago, *Reuter's* chief correspondent in New York reported as follows :

"It is undeniable that so long as the Indian question remains unsolved for whatever reason there is a substantial impediment to complete Anglo-American co-operation."

He added,

But the American Government "certainly has neither the intention nor the desire to take over the problem of reconciling the various warring Indian groups to the British Government or to force a solution on them."

Mr. Willkie refused to visit India, but declared on his return to America, "India is our problem." After an unusually long delay President Roosevelt has declared that the Atlantic Charter is applicable to all nations in the world. Time alone can show whether these declarations are definite statements on policy or mere formal expressions of goodwill.

November, 1942



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto be answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

ENGLISH

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT AND AFTER :
By *Birendrakishore Roychowdhury, M. L. C.* Published by the Book Company, Ltd. Pp. 85. Price Re. 1-8.

The progressive deterioration of the economic condition of the agriculturists of Bengal has recently given rise to the suspicion that something is fundamentally wrong with our land system. The Permanent Settlement made with the zemindars nearly one hundred and fifty years ago is naturally accused as being responsible for the majority of the evils that the tenants today are suffering from. The appointment of the Land Revenue Commission in 1938 is another proof of the growing belief that no permanent and spectacular improvement would be possible without overhauling the present system thoroughly. The Commission submitted their recommendations in 1940; unfortunately there was no unanimity of opinion among the members of the Commission and while the majority urged certain important mission and while the minority advocated the continuation of the changes, the minority advocated the continuation of the present system, if necessary, with small modifications. This brochure by Mr. Roychowdhury is written admittedly from the minority point of view. "At the present moment when the atmosphere is so anti-zemindar," writes Mr. Roychowdhury in the Preface, "I am certain that for the sake of justice and fair-play it is necessary to bring to the public view the other side of the shield." The book is divided into nine chapters and deals with Land Settlements between 1772 and 1793. The Settlement of 1793, Development of the New Relations between Zemindars and Tenants, The Contributions of the Zemindari System, Position of Tenants, Land Revenue Commission and Abolition of the Zemindari System and Agricultural Income Tax. The style is lucid and we find in it a rapid history of certain aspects of the present Land Revenue System. It is, however, difficult to say that Mr. Roychowdhury has been successful in defending the present system. Any successful defence of the present system must show that the system had been of benefit not only in the past but would continue to be the best possible system both normatively and factually in the coming years. We do not find in the book any treatment of the subject from this historical point of view. But it is one of the sure lessons of history that unless a system can satisfy the needs of a society in evolution, no apologia can save it from going the way of everlasting bonfire.

BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA

GERMAN GEOPOLITICS : By *H. W. Weigert.* Published by Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. 96. Price 6d.

In this revealing little pamphlet in the Oxford Series entitled "America Faces the War," the author introduces the reader to the mysteries of German Geopolitics which has been defined by its sponsor, Professor Karl Haushofer as "the study of life-circumstances within a State and between States in their relationships of space." Geopolitics is not mere political geography; it embraces history, political science, sociology, anthropology and public law as much as the strategy of war. The author traces the development of this new German science from its very origin in the intellectual enervism of Haushofer and the patient and searching endeavours of the Munich Institute of Geopolitics to its present importance as a new religion of the German youth. The complexities of the relation of this now *weltanschauung* of geographic determinism to Nazi ideology and foreign policy makes interesting reading.

Prof. Dr. Karl Haushofer, who holds the rank of Major-General, is the President of the Deutsche Akademie and is recognised as Germany's expert on Japan. He is known to have exercised a strong influence on Hitler's political thinking, and Rudolf Hess is an outspoken disciple of his. Their hopes for German expansion both in Europe and in colonial possessions found a strong and convincing expression in the emphasis the geopoliticians laid on the idea of *Lebensraum* (living space). The author has given us an insight into the methodology of geopolitical research, the importance of the suggestive map and the radio, and pays a tribute to the thoroughness and accuracy of data used for articles published in the *Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik*, Haushofer's monthly journal. He also recognizes the great educational value of the training received by the scholars at Dr. Haushofer's Institute who have been most profitably utilized by the German General Staff in the preparation of military plans for campaigns undertaken during the present war. He advocates similar training for American boys, but insists that it should be 'humanized.' Without minimizing the role which geopolitics is playing and may play in future in the power-politics of imperialist nations, one would agree with the author that the decisive factor which guides the course of history is man, and if one neglects the human being and his role or allows him to be overshadowed by the giant earth, then the monistic outlook which arises from such a conception would supply again and again reasons and justifications for imperialist wars.

As a brief and clear introduction to the ideas of Haushofer and the role of geopolitics in contemporary German life, this pamphlet will be found extremely useful.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA: By Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). Published by Nand Kishore & Bros., Benares, 1942. Pp. xxix+555. Price Rs. 10.

In this volume Dr. R. S. Tripathi, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University, already well-known as the author of the scholarly work *History of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest*, has sought "to provide within a moderate compass, a compendious account of the history, institutions and culture of Ancient India from the dim ages of antiquity to the establishment of Moslem rule." He claims to have utilised all available and up-to-date materials in the detached spirit befitting a true historian. We may at once concede that the author's aims have been fulfilled to a considerable extent. In the eighteen chapters of the present work he has given us a comprehensive and well-proportioned account, based upon wide reading of the standard works concerned, of the history of our country from the pre-historic times down to those of the extensive conquests by the Moslem Turks. On numerous disputed questions his judgments are marked by sobriety and good sense. His style is easy and clear. An excellent bibliography classified under different heads and a good index bring this well-written volume to a close.

We have noticed a number of slips which may be corrected in a later edition of this work:

P. 2—"Buddhist Pitakas, Nikayas, Jatakas, etc." The Tripitaka, which is the canon of the Theravada school, includes Nikayas and Jatakas. The omission of all references to the canonical literature of other Buddhist schools in the accompanying list of literary sources is to be regretted.

P. 3—"The Ramayana and the Mahabharata represent the first notable attempts of the ancient Hindus in the direction" (of writing the rudiments of history). It has been shown by the present writer (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, 1942) that the rudiments of historical writing in ancient India are to be traced back to the Vamsas and gotra-pravara lists as well as the gathas and narasamsis, itihāsas and purāṇas of Vedic literature.

P. 5—"The Dulva and Tangyur." The Dulva forms only a section of the division called Kangyur which with the Tangyur constitutes the Tibetan canon.

Pp. 8-9—"Shrines dedicated to Siva on the Dieng plateau (Java) and the vast panorama of bas-reliefs on the walls in the colossal temples (*sic.*) at Borobudur (*sic.*) and Prambanam (Central Java) . . . reveal the hand of the Indians." There is nothing to show that the temples on the Dieng plateau, which by the way is also situated in Central Java, are exclusively Saiva. The extent of Indian influence on the art of Central Java is still a matter of controversy among scholars of the repute of Bosch and Krom.

P. 9 *n.*—The references to the publications on Greater Indian history should be corrected as follows: (1) Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India Colonies in the Far East*, Vol. II, *Suvarnadwipa*; (2) *Indian Culture in Java and Sumatra*, Part I (Text) by Dr. B. R. Chatterji, Part II (Inscriptions) by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti and Dr. B. R. Chatterji. In the above context, H. G. Q. Wales' popular work *Towards Angkor* might have been safely omitted. The "works of French and Dutch scholars" without further specification have no value for reference purposes.

P. 15.—The quotation of J. Kennedy's authority (*JRAS.* 1898) for the view that "the Dravidians belonged (*sic.*) to the Mediterranean race" is hopelessly out of date and incomplete.

P. 27 *n.*—For 'Greek Patir . . . Teuton Fadar' read 'Greek Pater . . . Gothic Fadar.' Omit 'anukramanis' in the list of devices for preserving the purity of the Rigveda text.

P. 80.—"Manu allows the king to take from merchants one-fiftieth part of their profits in cattle and gold." The correct reference is probably to a periodical levy of this amount or value upon the agricultural livestock of the cultivators and a levy in cash upon certain special classes of crops (Cf. the present writer's work, *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 59-62).

P. 80.—"Artisans, smiths and labourers paid taxes in the form of a day's labour monthly." Actually Manu applies the rule to craftsmen, artisans and Sudras living by manual labour.

P. 80.—For 'democratic or autonomous' clans, 'republican clans.'

P. 152.—For 'antarvesika' and 'prasatri' read 'antarvamsika' and 'prasastri.'

P. 256.—"The mainstay of finance was the land-revenue amounting to a certain portion of the produce or its cash value." There is no authority in Fa-hien's narrative for the last-mentioned alternative.

Pp. 286-87.—"Damodaragupta was routed and killed by his Maukhari contemporary who annexed Magadha or a large part of it." This follows the faulty rendering of the Apsad inscription by Fleet which has since been corrected by Mr. Kshetresra Chandra Chattopadhyaya in the D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume. The annexation of Magadha by the Maukhari king is only an inference following from Fleet's faulty translation.

P. 312.—"Yuan Chwang says that Harsha used to earmark a fourth of the revenue from the crown lands for rewarding men of intellectual distinction." Actually Yuan Chwang refers to the division of the royal land which, as has been shown by the present writer (*Hindu Revenue System*, p. 228), means in the present context nothing but the State territory.

Pp. 325-26.—"He (Rajapala) first sent a contingent in 991 A.D. to help Jayapala against Sultan Sabuktigin and another was despatched in 1008 A.D. when the former's (*sic.*) son and successor Anandapala was threatened by the aggressions of Mahmud." Mention of a *raja* of Kanauj as a member of the confederacies of Jayapala and Anandapala occurs only in the late work of Firishtha who, however, is silent about the name. The probable identification with Rajyapala as also the assumed date 991 A.D. for Jayapala's expedition against Sabuktigin rests only upon a suggestion of Vincent Smith (*JRAS.* 1909, pp. 275 ff.). For the doubtful authority of Firishtha on this point, see Dr. R. S. Tripathi's own *History of Kanauj*, p. 282 and *n.*

P. 344.—For 'Rajapura (Rajori)' read 'Rajapuri (Rajauri).'

Pp. 357-58.—"Balaputradeva, king of Suvarnadwipa and Javabhumi." In the Nalanda inscription of Devapala, he is simply called king of Suvarnadwipa, the title 'king of Javabhumi' being given to his unnamed grandfather of the Sailendra dynasty.

Pp. 361-62.—"The rebel leader (Divvoka) established an independent kingdom in North Bengal." . . . "Bhima succeeded his father Divvoka." There is no warrant for the supposition that Divya or Divvoka after Mahipala's death assumed the title of king. Bhima was the son of Rudoka, brother of Divvoka; he was not Divvoka's son.

P. 363.—"No building of that (Pala) age is extant." The ruins at Paharpur which have been excavated by Mr. K. N. Dikshit have been identified as remnants of Dharmapala's monastery.

P. 385.—For 'The Calukya dynasty of Anhilwada' read 'The Chalukya dynasty of Anahilawad.'

P. 496.—The reference-list under the head 'Historical romances and other works' should include the up-to-date editions of Sandhyakaranandi's *Ramacharita* by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, R. G. Basak and N. G. Banerji (Rajshani, 1939) and of *Prithviraja-vijaya* by Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha and Chandradhar Sharma Guleri (Ajmer, 1941) in place of the imperfect and out-of-date editions of H. P. Sastri and S. K. Belvalkar respectively. For 'Jayaratha's *Prithviraja-vijaya*' read 'Jayanaka's *Prithviraja vijaya*.'

P. 504.—For 'B. L. Barua, History of Kamarupa' read 'K. L. Barua,' etc.

P. 507.—Under the head 'Works on Polity,' the present writer's work *History of Political Theories* should be mentioned in its second edition (Calcutta, 1927) in place of the earlier edition (Calcutta, 1923).

Pp. 511-12. The reference list of works on Greater India which completely ignores even the standard French and Dutch authorities should at least include R. C. Majumdar's *Savarnadvipa*, Part II, Calcutta, 1939 and Sir Charles Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism* in three volumes. In the same list read 'Bijan Raj Chatterji' for 'Bijan Roy Chatterji.'

To the above list of shortcomings we may add a few more. The author's lists of classical and Chinese sources for ancient Indian history (p. 5) suffer from serious omissions. The accounts of Sunga, Pala and Hoysala art (pp. 188, 362-63, 437) are very scrappy. Equally incomplete is the description (p. 465) of the overseas conquests of Rajendra Chola. The title of Chapter VII ("Contact with the outside world") is a misnomer, since such contact can be traced back to the period of the Indus Civilisation. Mistakes of transliteration are not infrequent, e.g., sat-yuga (p. 11), Armaic (p. 117), and Amarkosa (p. 272). The General Bibliography would not have suffered by the wholesale omission of works of third-rate or fourth-rate importance including ordinary text-books for schools and colleges. The complete want of maps, in spite of the author's apology in his Preface, is very much to be regretted.

In spite of the above and other defects, the present work marks a distinct advance on the college text-books on ancient Indian history now in general use in this country.

U. N. GHOSHAL

HARVEST FROM THE DESERT—THE LIFE AND WORK OF SIR GANGA RAM: By Mr. B. P. L. Bedi. Published by Sir Ganga Ram Trust Society, Lahore. Pp. 301.

This is the life of a great philanthropist, who was besides a great Engineer, a great Agriculturist, a great Educationist and a Social Reformer and finally a great man of action of the Punjab. He was born in 1851 and died in July, 1927 in England where he went as a member of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. He began as an Assistant Engineer in the Government Service in 1873 and retired as an Executive Engineer in 1903. He joined the Patiala State in the same year and worked upto 1910. As a reward of his loyal services to the Punjab Government, Sir Ganga Ram was given some three thousand acres of land which along with another eight thousand acres leased out, he scientifically developed into a flourishing agricultural colony known as Gangapur. Admirable hydraulic and agricultural work was carried on by Sir Ganga Ram to the surprise of even pessimists and to the lasting benefit of the people of the province. His bigger agricultural schemes on

vast areas on lease-hold lands proved equally successful. But his association in other spheres of work, such as founding of Widows' Home and Asylum for the aged destitutes, Hospitals and other Charitable Institutions made his name a household word in the Punjab. His total gift in buildings and other properties amounts to Rs. 30,00,000 with an annual income of about Rs. 1,25,000. Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar was the originator of the movement for the re-marriage of Hindu widows and Sir Ganga Ram gave the movement a practical turn by establishing the Vidhya Vivah Sahaik Sabha and financing it properly. Sir Ganga Ram's name will ever remain green in the history of social services of this country and the agricultural renovation of the Punjab will claim him as one of its pioneers.

The book is well-written and illustrated and the printing is good. The Publishers deserve congratulations for bringing out the biography of a great philanthropist although it appears well over a decade after his death.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA: By Dr. A. P. Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). Published by the Calcutta University. Pp. xiii+160.

The book contains five articles previously published in periodicals and deals with important topics in the History of the British in India in the eventful period 1757 to 1784. It was during this period that the East India Company laid the foundation of the British power in India particularly in Bengal. Nawab Nazimuddowla after the death of his father Mirzafar on the 5th February, 1765, was given the Musnud by the English and not formally by the Emperor of Delhi who was still the *de jure* sovereign and granting of the Diwani by Shah Alam on the 12th August, 1765, was only a formal matter as the English had already taken in hand the revenue administration of the province. The English were in power without responsibility between 1757 and 1772 and the result was inefficient administration in the country. There were quarrels among the high officials of the East India Company and it is very interesting to note from the Macartney papers at Satara that espionage was maintained by Lord Macartney and Warren Hastings on the doings of fellow Europeans. Regulating Act 1773 improved the administration, when the Company was left in charge of commercial and financial matters only. Pitt's India Act 1784 brought the administration definitely under the Ministers responsible to the Parliament.

The author has taken pains to collect materials from the original sources which are valuable. Students of the British Indian History will find the book interesting and useful.

A. B. DUTTA

ANNUAL ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF THE SERICULTURAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE FASLI YEAR, 1996-97 (1941): Printed at the Ranbir Government Press, Jammu.

These few pages under review give a bird's-eye view of the sericultural activities of the Government of Kashmir and Jammu with many illustrative tables and figures. The international turmoil has created a very favourable situation for the silk industry of India as a whole. In Kashmir there has been a marked improvement in prices as well as keen demand for raw silk. It can be said that sericulture in Kashmir and Jammu is on a better footing compared with those of other provinces and states for the following reasons:

1. The mulberry leaves, the chief food of the silk worms, are grown from grafted trees and not from bushes as found in Bengal, Madras and Mysore. The cost of leaf production which is nearly 80% in Bengal and other provinces is much less in Kashmir and Jammu.

2. Government owns the reeling factories equipped with up-to-date machineries and thus it has been possible for them to manufacture standardised silk in bulk for export.

3. Climatic conditions, which are the most important in Sericulture, are very favourable as Kashmir is comparatively a colder country. Therefore, the incidence of the silk-worm diseases is less.

We are, indeed, glad to note in the report that His Highness's Government have taken up a vigorous campaign against illiteracy amongst the factory workers. This movement will not only benefit the workers concerned but will also benefit the Darbar as well. It is beyond any question that educated trained labour is more efficient than illiterate labour.

We find that the price of cocoons paid to the rearers was much less in Kashmir than in other provinces and states. The Darbar no doubt supplies the seed and leaf free to the rearers; still more liberal price would induce the rearers and the zemindars to take to the rearing of worms and the cultivation of mulberry trees more earnestly.

As regards the "seed supply," the industry has suffered a great deal due to difficulty in importing seed from foreign countries owing to the break-out of the war. What strikes us is that some scientific local arrangement for growing seed, equally good, should be made. If the Darbar can make arrangements with other provinces and states in the matter of exchange of improved "seeds," the policy would be beneficial to all concerned. It is very regrettable to note the absence of researches and experiments carried on in the state. For the development of the industry, researches and experiments are considered absolutely necessary. In this matter, Bengal is very much far ahead as the Department of Industries have already started researches on the silk-worms, the silk worm diseases, the manual experiments and the mulberry. The Silk Conditioning House at Calcutta is the only one of its kind in India, and is doing very valuable work in connection with the parachute manufacture in India for the War. There is a move to extend the mulberry cultivation on the road-sides and embankments by the land-holders, etc. For the general benefit, the Government is requested to read "A Plea for the Extension of the Mulberry Tree Cultivation in the Forests and Districts of Bengal. *Science and Culture*, Vol. VII, pp. 808-80... 1941."

RORINDRA MOHON DATTA

LENIN'S RUSSIA: By Louis Fischer. *Current Topics Series No. 5. Pudma Publications Ltd., 53-55, Laxmi Building, Sir Phirojshah Mehta Road, Bombay.*

An American journalist, Louis Fischer has recently come to the public view on account of the revelations he has made in the American papers about the failure of the so-called Cripps' Mission in India. Mr. Fischer is also an author of repute. His autobiography gives the story not only of his own self, but is a fascinating study of men and things. He lived in the U. S. S. R. in the early years of the Russian Revolution and worked there as a foreign correspondent to some prominent American journals. His autobiography is replete with interesting accounts and anecdotes of the leading personalities and important events of the Revolution. Needless to add, unlike his fellow foreign correspondents he viewed things with sympathy and mixed with the

Russians freely. He could grasp the real meaning of things more easily than the others. So his accounts have been both interesting and informative. The enterprising publishers have collected them in this booklet *seriatim*. Here the busy reader will have a glimpse of Lenin's Russia.

BENGAL LIBRARY DIRECTORY, 1942: *Bengal Library Association, Central Library, the University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

The Bengal Library Association is to be congratulated on the publication of this very useful directory. It contains details regarding school, college, university and public libraries in Bengal. This will be useful not only to the library workers and others, but to publishers, book-sellers and authors as well. Get-up, binding and printing are satisfactory.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

ALVAR SAINTS: By Swami Shuddhananda Bharati. Published by Anbu Nilayam, Ramachandrapuram, Trichy District. Price Rs. 2.

In this book, the author lays before the public the inner meaning enshrined in the Pasurams of the Alvars. The author who is a great yogi and mystic, expounds the message of the Vaishnavite devotees known as the Alvars. The Tamil expression 'Alvar' means one who has taken a deep plunge into the ocean of divine consciousness. An Alvar is a living Gita, a moving temple.

The Alvars are twelve in number. They are said to have lived between the seventh and the ninth century A. D. Though born in different castes, the Alvars are one holy family that live in the Divine, glorifying His Name. The lives of these saints are revelations of the Divine Grace.

To the English-knowing public, this book is really a boon.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

THE MAN IN THE RED TIE AND OTHER STORIES: By Prof. A. V. Rao. Published by the International Book House Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 3.

There are as many as fifteen stories; 'The Man in the Red Tie' being the first, the book is titled after it. Of this collection some five stories have already been published in the *Sunday Standard*, and two in the *Orient Weekly*.

Prof. Rao has worked out his plots in at least three of his stories with the present political movement in the country as their background. He has endeavoured to cater his stories for different tastes by picking up characters and incidents from various communal, cultural and even provincial spheres.

'The Man in the Red Tie' is a comedy of errors committed by two spies, watching each other under the scheme of independent reports by men working unknown to themselves. 'The Last Chance' holds out the genuine sorrows of a human heart in the halo of national glory. 'Release' is tragic with amorous complications. Of the other stories, 'The Worm that turned' is a typical short-story, engaging and psychological, too. The story starts with a suspense, and its revelation is complete in the last sentence.

With some common things of life Prof. Rao begins to tell his stories; as he proceeds on he sheds on them a lustre of importance with his live characterization, his queer irony, and his sparkling humour. But all his efforts end in lucky strokes of detached inspiration without having any lasting impression on the reader's mind.

After all, Prof. Rao is a loveable story-teller.

GURUDEVA TAGORE: By H. S. Mordia, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S. (Lond.), M.C.A.B. (Udaipur State), Sahitya Bhawan. Published from Mordia Book House, Udaipur (Rajputana). Price Rs. 2-8.

When the son of Mewar pays his tributes to the memory of Rabindranath, and offers a garland of fifty-one poems at the altar of the Muses, we in Bengal feel elated for our association with the name of the great poet.

Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, the Prime Minister of Mewar, Udaipur, has foreworded this publication, but this has not taken us far. We find the lawyer poet wandering through far-sought imageries, unpleasant repetitions, flimsy airiness, sheer improbabilities, diffused conceptions and faulty rhythms.

Of wailing, Mr. Mordia has done much; he loses sight of the joyous spirit of the poet, who always loved youth and green-ness.

In view of its size, contents and poetical merits, this lean work is almost fancifully priced at a time when the present Government control of 90% paper had no retrospective influence on!

SANTOS CHATTERJI

TO BEG I AM ASHAMED—THE AUTHENTIC AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A LONDON PROSTITUTE: By Sheila Cousins. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. 1940. Pp. 282. Price Rs. 3.

The account evinces a genuine touch of honest and forthright candour. It shows mastery in the delineation of episodes occurring in the life-history of a prostitute living in the environs of London, a decade ago. The beauty of the work lies in the condensation of almost all the types of incidents known to readers of older writers such as Havelock Ellis and those of कृष्णीमतम् नवविचित्रास in the life of a single venal beauty. This together with a varnish of psychoanalytical knowledge and the intelligent way of putting things in chaste language places the work above the level of pornography and makes one doubt whether the work in the non-de-plume is really from the pen of a prostitute. Be that as what it may, the work is really of abiding human and social interest for the young and the psychology-minded.

M. N. BANERJI

LIBRARY OF A REVOLUTIONARY: By M. N. Roy. Published by the New Life Union, Lucknow. Price annas eight.

One may or may not agree with Mr. M. N. Roy in the discussion of present-day political questions; but there cannot be any gain-saying that he has done a very useful service to all serious students of politics by this list of books on different subjects. If we remember aright it was Sir Pravash Ch. Mitter who first of all compiled such a list in 1918. That list has been out of print, and has become out of date. A fresh list had become a necessity; and Mr. Roy has our thanks for preparing it.

J. M. DATTA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH
THE UPAKHYANAMALA CONDENSED IN THE POETS' OWN WORDS: By Pandit A. M. Srinivasachariar. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

This contains a selection of thirteen well-known episodes and stories made from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and a few of the Puranas like the Markandeya, Padma and Siva. The Sanskrit texts of

the extracts are accompanied by English translations by V. Narayanan and also by short introductions which draw attention to special features of particular episodes and refer to their sources. It is true one small volume cannot be expected to do justice to the numerous interesting narratives scattered over different parts of the extensive Puranic literature, not to speak of the various aspects of its vast and varied contents. And it is really difficult to make a representative selection from this bewildering store of knowledge.

Making due concession for the above facts all lovers of the old literature of India must be thankful to the energetic publishers of the very useful and instructive series of condensation of old texts (two of which were reviewed by the undersigned in these pages in September 1938) for bringing into the easy access of the general reader a valuable portion of the old epic literature in Sanskrit. It may not be too much to hope that other portions of the literature will in course of time receive similar attention and some more volumes will be forthcoming in the near future.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RUBAIYAT-I-UMAR KHAYAM: Translated by Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah, M. A., B. L., Diplo-Phon., D. Litt. (Paris.) Published from the Provincial Library, Victoria Park, Dacca. Price Re. 1.

Most of the recent Bengali versions of the Rubaiyat of Umar Khayam are in translation from English. However agreeable they may be in their own way, they cannot be taken as perfectly faithful representations of the poet's original ideas. This volume consists of some characteristic poems of the great poet, carefully rendered into Bengali from original Persian, and as such deserves special attention. Not for niceties of style or metrical excellence but for the informations collected herein, the work will be appreciated. The introduction deals comprehensively with Umar's life, poetry and philosophy and the important editions of his works hitherto available.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

BARTAMAN JAPAN (MODERN JAPAN): By Digindra Chandra Banerjee. Published by the Gupta Prakashika, Guptapara, Dhakuria, 24-Parganas. Price Re. 1-4.

To-day Japan has become a terror to humanity. Her power is felt not only in the East, but all the world over. How she has attained such immense power and that in a very short time, is a matter of fascinating study. This book is an attempt to place before the reader in a short compass the story of modern Japan and in this the author has been fairly successful. The book is written in an easy and attractive style.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

SILPASAMPAD BARSIKI, 1349-50: Published from 15/1-C, Nirodc Behari Mahik Road, Calcutta. Pp. 127. Price annas eight.

This is a small directory of agriculture, industries and commerce for the use of persons who are engaged in business. As the first attempt, the publication has certain drawbacks, which the publisher promises to rectify in the next edition. This will be found useful by those for whom it is intended.

A. B. DATTA

HINDI

SHEKHAR—EK JEEVANI: By "Agnya." Published by Saraswati Press, Benares. 1940. Pp. 364. Price Rs. 3.

It is only in some supremely rare moments that we are privileged to have an entire glimpse of our life which would otherwise remain for us little more than a tale told by an idiot. To use the author's own words, "severe pain endows one with a vision and the sufferer becomes a seer. . . . 'Shekhar' is an attempt to express in words a vision seen within the short span of a single night of acutest mental anguish."

'Shekhar' is a biographical fiction—a real presentation of the development of what we pharisaically call a revolutionary character. At a crucial point in life, under the shadows of impending death, the hero reviews whole past in order to extract some meaning out of an apparent jumble of incidents wrought by the irrevocable hands of his 'personal destiny.' The result of this prying scrutiny unfolds itself to him gradually as the unescapable necessity of his nature. Nurture only accentuates the dominant note of his character. Shekhar is an unconventional and lonely child, sensitive and touchy but stubbornly adamant. Fate has stigmatised him as rebel of which he is fully conscious. He suffers acutely from the aloofness which sustains him, feels an exile in the wilderness of his psychological isolation. Though unique, Shekhar yet makes us start and recollect how unjust we are to children in general, and, what is more, how we ourselves conceal a Shekhar somewhere within us.

Shekhar's life enables us to witness the drama of all the conflicting currents and cross-currents of our age. In the fragmentary narration of episodes there is an inner link of outstanding thought, the evaluation of emotions by a keen, sensitive and powerful intellect. This intellect being essentially analytical, is responsible for an occasional sophistication, but on the whole the writer was really attempting to produce a work of art.

'Shekhar' is an overpoweringly earnest novel, impassioned though restrained. The style and the expressions—the author has created entirely fresh for himself. Sex has been introduced subconsciously and plays its integral part in the development of the hero's personality. Sometimes one doubts if character can justly be conceived as being composed of psychological atoms only, since the unknown X figures recurrently in life. Yet within limits it actually is so composed. Within these limits the portrayal of the hero's character remains unchallenged. When the limits are slightly transgressed, the point of view tends to be exclusive, sharing Freudian ingenuities. However, the author is cautious enough to avoid complete identification with particular isms. He repeats the emotion in order that he may master the inner significance and meaning of it.

'Shekhar' is a landmark in the history of contemporary Hindi fiction—a book which must win for its author unconcealed approbation or wrath as the case may be, keeping little room for a commonplace reader to express his flat opinions in a world of more dimensions than one.

TELUGU

M. RAJPAI

PREMALATA : By P. Ranganadha Rao, Journalist, Anakapalle. Published by Navya Sahitya Parishat, Guntur. Pp. 48. Price annas eight only.

This booklet contains a long poem adapted from Keats's 'Isabella.' The poem is rather a lengthy one compared with Keats's work. However, the sentiments are well expressed in easy verse. In its treatment the poet has given some original touches.

SRI ARAVINDA JEEVITAM : Published by Sri T. Kodandaram Rao, B.A. Printed at Vavilla Press, Madras. Pp. 255. Price Rs. 2.

The book under review is a biographical study of Sri Aurobindo Ghosh. The various stages of the development of the life of this great spiritual teacher is shown vividly. The last chapter is exclusively devoted to the present life and teachings of Sri Aurobindo.

This biographical work is sure to be very popular in Andhradesa.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

DASTUR DHALA, AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY : By Dastur Dr. Manekji Nasurvanji Dhala, Ph. D., Karachi. Printed at the Prabhat Press, Karachi. 1942. Cloth bound. Pp. 474.

Dastur Dhala, the Head Priest of the Parsis for Sind and Baluchistan, now in his 67th year is a Parsi savant and scholar of many languages including Sanskrit. His autobiography shows how in spite of the poverty of his family and difficulty in getting even tolerably good education he was fortunate enough in securing his present high position in letters and priesthood. The book is full of pleasant and instructive incidents. His trips to America and England and the simplicity of life he has led all along, wherever he was, are some of the landmarks which stand out prominent in the narration. He has played a very important part in the reform of Parsi Society and the weight that his views and opinions carry amongst his co-religionists are very creditable to him. His life-companion, who has proved a great hold to him throughout his career, we regret to note, passed away only recently. The book will be read with interest by non-Parsis also.

SADBODHA SHATAKAN : By D. B. Kalelkar. Published by the Navjivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1942. Thick Card Board. Pp. 219. Price annas twelve.

Kaka Kalelkar has selected one hundred best shlokas from the three shatakas of Bhartrihari and has translated them into Gujarati and given ample explanatory notes. The Introduction that he has written and this critical examination that he has made of the whole of the material available on the topic, are such that nothing like it has till now been published in Gujarati. It is really admirable work. The style is simple and typical of Kaka Kalelkar's writings. The script is Nagari and hence readable all over India.

GITA YOGARAHASYA : By Rao Bahadur C. S. Pandya, B.A., Surat. Printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat. 1942. Paper Cover. Pp. 114. Price annas eight.

Rao Bahadur Pandya is steeped in Sanatani lore, and naturally wishes others to share it. He has written this small book, expanding the Rahasya (secret) of the Gita in such a way that students can from their very student life study it and follow the path of *Atma Kalyan*. As to how far the attempt would succeed, no one can tell, but in itself it deserves praise. He has studied the subject well.

HINDNUR NANAVATEEN : By J. N. Mehta, B. Com. Printed at the Lokoeva Press, Baroda. 1942. Cloth Bound. Pp. 314. Price Rs. 3-8.

This is the first book of its kind in Gujarati. The history and present state of Indian Banking is narrated here from the pen of one who knows the subject first-hand and as such can state his propositions with authority. The subject is highly technical and complicated, and difficult to handle in such a way as to make it easy to understand. The writer has tried hard to overcome this handicap.

K. M. J.

MIDDLE CLASS UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

By SASANK S. MUKERJEE

GENERALLY, the terms 'educated' and 'middle class' are used in the same sense, as the educated class in India is composed mainly of persons belonging to the middle class. The lower classes are too poor to be able to spend anything on education and besides, they have to earn their living from childhood and therefore cannot afford to spend any time in schools. As for the persons belonging to the higher class, in a poor country like India, their number is limited and they form only a small fraction of the educated class in India. The people we usually refer to when speaking of the middle class, are those who are compelled to earn their own living, are engaged in non-manual occupations and have received some form of secondary or higher education.

In recent years, the problem of middle class unemployment has become very acute. Some idea of the magnitude of the problem can be gathered from the following figures :

	1921-22	1931-32
Number of scholars receiving University education in Arts and Science Colleges	48,933	81,010
Number of scholars receiving University education in Professional Colleges	13,662	18,483
Number of students in High and Middle Schools	1,239,524	2,297,579
Number of students in special schools receiving technical and professional education	132,706	271,094*

This rapidly increasing number of persons belonging to the educated class find it more and more difficult to maintain the increased standard of living and to secure higher wages to meet the rise in the general level of prices. The Central and Provincial legislatures have been compelled to take note of the problem. Between 1924-28, specially appointed committees carried out investigations in Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the Punjab and also in some of the Indian States like Travancore.

These inquiries serve a useful purpose in giving us a rough idea of the magnitude of the problem. After going through the reports of the various committees, one is left in no doubt as to the all-India character of the problem.

In Madras, the proportion of educated persons seeking employment to the demand for such men is two to one. In the Punjab, whereas the number of students in the anglo-vernacular schools and colleges had more than doubled during 1922-27, there had been no such correspond-

ing increase in the number of posts in the Government departments and in commercial and business firms.

As for conditions in Bengal, the Bengal Inquiry Committee states :

"The evidence which has been placed before us to the effect that there is considerable unemployment among the Anglo-Indians of Bengal and among the educated middle-class Bengalis is overwhelming and we have been greatly impressed by the acuteness of the problem"

As the Matriculation or the School-leaving examination is considered to be the minimum qualification for securing government services, the non-matriculants suffer the most from unemployment. They consider it below their dignity to be farmers, they do not possess necessary qualifications to get employment in technical occupations and owing to lack of capital they are unable to undertake business activities.

"It is seen that 47.68 per cent. of the total had not passed the Matriculation examination. 13.60 per cent. of the unemployed had passed the Matriculation or an equivalent examination, and 7.02 per cent. were graduates. . . ."

Students receiving professional and technical education also suffer from unemployment. The legal profession is considerably over-crowded and 'many junior members of the bar find it difficult to earn their living.' There is a considerable amount of unemployment prevailing in the medical profession. The number of doctors in the large towns is more than what it should be, whereas in the rural areas people do not get adequate medical treatment because in such places the standard of living is low and the villagers cannot always afford to pay cash-fees for medical treatment.

Unemployment among the educated people leads to many evils. The number of educated men trained for clerical jobs has far surpassed the demand for them and this is bringing down their wages to a very low level. In the last decade of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the present century, matriculates earned about Rs. 50 per month. But now-a-days, even a graduate in the government clerical services has to begin at about Rs. 40 per month.

The educated people regard the State as the guardian of its citizens, hold it responsible for their suffering and nurture a sense of personal injury against it if their grievances are not re-

* Report of the Enquiry into Middle Class Unemployment, Bombay.

* Statistical Abstract.

dressed. Disappointment, lack of occupation, idleness and suffering demoralise the youths and a prolonged unemployment of successive generations of educated people may become a formidable threat to the very existence of ordered society.

Today the life of a student is overshadowed by the fear of the future. Blank hopelessness is to be seen in the eyes of those who have completed their education. They pay call after call, write letters after letters, but to no avail; society does not want them, there is no work for them. So they embrace communistic gospels. If society does not want them, then society must be changed. A new order must be created, an order in which they would not be uncared for, in which they would find work, position and happiness.

In Germany, the 40,000 or 50,000 unemployed educated people became in 1930-33, the spear-head of the national-socialist movement, led by Hitler, a man who personified hatred against the existing rules and promised them a new social order.

The danger of such a class to the stability of the State has been well expressed by the Sadler Commission :

"The existence and steady increase of a sort of intellectual proletariat, not without reasonable grievances, forms a menace to good government. . . . So long as the great mass of the nation's intelligent manhood is driven, in ever-increasing numbers, along the same, often unfruitful course of study, which creates expectations that cannot be fulfilled and actually unfits those who pursue it from undertaking many useful occupations necessary for the welfare of the country, any Government however it may be constituted, whether it be bureaucratic or popular, must find its work hampered by an unceasing stream of criticism and a natural demand for relief which cannot possibly be met."

Let us examine the causes which have brought about this acute problem of ever-increasing unemployment among the educated classes in India.

India like the rest of the world has been affected by the economic depression of the post-War period. The demand for intellectual labour is very elastic, that is, it diminishes rapidly when there is a decrease in the purchasing power of those who avail themselves of professional services, and often out of all proportion with the decrease in purchasing power. The post-War depression greatly reduced the demand for intellectual labour and the heavy axe of retrenchment fell in all directions. Many old establishments were forced to contract their activities and were compelled to reduce considerably the number of intellectual workmen employed.

In this war many educated persons have found employment in war services. But the posts are temporary and hence the relief is a temporary one and unless steps are now taken to make provisions for those who will have to pass out of the office-doors after the war, India may have to face another depression in the post-War period.

It cannot be denied that the pitiable plight in which the educated young men of India find themselves today is to some extent due to the faulty system of education in India. The present system of education does not meet the needs of industrial progress. It has been admitted by many eminent persons that the present educational system is such as to train persons almost exclusively for clerical occupations. Thus May-hew states :

"Essentially practical and utilitarian, they (our high schools and colleges) have aimed at the production of Government officials, lawyers, doctors and commercial clerks."

The Government services fascinate the educated people of India and the student dreams of sitting under a fan and making tick-marks in huge account-books, with a red-blue pencil. The present educational system inculcates a false sense of dignity in youths and makes them look down upon any work which involves manual labour. They cannot dream of earning their living with their hands. They are 'Baboos' and not labourers! It is below their dignity to strike the hammer or to drive a railway engine; besides, what is to become of their knowledge of Philosophy, Politics and French!

In pointing out the defects of the present educational system, it must however be mentioned that the present system only leads to an increase in the number of unemployed persons. But the system is not one of the chief causes of unemployment among the educated people. The decrease in the number of unemployed people would not be very substantial even if we had the most up-to-date, scientifically planned and regulated system in force. Because, the change in the system of education would not by itself open up new avenues of employment but would merely make people more qualified to be employed in the already existing occupations. Therefore, the present system of education is harmful in so far as it does not train people to become qualified to find employment in the comparatively less overcrowded occupations.

Then there are certain social causes which "operate powerfully though silently in determining as well as impeding economic ambitions

and fortunes of the educated men." The caste system is responsible for imposing limitations on the nature of work which a man belonging to a particular caste may perform. A Brahmin cannot be a goldsmith, and a Kshatriya hesitates to start a laundry for washing clothes. Early marriages interfere with adequate training for particular occupations and also make young men responsible for maintaining a family too early in life.

Immobility of intellectual labour is held to be another cause of unemployment among educated people. As an Indian is brought up under the joint-family system, he has very little initiative of his own and does not like to lose the strong protection which he secures from his guardian.

But the most important cause of middle class unemployment is the backwardness of the country and the poor development of capitalistic enterprise in India. Though the population has increased rapidly, the avenues of employment for the growing population have not increased to any appreciable extent. England has about 16,000 occupations, whereas India, with a population of more than 340,000,000 has to offer only about 40 occupations!† The acute scarcity of demand for intellectual and industrial labour is the ultimate cause of the unemployment figures being the highest in India.

Demand for labour is practically stationary (excepting the fact that demand increases slightly with increase in population necessitating increased supply of commodities), the condition of the people is deteriorating from bad to worse. As the Bengal Committee aptly put it :

"In an ideally balanced development technical training and economic progress should proceed forward together, each being stimulated in turn by the other. When one lags it should receive a stimulus and vice versa."

Unemployment in India, whether amongst educated people or among manual workers, is due to the under-development of economic resources. If handsome wages are offered, people would be willing to do any kind of work (subject to a few exceptions). It is because remuneration is low in all occupations that people are not tempted to do away with caste restrictions and other social evils which intensify the problem of unemployment. But if there are prospects of good profits in a particular occupation, the restrictions imposed by out-of-date social customs and orthodoxy are bound to be set aside. To some extent, it is because the economic organi-

sation of the country is out-of-date that out-of-date customs still prevail among the people of India.

We have described the extent and the effects, and pointed out the chief causes of unemployment of the educated people of India. Now, we are expected to suggest remedies for unemployment. Let us first consider some of the palliatives put forward by the various Provincial Committees of Enquiry.

New avenues of employment like cottage industries, fruit-culture and dairy farming have been suggested. But very few of the cottage industries can survive in the face of foreign competition of machine-made goods. And even those few have to be thoroughly reorganised and their products must be standardized on mass production lines. As regards fruit culture and dairy farming, it must not be forgotten, that the educated young men will have to face the competition of those people who have a very low standard of living and are consequently satisfied with low prices. Besides, under the prevailing circumstances, the opportunities are greatly restricted and in the absence of modern methods of production, the educated people would have to do almost all the manual work with their own hands.

Changes in the system of education have been advocated by many. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a convocation address in 1929 said :

"... A sound system of secondary education with attractive vocational course must be adopted. This way lies the remedy for the present unsatisfactory state of things."

In March, 1934, the Third Quinquennial Conference of the Universities in India passed the following resolution :

"... A practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education either to professions or to separate vocational institutions. This will enable the Universities to improve their standards of admissions."

A readjustment of the present system will no doubt enable young men to find employment in the occupations which are not overcrowded. Vocational training will check the enormous increase in the number of persons seeking clerical jobs. But it can only equalize the intensity of the problem in all kinds of occupations, for a change, however sound and far-reaching in the system of education cannot by itself open up new avenues of employment.

The Madras Committee recommended that

† *Indian Economics*, Vol. II. Jathar and Beri.

the principal remedy for unemployment should be the diversion of educated people to agriculture. This view in recent years has gained much favour with the public and the slogan of 'Back to the Land' is heard everywhere. To many, the only solution of the unemployment problem seems to lie in the complete ruralisation of India.

People speak of the 'good old days' when India was supposed to have been purely an agricultural country with prosperous farmers and fat cows! But this popular belief is not borne out by history. Before the coming of the English, Indian industries were in a very prosperous condition and we make bold to state that Indian finished products were in no way inferior to those of Europe. So the belief that India in the past has been a purely agricultural country is baseless.

But coming back to present-day problems, it cannot and should not be forgotten that land is limited in quantity, whereas population increases by leaps and bounds. Even today, subdivision of holdings in India is a very serious evil and if more and more people are to take up agriculture, the individual holdings are sure to become smaller and smaller leading to ridiculously low returns.

If it be argued that better methods of cultivation would increase the returns from land, it may reasonably be asked, how are we going to adopt better methods of cultivation? It is universally admitted that the returns from land in India are very poor owing to out-of-date methods of cultivation. Agriculture must be revolutionised and that cannot be done unless there is an industrial revolution in India. In almost all the prosperous countries of today, industrial revolution has preceded and given an impetus to agrarian revolution.

Lastly, complete ruralisation will not be beneficial to the country. India depends mainly on the monsoons for the supply of water for agriculture and in an agricultural India the vagaries of nature would unsettle the economic stability of the country by a quick succession of booms and depressions.

Changes in the system of education and improvements in agriculture can only yield limited results and would not remedy the problem effectively. India is probably the most economically backward country in the world. She pays the lowest wages to labour, she has the lowest yield in agriculture and her number of unemployed men are perhaps the highest in the world.

No half-measures can effectively cope with the problem. The situation is desperate and it needs drastic measures.

"Behind the dry figures of statistical tables, behind the dispassionate analysis of cause and effect there lies the misery of a whole generation. The utter despair of thousands of parents who saved and slaved a lifetime to give their children an education only to see them in the end unemployed, very often broken in body and in spirit, the impotent wrath and the slow demoralization of promising young men and women loaded with degrees and certificates to whom society denies the opportunity to put to any use their gifts and their knowledge"§ can never be adequately expressed in words.

India is a country rich in raw materials and in industrial possibilities, but poor in manufacturing accomplishment. The deficiencies in her industrial system are such as to render her liable to foreign penetration in time of peace and to serious dangers in time of war. Her stores of money lie inert and idle. The people cannot secure the economic security and development of the country without the co-operation and stimulation of Government impose. But Government has clung long to the tradition of *laissez faire* in industrial matters. It has left the problem in the hands of the Provincial Governments. But the resources and credit of Provincial Governments are limited.

Economic planning on a national scale undertaken by Government can alone tackle the problem facing India today. We have had enough of suggestions and recommendations and innumerable remedies have been put forward. But of what use are they when there is no one to put them into practice! The question is that of determination by Government to solve the problem. Once Government decides to tackle the problem it will not be in want of remedies. 'Practicability' is nothing more than a relative term dependent upon the urgency with which a thing is desired. Government will not be able to solve the problem unless it is prepared to submit to some change of industrial methods and customs.

In conclusion, we can do nothing better than reproduce the opinion of so eminent an economist as Lord Beveridge. In his book, *Unemployment*, he asserts:

"The problem of unemployment needs not money so much as thought and organisation. It needs above all to be taken seriously. A problem of industrial organisation is not taken seriously so long as it is left to 'Distress' committees, so long as it is forgotten with every temporary improvement of trade, so long as it is made a peg on which to hang all other projects of social or political change."

§ Kotshing: *Unemployment in the Learned Professions*.

EVOLUTION OF CRIME AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

By J. P. GUPTA, B.A., LL.B., Dip. S.S.A.

CRIME as a social problem is new to the people although they have been conscious of crime from very early times. Each succeeding decade had its own theory of crime causation which became the basis of community action. As the popular notion of a juvenile offender lags considerably behind the facts of recent study and research it is thought proper to give a short sketch of the evolution of crime as a social problem.

Primitive Conception.—During the medieval period crime was attributed to the working of the devil who operated in some mysterious way upon an innate weakness of man and so severe punishment and foul confinement was the rule. Death punishment was very common and the ways through which this death punishment was inflicted were most inhuman, such as burning alive, boiling in oil, quartering, breaking on the rock, etc. Moreover, no difference or distinction between individual and individual was made with the consequence that the whole tribe was punished for the crime of one of its members.

Classical School.—Under Bentham, Rousseau and Baccaria the classical school protested against the arbitrary and unequal sentences, and eliminated the supernatural as the causative factor of crime. Bentham maintained that the man is a free moral agent and chooses on the principle of pain and pleasure. A man would do things which give him pleasure and seek to avoid the things which gave him pain. Baccaria established the principle of individual responsibility for crime and maintained that there should be the same punishment for the same offence and that the punishment should be deterrent. According to Baccaria:

"Retribution may not be an act of violence of one or may be against the private members of society. But it must be public, necessary and immediate and in proportion to the crime and determined by law."

This school thus left the criminal out of consideration thinking that all criminals are alike and that the punishment should fit the crime. It also ignored the causes of crime, and the influence of environment and heredity in a man's behaviour.

Theory of Lombroso.—Eventually the

theory of individual responsibility for crime gave way for a newer theory propounded by Lombroso that heredity rather than free-will was the cause of crime. He was thus the first criminologist who sought the cause of crime in the offender. Lombroso regarded the criminal as a special physical type with signs of criminal predisposition such as long lower jaw, flat nose, scanty beard distinguishing him from a normal man; and that those types were a reversion to the earlier tribes, i.e., pre-human ancestors.

Theological Theory.—During this time religious ideas dominated all thoughts and actions, and so men were punished for sins against society and God.

Metaphysical Theory.—A group of people carried on research on Lombroso's theory and discarded it but they enunciated that a criminal was a biological type. They found that a criminal was mentally deficient, shorter in height and shorter in weight, and maintained that the delinquent was of a special category of human beings, different in physique, physiognomy and mentality from the law-abiding citizens. In spite of its weaknesses the main contribution of this school was that it diverted the attention of the people from the crime to the criminal.

Moral Insanity Theory.—This school led by Garport held that the delinquent was moron or feeble-minded. It was believed that a much higher rate of mental deficiency prevailed among the criminal population. Garport differentiated between mental and moral delinquency and held that one intellectually sound but morally deficient may not be able to differentiate between social and anti-social acts. Such a man he called morally insane who was later on called moral imbecile. A moral imbecile is one above the feeble-minded but he has some permanent defects coupled with strong wishes or criminal propensities over which punishment has little deterrent effect. The delinquent was regarded as a moral imbecile with a predisposed character and lacking a sense of discrimination to distinguish between right and wrong. Though many looked upon feeble-mindedness as the major explanation of delinquency yet this in certain cases, cannot be explained.

dressed. Disappointment, lack of occupation, idleness and suffering demoralise the youths and a prolonged unemployment of successive generations of educated people may become a formidable threat to the very existence of ordered society.

Today the life of a student is overshadowed by the fear of the future. Blank hopelessness is to be seen in the eyes of those who have completed their education. They pay call after call, write letters after letters, but to no avail; society does not want them, there is no work for them. So they embrace communistic gospels. If society does not want them, then society must be changed. A new order must be created, an order in which they would not be uncared for, in which they would find work, position and happiness.

In Germany, the 40,000 or 50,000 unemployed educated people became in 1930-33, the spear-head of the national-socialist movement, led by Hitler, a man who personified hatred against the existing rules and promised them a new social order.

The danger of such a class to the stability of the State has been well expressed by the Sadler Commission :

"The existence and steady increase of a sort of intellectual proletariat, not without reasonable grievances, forms a menace to good government. . . . So long as the great mass of the nation's intelligent manhood is driven, in ever-increasing numbers, along the same, often unfruitful course of study, which creates expectations that cannot be fulfilled and actually unfits those who pursue it from undertaking many useful occupations necessary for the welfare of the country, any Government however it may be constituted, whether it be bureaucratic or popular, must find its work hampered by an unceasing stream of criticism and a natural demand for relief which cannot possibly be met."

Let us examine the causes which have brought about this acute problem of ever-increasing unemployment among the educated classes in India.

India like the rest of the world has been affected by the economic depression of the post-War period. The demand for intellectual labour is very elastic, that is, it diminishes rapidly when there is a decrease in the purchasing power of those who avail themselves of professional services, and often out of all proportion with the decrease in purchasing power. The post-War depression greatly reduced the demand for intellectual labour and the heavy axe of retrenchment fell in all directions. Many old establishments were forced to contract their activities and were compelled to reduce considerably the number of intellectual workmen employed.

In this war many educated persons have found employment in war services. But the posts are temporary and hence the relief is a temporary one and unless steps are now taken to make provisions for those who will have to pass out of the office-doors after the war, India may have to face another depression in the post-War period.

It cannot be denied that the pitiable plight in which the educated young men of India find themselves today is to some extent due to the faulty system of education in India. The present system of education does not meet the needs of industrial progress. It has been admitted by many eminent persons that the present educational system is such as to train persons almost exclusively for clerical occupations. Thus Mayhew states :

"Essentially practical and utilitarian, they (our high schools and colleges) have aimed at the production of Government officials, lawyers, doctors and commercial clerks."

The Government services fascinate the educated people of India and the student dreams of sitting under a fan and making tick-marks in huge account-books, with a red-blue pencil. The present educational system inculcates a false sense of dignity in youths and makes them look down upon any work which involves manual labour. They cannot dream of earning their living with their hands. They are 'Baboos' and not labourers! It is below their dignity to strike the hammer or to drive a railway engine; besides, what is to become of their knowledge of Philosophy, Politics and French!

In pointing out the defects of the present educational system, it must however be mentioned that the present system only leads to an increase in the number of unemployed persons. But the system is not one of the chief causes of unemployment among the educated people. The decrease in the number of unemployed people would not be very substantial even if we had the most up-to-date, scientifically planned and regulated system in force. Because, the change in the system of education would not by itself open up new avenues of employment but would merely make people more qualified to be employed in the already existing occupations. Therefore, the present system of education is harmful in so far as it does not train people to become qualified to find employment in the comparatively less overcrowded occupations.

Then there are certain social causes which "operate powerfully though silently in determining as well as impeding economic ambitions

and fortunes of the educated men." The caste system is responsible for imposing limitations on the nature of work which a man belonging to a particular caste may perform. A Brahmin cannot be a goldsmith, and a Kshatriya hesitates to start a laundry for washing clothes. Early marriages interfere with adequate training for particular occupations and also make young men responsible for maintaining a family too early in life.

Immobility of intellectual labour is held to be another cause of unemployment among educated people. As an Indian is brought up under the joint-family system, he has very little initiative of his own and does not like to lose the strong protection which he secures from his guardian.

But the most important cause of middle class unemployment is the backwardness of the country and the poor development of capitalistic enterprise in India. Though the population has increased rapidly, the avenues of employment for the growing population have not increased to any appreciable extent. England has about 16,000 occupations, whereas India, with a population of more than 340,000,000 has to offer only about 40 occupations!† The acute scarcity of demand for intellectual and industrial labour is the ultimate cause of the unemployment figures being the highest in India.

Demand for labour is practically stationary (excepting the fact that demand increases slightly with increase in population necessitating increased supply of commodities), the condition of the people is deteriorating from bad to worse. As the Bengal Committee aptly put it :

"In an ideally balanced development technical training and economic progress should proceed forward together, each being stimulated in turn by the other. When one lags it should receive a stimulus and vice versa."

Unemployment in India, whether amongst educated people or among manual workers, is due to the under-development of economic resources. If handsome wages are offered, people would be willing to do any kind of work (subject to a few exceptions). It is because remuneration is low in all occupations that people are not tempted to do away with caste restrictions and other social evils which intensify the problem of unemployment. But if there are prospects of good profits in a particular occupation, the restrictions imposed by out-of-date social customs and orthodoxy are bound to be set aside. To some extent, it is because the economic organi-

sation of the country is out-of-date that out-of-date customs still prevail among the people of India.

We have described the extent and the effects, and pointed out the chief causes of unemployment of the educated people of India. Now, we are expected to suggest remedies for unemployment. Let us first consider some of the palliatives put forward by the various Provincial Committees of Enquiry.

New avenues of employment like cottage industries, fruit-culture and dairy farming have been suggested. But very few of the cottage industries can survive in the face of foreign competition of machine-made goods. And even those few have to be thoroughly reorganised and their products must be standardized on mass production lines. As regards fruit culture and dairy farming, it must not be forgotten, that the educated young men will have to face the competition of those people who have a very low standard of living and are consequently satisfied with low prices. Besides, under the prevailing circumstances, the opportunities are greatly restricted and in the absence of modern methods of production, the educated people would have to do almost all the manual work with their own hands.

Changes in the system of education have been advocated by many. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a convocation address in 1929 said :

"... A sound system of secondary education with attractive vocational course must be adopted. This way lies the remedy for the present unsatisfactory state of things."

In March, 1934, the Third Quinquennial Conference of the Universities in India passed the following resolution :

"... A practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education either to professions or to separate vocational institutions. This will enable the Universities to improve their standards of admissions."

A readjustment of the present system will no doubt enable young men to find employment in the occupations which are not overcrowded. Vocational training will check the enormous increase in the number of persons seeking clerical jobs. But it can only equalize the intensity of the problem in all kinds of occupations, for a change, however sound and far-reaching in the system of education cannot by itself open up new avenues of employment.

The Madras Committee recommended that

† *Indian Economics*, Vol. II. Jathar and Beri.

Environmental School.—This school led by Herbert Spencer, E. Farrie and Garport exploded the theory of Lombroso and the meta-physical theory by comparison of physical traits between criminals and non-criminals. Herbert Spencer held that all human qualities were owing to environment and heredity and that the criminal as such was not a born type. The causative factors might lie in poverty, heredity, unhealthy home and uncongenial environment or any one of these factors. Robert Owens supported this view in these words: 'It is not man himself, it is his circumstances that make his character: unfortunate ones produce a bad man, fortunate ones a good man.' Ferrie, the Italian criminologist, also stressed the same thing when he said that social factors lie at the root of delinquency.

Newer Conception.—Delinquency, according to the modern theory, is a problem in adjustment of the child's personality. Each individual is born with a certain psychophysical equipment. He is at once acted upon by his environment and reacts to his environment; individual and environment—each influences the other continuously and as a result emerges the quality of conduct or misconduct. Dr. Healey holds that delinquency results from the interplay of the person in his particular setting—in other words, from the total situation of which he is a part. According to Dr. Mirriam Van Waters, the offending child is in conflict with the behaviour codes of normal home, school, neighbourhood and community. Dr. Manshardt says:

"The roots of crime go back into heredity. They extend to the home and are nourished by parental quarrelling, immorality, cruelty, defective discipline, and neglect. They find their way into the school, the workshop, in the use or misuse of leisure time."

Thus we have seen above how the crime causation from evil spirit has come down to be regarded as social pattern. The act of a delinquent is not regarded today as an isolated act but in relation to the mental and physical conditions of the offender, the whole sequence of events in his life, and the social and cultural situations in which his criminal behaviour takes place. In other words, sociologically juvenile delinquency is the culmination of a complex series of inevitable forces at work in the physical and social environment of the child or the young offender as the case may be. The theory of the punishment too has come to be based on the principle of the protection of the society and the child, travelling a long way from expiation, retaliation, deterrence and reformation. Earlier

methods of disposing of offenders both young and old were death, banishment, deprivation of property, slavery, physical mutilation and torture, and transportation to colonies. None of these methods created the problem which was immediately created when society, in its search for ways of disposing of criminals, turned to the prison.

When you have killed a criminal, the incident is closed. When you have banished him, your main concern is to keep him from returning. When you have enslaved him, your problem is that of maintenance and control of slaves. When you have taken away his property, you have left him with the problem of acquiring more property, if he can. When you have branded him, tortured him or mutilated him, you have inflicted your punishment and the incident is closed, since physical torture is usually an end in itself. When you have transported him to a colony, you have transported the problem along with him, for remote colonies of criminals give little concern to the people and the Government at home. But when you have imprisoned him for a shorter or longer period, they come back to the new surroundings when the period is over. This was entirely a new situation, as never before the method of punishment was to send people back to their home. Then the question of their treatment, protection of the society and the like propped in. The mere housing and feeding of prisoners gave way to their reformation so as to make them fit as useful and normal members of society on their return. The development of psychology, psychiatry, sociology, child guidance clinic, juvenile court, probation work, detention home, all have helped in the realization of this aim.

We have begun to realise that we can no more leave such problems for commonsense, as

"these commonsense accumulations of information concerning human relations, like the old commonsense conception of physical and biological world, have their limitations. They are founded upon relatively superficial and disconnected observation of experience, while the interpretations derived from them are colored by our individual prejudices and our particular doctrines concerning life. Too often acts based upon them fail to bring the desired results. For this reason scientific investigation is being gradually extended into the realms of group relationship and sociologists are endeavouring to construct a knowledge of group life which is grounded upon exhaustive researches that pierce through commonsense, customary explanations to reach the bedrock of natural laws."

For better attack of the problem of juvenile delinquency, the forerunner of adult crime, we need scientific, disciplined and persistent enquiry under scientific methods, as Cyril Burt appro-

priately sums up "the whole attitude is not so much for legal or moral code, but in the last resort for scientific investigation." The establishment of a juvenile court for the treatment of juvenile delinquents is the only solution.

The purpose of the juvenile court is protection, care and guardianship and not punishment; and so in dealing with the child it ascertains not only what the facts are in respect to the specific act or incident which brought the child into the court, but also to find out the causes which are responsible for such conduct of the child, whether

these causes are physical, mental or emotional handicaps, difficulties or deficiencies, or whether they are environmental influences such as parents, homes, schools, associates, neighbourhood conditions or other causes, and having ascertained these causes, to work out a solution for the correction of those situations. Thus it is an assertion on the part of the state of its right to exercise its power as *paren patriæ* for the welfare of such of its minor citizens as are deprived of their proper parental control or have gone astray.

A CALL TO HINDU WORKERS IN CHHOTA-NAGPORE

By PT. VISHWA NATH SHASTRI,

All-India Hindu (Arya) Dharma Seva Sangha

DURING my recent tour in Chhota-Nagpore on behalf of the All-India Hindu (Arya) Dharma Seva Sangha, I had an opportunity of studying the condition of the aboriginal tribes. Although various social and religious organizations are in existence nowadays among the Hindus still to my disappointment I found no proper organized Hindu social and religious activities in this district among the aboriginals. Christian missionaries are doing good work among these people even in these hard days. Christian missions, of course, get pecuniary help from the Government of Bihar. The Hindu organizations, get no such help. The local zamindars are indifferent. I had occasions to hold conversations with some of them. I gathered from their talk that they were under the impression that they would be incurring the displeasure of the Government if they were to help any indigenous social or religious movement. The Hindu Dharma Seva Sangha is contributing its mite towards helping some Hindu organizations, but without the sympathy and support of the local zamindars they can not make much progress. The following facts and figures will give the reader some ideas about the aboriginals:

(1) Ranchi District—
Total Aborigines—9,81,600. Aborigines—32,88,600.
Indian Christians—2,61,773. Christians—3,19,726.
Hindu Aborigines—7,19,827.

Thus 9.7% are Christians and 90.3% are non-Christians or Hindu and Tribal.

(3) Education :-	Christian	Non-Christian
Ho	35.6%	0.7%
Santhal	24.6%	0.5%
Munda	8.4%	1.0%
Uraon	8.0%	1.0%

(4) The District Board of Ranchi gives a grant of about Rs. 24,000 to Roman Catholic Mission for (primary) schools.

(5) Since no help is coming from Belgium, France, etc., due to war, Bihar Government gave Rs. 55,000 to R. C. Mission, Ranchi for primary schools for 1940-41 and 1941-42, as also for 1942-43.

(6) Ranchi has got 30 thanas and 4 sub-divisions. Simbega sub-division has got 30% of total population as converted Christians and 80% of aboriginal population as Christian.

(7) Chainpur thana in Gumb sub-division has got 55% of total population converted Christians—and there are 51 churches of R. C. Mission and 11 churches of German Mission alone.

(8) The Primary schools are converted into churches in many places on Sundays and Christianity is preached therefrom.

(9) The problem of girls' education has not been taken up by any Hindu organization. On the other hand, Missionaries have been turning out every year hundreds of Christian girls as Matrices and Graduates. No high school in Ranchi has got any non-Christian aboriginal girls in class IX or X or XI. There is only one school at Jagannathpur in Singhbhum district where 35 Hindu girls are students in the high school together with boys there; and a hostel has been started by Thakkar Baba for the girls there. He has to spend Rs. 15 p.m. for house rent, Rs. 15 as pay to the Lady Superintendent, and Rs. 10 for help to girls, etc. He has been paying from January, 1942 but his funds are running short and it will be closed soon.

THE establishment of a Utilisation Branch of the Geological Survey of India marks an important stage in the development of India's mineral resources. The Geological Survey of India had so long been engaged in the discovery of the mineral resources. Since the formation of the Utilisation Branch, it will be able to carry the work a stage further and show the ways in which the less known of India's mineral resources can be utilised to the full. This new Branch will demonstrate the practicability of commercially establishing the production of minerals, ores, metals, etc., which have not previously been fully utilised in India. The exploratory work already done by the Geological Survey of India shows that the Utilisation Branch will in time lead to the fullest possible utilisation of India's mineral wealth. This Branch will be concerned with proving deposits and with small-scale mining operations, and the construction and operation of experimental and even pilot plants for smelting, etc. These experiments will be continued till it is clear that large-scale production can be undertaken by an ordnance factory or by a commercial firm. This assurance was contained in a Government of India Press Note issued in May 15, 1942. Dr. Cyril Fox, Director of the Geological Survey of India, was mainly instrumental in bringing about the establishment of this Utilisation Branch.

Dr. Fox took Mining Engineering at the University of Birmingham and studied Geology as an extra-curricular subject under the eminent scientist Prof. Lapworth, F.R.S. In 1914, he volunteered for war service and served meritoriously in France. In 1917, he was recalled and placed in charge of the Government Mica Mines for mica production for the Ministry of Munitions, London. In 1921, he was deputed to assist the Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau and later became Mineral Advisor to the High Commissioner for India for a term of two years.

Dr. Fox returned to India in 1923 to commence an elaborate survey of the coalfields of Bengal and Bihar. In 1931, Dr. Fox extended his surveys to Assam where he discovered the wide extent of the Tertiary coalfields. In 1934, he was engaged in an investigation of the mineral springs in Ethiopia on behalf of the Emperor Haile Selassie. In 1936, he was deputed to Afghanistan in a search for coal where due to his recommendations of a three years' scheme, operations were later commenced and are being conducted under Mr. W. D. West, G.S.I. In

1937, Dr. Fox represented the Government of India as a delegate to the International Geological Congress held at Moscow. Dr. Fox made the fullest use of this opportunity and studied in great detail the procedure and practice adopted by the U. S. S. R. Geological Survey (Committee) in relaying their scientific and geological knowledge to the organisation of mineral production leading to widespread industrial development of the country.

In 1939, Dr. Fox was appointed the Director of the Geological Survey of India. Dr. Fox was always against the policy of a silent and secluded existence of the Geological Survey of India and set forth on a campaign of making the Government of India conscious of the almost unused machinery of the Geological Survey and the vast potentialities there are in the correct utilisation of the geological knowledge of our mineral wealth and its scientific exploitation. To him therefore goes the credit of shaking off this attitude of seclusion for one of vigorous and effective action.

Dr. Fox considers mineral wealth as an irreplaceable national asset to be conserved and utilised on sound economic basis. To convince and move the Government of India to action required a gigantic effort. Dr. Fox has succeeded eventually and his greatest achievement as also his most valuable service to India is the foundation of the Utilisation Branch of the Geological Survey of India for carrying out investigations which aim at bringing the mineral deposits from an exploratory stage through demonstrational evidence to a stage of exploitation, subsequent to which they could be taken over by responsible public bodies. Operations of this nature have already commenced at Koh-i-Sultan, Baluchistan for sulphur, Zawar in Rajputana for zinc and lead, in Bengal for wolfram, and other places for copper and tin. Besides this, a detailed investigation of the extent of mineral deposits all over the country including the Indian States is being carried out.

Dr. Fox was President of the Mining Metallurgical and Geological Institute of India in 1936, and was President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1942.

In the post-war reconstruction in India, Dr. Fox's magnificent contribution to the co-ordination of scientific knowledge and mineral production will lead to widespread industrial development on sound, rational and well-planned economic foundations.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Reminiscences of Sister Nivedita

Nivedita contributed to the cause of India's regeneration by her penetrative power of interpretation of our culture, her lucid exposition, her insistence on an active, energetic, proselytizing, and reforming Hinduism, her call for true manhood and sincerity in our public life, and her deep appreciation of Indian art. Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

I had the good fortune of meeting Sister Nivedita (Miss Margaret E. Noble) for the second time in October, 1904. She was at Buddha Gaya with Sir J. C. Bose and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. We were struck by her penetrative interpretation of the Indian scriptures, art, and folk-lore, which fact was highly appreciated by Dr. Tagore. The poet had his own beautiful way of expression of course, but he said that Nivedita had the power of going into the very heart of things and she was a marvellous exponent of them. In the dusk we used to meditate under the Bodhi tree. The Bodhi tree was the direct descendant of the descendants of descendants of the tree under which Buddha had attained Nirvana twenty-five centuries ago. As you all know, a branch of that tree was taken to Ceylon during the reign of Asoka and planted there by King Tissa of that island. A short distance off, there was a big circular stone slab with the marks of the Vajra or thunderbolt, which is said to have been supplied by Indra to Buddha. Many of you might have seen that emblem or figure of the thunderbolt in the books of Sister Nivedita.

Seeing that mark, Nivedita remarked, this sign of thunder should be adopted as the national emblem of India.

Its sign significance is that when a man gives up his all for the good of humanity, he becomes as powerful as the thunderbolt for the work of the gods. Nivedita emphasized the bold and courageous implications of this symbol. This symbol has now been practically banished from India but is used by the Tibetan followers of Bhuddha.

We generally had some evening walk at that period with Nivedita and Rabindranath. You know, perhaps, Sujata, the daughter of the headman of the village of Urubela. She offered food to Buddha in a golden bowl when he was sitting under a tree in a famished condition. During our walks, we reached a village now called Urbil. Nivedita said that that was Urubelia. She began to praise Sujata and said that she was the ideal of a householder, who should supply necessities to true recluses. In the fervour of her zeal, Nivedita took up a clod of earth and exclaimed, 'This, the home of Sujata, was sacred soil.'

The movement which is now called Aggressive Hinduism, was so named by Nivedita.

I do not like the word aggressive. I prefer to call it active, Active Hinduism. . . . There used to be no conversion to Hinduism. Brother Douglas of the Oxford Mission who is a devoted missionary sent out by the Oxford University, once remarked to me : 'Well, Jadu Babu, the extinction of the Hindu race is a question of arithmetic, as you cannot bring new members within your fold.' Yes, if no conversions are made and if Hinduism is not made active, the extinction of the Hindu race is a question of a hundred years or a century and a half. But Sister Nivedita urged Hinduism to be aggressive or active. She considered the Buddha as a reformer of Hinduism, and not the founder of a sect distinct from and antagonistic to Hinduism. It was the aim of Buddhism in its origin to purify Hindu society and life. Buddhist missionaries went to Europe, China, Japan, and other parts of the world to convert the people and to spread a reformed Hindu religion. I use the word Hinduism not in a limited sense, but in a comprehensive sense.

Nivedita wanted to say that the principles of Hinduism, which do not force us to believe any set of rigid dogmas, have many things to give to the world at large.

This Dharma is not a dogma or creed, and it can be practised by Christians and others also. Sister Nivedita explained many rituals and customs of Hinduism in a new and noble way by entering into their spirit. She had a living sympathy with and wonderful power of interpreting the things and thoughts of India of the past.

Sister Nivedita was deeply grieved to contemplate India's present degradation and weakness; she wanted that Indians should take their stand boldly and honourably in the comity of nations. They should conduct original researches. . . . So whenever any Indian made any original researches in any cultural field, she was overjoyed. For that reason she adored Sir J. C. Bose, whom she considered to be one of her personal friends. . . . The present speaker for his original researches in Indian history based on Persian Manuscripts, was much encouraged by her.

She visited many sacred places of India undergoing privation and hardship like any Hindu pilgrim, and explained the inner significance of the Tirthas in her own novel way.

Sister Nivedita had a wonderful, sympathetic, and penetrative power of going to the very heart of things.

The rituals, the customs, and the traditions, some of which we have forgotten and some of which we follow blindly or as explained by the priests, were restored to their original colour, their true meaning, by the novel and critical exposition of the Sister. First she wrote *The Web of Indian Life* in which she threw new light on various Hindu systems. She wrote many other books in the same spirit.

She was a great supporter of Indian art.

Any original contribution by an Indian was encouraged by Nivedita. She used to write art notes in *The Modern Review* and wrote also a large number of essays in that journal till her death (1908-11).

When Abanindranath's picture of Mother India was published in *The Modern Review*, she was overjoyed. She wrote criticisms and pointed out the defects of our young artists. She was a good critic of art and had studied European art thoroughly. Indian art of the Bengal school owes much to her wise guidance.

Passionately loving the independence of India, she remarked that the right place of Raja Rammohun Roy was by the side of Ranjit Singh of Lahore. That is to say, the intellect of Bengal and the valour of the Punjab should act side by side for the political regeneration of India. She was a nationalist of nationalists. She loved her adopted land and admired all that is great and good in Mother India.

War News

The New Review observes :

Much space could be saved by sparing the reader what are evidently eruptions of the Father of Lies ; as f. i. the announcement that the enemy had lost eight million dead on the Russian front ; eight million dead suppose a minimum of sixteen million wounded ; and with twenty-four million casualties in the last two years, they would keep up a front of over one thousand miles, and have men to spare to occupy the greater part of Europe ! It is well to remember that the total casualties of both sides on all fronts in the last war amounted to ten million killed, twenty million wounded and six million prisoners and missing ; Germany sued for an armistice when her casualties reached one-half of her numbers on the field. It is hard to compare one war with another ; but if mechanization is the great novelty in this war, it has greatly reduced numbers on the front line.

One must confess that war conditions in Russia give the Father of Lies a fine chance of disporting himself at ease ; it is very difficult to make out what really happens on that front. With the winter campaign, we have a crop of news as bewildering as last year : successes on both sides, mutual annihilation and the rest. An elementary precaution is to be taken ; all Russian news must be reduced to their winter proportions. In Russia, a winter front can be maintained with one-third the number of troops needed in summer ; again snow and blizzard hamper transport and operations in both sides and the day is equally short for both armies.

The front differs from the front line in the last war ; there is no continuous line of trenches as ran from the North Sea to Switzerland, but a series of points fortified in various ways : machinegun posts, mine-fields, block-houses in concrete spread in quineux-like arrangement so as to allow cross-fire, occasionally segments of the Maginot line type with redoubts and barracks underground. Such a system of defence can be penetrated at any point, and every forward position can be turned and encircled ; then reserves are brought for counter-attack ; they often re-establish the line, and local advances of several miles can be claimed by both sides ; but only prolonged nibbling or a large-scale offensive can achieve major results. The encircling of Nazi divisions in the Don-Volga districts did not imply an early reducing of the Stalingrad bulge ; the break-

through in the Middle Don is much more gratifying.

What is most significant in Russia is that the Nazi armies are immobilized in a *guerre d'usure* and that attrition should wear them out sooner than the Russians.

Fighting for What ?

The question at the head of this article is the title of a book which has recently appeared in England and is from the pen of Sir John Orr, F.R.S., a distinguished scientific authority on the question of nutrition. This question has been made the theme of an article in *Science and Culture* :

For, what has come to pass ? Why should millions of men in the flower of their youth be hurled to death and destruction when modern science has brought the dream of universal plenty within the range of practical possibility ? Why should billions worth of goods—products of human labour and human brain—be sent to the bottom of the sea or be burnt to ashes ? Such are the questions which surge in the breast of the common man. For this is no mere political question. It concerns every one of us, as Sir John Orr recognises, not the least the scientist.

To such urgent questions the answer so far supplied by those in power are only in the form of the vaguest generalities.

Mr. Roosevelt has enunciated the four freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear—as the aim of the United Nations. He and Mr. Churchill have found the solution of the problem of human freedom in the Atlantic Charter, which seeks, in the main, to restore the territorial integrity of the European nations. Self-satisfied Pundits like H. G. Wells have found the panacea in a new "Declaration of the Rights of Man."

Such declarations have an uncannily familiar ring. Variants of these were heard in profusion during the last Great War.

The British Prime Minister has definitely said that the Atlantic Charter does not apply to four hundred millions of Indians. Can there be a World Order, or needs of one-fifth of the human race, proud in their traditions of the oldest surviving civilisation of the world, are left out ?

In the spring of 1939, Hitler, it may be remembered, was asked by Roosevelt to give a guarantee regarding the independence of certain States (European). Hitler retorted by saying that the whole of Africa and nearly the whole of Asia was under foreign yoke and that yoke did not carry the inscription "Made in Germany." In cultures, the present struggle would be raised to higher moral levels, if there were an immediate declaration of the emancipation of the colonial peoples, and the bottom was taken out of such Hitlerian taunts.

The categorical exclusion of Asia from the provisions of the Atlantic Charter and the recent declaration of King's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire appears to indicate a contrary direction. British statesmen have openly declared their resolution to re-absorb Hong Kong in the British Empire, which Britain annexed from China a century ago. The Empire idea is being extolled even more vociferously than before. The slogan of world

freedom ill accords with this trend to the maintenance of the *status quo*.

This is particularly tragic, for the continuation of the *status quo* or any slight variant of it is bound to carry within it the seeds of imperial rivalries and of future wars, as the faults and folds within the earth lead to periodic earth convulsions. Future generations would then have to ask the same seemingly eternal question again, "Fighting for What ?"

Sir John Orr in his discussion of the roots of the present evil system and remedial measures, has come near enough but has not been able to hit the bull's eye of truth.

He realises that "the economic system is more important than the political system," that capitalism has developed into monopolistic capitalism, which operates in its own interest as distinguished from that of the community. He also realises that these big business concerns have great influence over Governments.

In their supposed interest, the monopolists would limit production or even destroy goods in order to keep up prices while millions would go without these goods, which may be essential. Sir John says :

"The defects of the system were most glaring in the case of food. While many millions of people in the world did not have sufficient food for their needs an International Wheat Committee devised measures to reduce the production of wheat. These measures were approved by Governments. They were approved by the British Government at a time when, in India and in other parts of the Empire, people for whose welfare the Government was responsible were suffering from lack of food.

The intention was to adjust supply to the economic demand, even though it was well known that millions of the population were suffering in health from the lack of the foods which these measures prevented being produced or imported in greater amounts.

Hungry people, to whom theories of adjusting supply to economic demand brought little satisfaction, would have eaten the food had they got their hands on it. So we had to resort to the further measures of destroying 'surplus' food. We treated wheat with chemicals to make it unfit for human consumption.

The stability of Great Britain in a rapidly changing world may be an actual danger. Britain cannot remain unchanged, retaining an outworn system which other nations are changing, unless we are content to suffer the fate of Rome, of Spain and all the other great empires which settled down to live on their fat. A ruling class living on dividends, masses of the people on the dole and a Government trying merely to maintain an uneasy *status quo* is a picture which fills thinking men with despair...The dole and the cinemas in Britain were too reminiscent of the bread and circuses in Rome when that great empire began to decline." (Italics are ours).

And we in India can rightly ask the question, "Are Sir John Orr's theories only for internal consumption, or for export to colonies and dependencies ?"

Like most British intellectuals he prefers not to dilate on the point, and herein lies the particular weakness of Sir John's thesis. It should be clear that there can be no stability in the world unless there be freedom

from want for every body in the world and not for the citizens of British Isles alone, and this cannot take place so long as the Imperial system survives. The Imperial system requires that the colonial countries should remain industrially undeveloped, so that they might for ever be the markets for the finished products of the Imperial powers and supplies of raw materials. If British scientists are not prepared to break finally and irrevocably with the Imperial system, they cannot be planners for world peace and prosperity. They can only delude themselves.

A Captain of Industry

To celebrate the 60th birthday of Mr. Walchand Hirachand, the Directors of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company and its associated companies gave a dinner at the Taj Mahal Hotel when a large number of prominent citizens of Bombay were present. We quote from *The Indian Readers' Digest* :

In congratulating Mr. Walchand on the attainment of his 60th birthday Sir Chunilal B. Mehta referred to the services rendered by Mr. Walchand to the development of Indian industries, particularly the shipping industry. Efficiency was the secret of the success of the enterprises of Mr. Walchand, Sir Chunilal Mehta on behalf of the Directors of the Scindia Company presented a silver plate to Mr. Walchand who in the course of his reply said :

"Modern conditions have amplified the basic fundamentals of orthodox economics defined in land, labour and capital as the three basis of economic activities. Scientific knowledge and political power are today as important as the three standardised factor and as every day passes they are becoming more and more important. The economic facet of political power is as essential as any other and its immediate realisation should be our main concern.

The political subjection of India has, however, prevented the utilisation of science and politics so patent in recent economic developments throughout the world. Moreover, a foreign Government has certain inevitable concomitants at home as a result of which the national effort of the subject nation are being frustrated. Foreign vested interests are able to maintain and add to their monopolies with the help of the Government with the result that, for example, in the overseas trade of India, though Britishers were, before this war, actively associated with the nationals of the enemy countries of today, they have so far shown no inclination to facilitate participation therein of India's mercantile marine.

In spite of the obstacles enumerated above, it is a matter for congratulation, howsoever qualified, that during the last twenty years the Scindia and its Associated Companies have been able to reclaim a small portion of at least the coastal trade of India. The Scindia Company which stood alone in 1919 is now supported by over a dozen Associated Companies and the paid-up capital of the Company which had, unfortunately, to be reduced as a result of the staggering losses incurred in fighting the foreigner in our own trades, has not only been restored but actually exceeds the original figure."

Turkey

Some time ago was celebrated throughout Turkey the 19th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic which was proclaimed on the 29th October, 1923. In the course of an article on Turkey in *The Calcutta Review* Dr. Naresh Chandra Roy observes :

Born in 1880 in Salonika, Mustafa Kemal entered a military academy early in life and turned out to be both a dashing and vigorous soldier and an effective political revolutionary. When the War was over and the Allies had the Sultan and his government at Constantinople completely in their clutches, Kemal managed to get himself appointed as the Inspector-General of Turkish forces in Anatolia. This provided an opportunity which he exploited in full measure. Sultan Muhammad VI had made himself a willing tool in the hands of the Allies. The latter had plans ready not only to maintain the Sultan only as a puppet at Constantinople but to slice off Turkish territories in Asia and distribute them among themselves. Kemal and his associates saw the possibility of complete effacement of Turkey as an independent state. The danger stimulated his patriotism and brought his organisational ability into full play. In Anatolia his national and patriotic ardour proved infectious and people rallied to his banner. An assembly was convoked and a document called the National Pact was issued.

Meanwhile, a considerable Greek army had entered Asia Minor and was proceeding against the capital which Mustafa Kemal had organised at Ankara in the heart of Anatolia. Italy, when it entered the War on the Allied side in 1915, had looked forward to a large accession of territory. In fact she was promised such accession in Asia Minor. But Britain and France had no intention of fulfilling the promise which they had made and Britain egged on Greece in Asia Minor so that Italian adventure in that quarter might be forestalled. So the Turks under Kemal had to fight and defeat the Greeks before they could achieve their object.

The possibility of the dismemberment of the Turkish State had stimulated the Kemalist opposition.

The occupation of Smyrna by Greek troops created that wave of patriotic feeling among the Turks of Anatolia which made it possible for Mustafa Kemal to organise his national movement on a solid basis and create a national Government at Ankara which could again stimulate the active co-operation of the Turkish people. The war against the Greeks turned out to be a long drawn-out affair. It was not till the autumn of 1922 that the Kemalist forces found it possible to defeat the Greek army finally and drive it out from Asia Minor. During this period of arduous struggle a Turkish national army grew from strength to strength and the determination of the Turks to maintain the independence of their homeland was increased correspondingly.

When the War was at last over the problem arose as to how the outstanding diplomatic questions should be solved.

To this end a conference was called to meet at Lausanne, which, after one breakdown, made a final settlement of the outstanding issues. Ismet Pasha, the

present President of the Turkish Republic, was the Turkish plenipotentiary. He knew the Turkish mind very clearly. Lord Curzon that superior person, who represented Britain in the first conference, tried to maintain imperialist privileges in Turkey by his blustering tactics. He even staged a breakdown and left Lausanne in a huff. But the bluster proved ineffective. Ismet Pasha (now Inönü) stuck to his gun. So ultimately the Kemalist Government won its points.

As a result of the treaty now signed, Turkey became a full-fledged independent national state as it never had been before. The capitulations which were not only a badge of political inferiority but which had shackled so much Turkish industry and trade were at last abolished.

Ankara continued to be the capital of the Turkish State but not only Constantinople but a good portion of territory in Thrace remained in Turkish hands. This was certainly a severe disappointment to those Europeans who had demanded for half a century the expulsion of the sick man bag and baggage from the continent. Apart from this foothold in Europe, Turkey became essentially a nationalist state in Asia Minor with an almost homogeneous population. This homogeneity was considerably augmented by the interchange of populations allowed by the Lausanne Treaty.

In October, 1923, Turkey was declared a republic. Under the constitution all legislative and executive powers of the State are vested in the Grand National Assembly which is chosen by the people.

The Assembly in its turn is responsible for electing the President of the republic from among its own members. The President is given only a suspensory veto over the laws passed by the Assembly. It is also to be mentioned that the Ministers of the President are responsible to the Assembly. From this description of the constitutional mechanism it may appear to the unwary reader that Turkey is not only a republic but a full-fledged democracy. But actually during the last two decades the new State has been essentially a dictatorship tempered by public opinion which is alert and active. How could this have been? Simply because the Assembly is elected by the people it should not be taken for granted that it is the symbol of democracy. It should be noted that in Turkey all members of the Assembly have to belong to one party, e.g., the Republican People's Party. By statute Mustafa Kemal was until his death the President of this Party. President Inönü has succeeded Kemal to this office. The Vice-President of the Party is empowered to appoint its members and together constitute a Council which selects the candidates for elections to the Assembly. So ultimately the Assembly consists of persons in whom the President has confidence and upon whose support he can always count.

What is Health ?

In the course of an article under the above caption in *The Calcutta Homœopathic Medical College Magazine* Dr. D. K. De observes :

A student of medical science is puzzled by the attempt on the part of expositors to explain health by the expression—freedom from disease, and disease by the expression—disorder of health.

Closely scrutinising the current ideas and definitions of health one comes to the conclusion that the various statements are incomplete and vague in every respect.

In Physiology I find big gaps in our study which should not have occurred if the physiologists considered the influences of the outside world on the body. Physiology deals with the functions of an organ or organs, a part or parts of the body and one system or two separately or conjointly, without considering the influences of the outside world. It does not consider the effects of environments on the body. It does not consider the relations of all the organs or systems to one another. It does not consider the alteration of functions of other systems when one of the system is affected by the physical agencies of the world. It does not consider functions of different organs or systems in different attitudes and positions of the body.

The term health is constantly and commonly used to indicate the condition of the body of an individual.

Health is that quality of the body which makes the body adapt itself to the constantly changing circumstances.

Health is immensely elastic controlled by its life force under the altered and variable circumstances. When the body is influenced by the disturbing agencies under various circumstances the life force or the vital force prepares the body accordingly for the preservation of its inherent quality or property, the life force itself being kept intact and unimpaired. We may go further to make it clear to our mind that the body attacked by various agencies undergo changes to preserve its properties for the maintenance of the body.

Also the changes in the body under various circumstances and influenced by various agencies of the world are manifested by symptoms. The totality of those symptoms represent the health of the body. It is now evident that disease is nothing but the state of health under particular circumstances and the body is never free from disturbances. Causative factors are the external and internal agencies influencing the body.

Thus health indicates the changes of the body in a general sense. Hence it becomes difficult to differentiate health from disease in relation to changes in the body and feelings. A chill on the body, a few sneezes, etc., may either indicate the first symptoms of disease or may indicate the signs of one's health. So we come to the conclusion that so long as the changes in the body as observed by a careful and unprejudiced medical man, are temporary, for the good of the body and for its preservation, the body is said to be healthy ; when those changes are for the destruction of the body, it is said to be diseased.

How do You Manage Your Kidneys ?

Dr. A. J. Haworth writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

The kidneys take from the blood body waste, such as inorganic salts, various compounds of nitrogen, and water. Ordinarily this waste amounts to about two quarts per day. It passes from the kidneys through tubes called "ureters" to the bladder, from which it is voided from time to time.

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Inflammation of kidneys or bladder is common. It may be caused by infection or by irritating substances in the food or drink. It is often aggravated by too concentrated urine, which in turn is due to drinking too little water.

Kidney stones are exceedingly painful, especially when they are passing through, or are caught in, a ureter. They are formed by the precipitation of inorganic minerals or other substances in the urine. The neck of the bladder may become obstructed by a stone, and the distension caused by the retention of the urine injures the kidneys, due to back pressure.

The market is glutted with quick "cures" for "kidney trouble" or "bladder trouble."

At the first signs of trouble go to a reliable physician and get a complete examination. An X-ray will disclose stones if they are present. Surgical attention may be necessary. If this is the case, there is not as much to fear as some think, for during the past few years kidney and bladder surgery has been developed to a high degree of efficiency and safety.

The importance of urinalysis cannot be overestimated. It not only helps in the diagnosis of kidney and bladder disease, but reveals other afflictions, such as diabetes. Some of these disorders are not painful, and may be making insidious inroads unknown to the victim.

Once your trouble has been accurately determined, the first logical step toward cure has been taken.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Work of Indian Universities

When passing judgment on modern Indian universities it is well to remember that the earliest of them were established just eighty-five years ago. Dewan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, one of the Advisers to the Secretary of State for India, and formerly Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University, and of Madras University, writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

A careful survey of the work done by them during these years will show that, in spite of early mistakes both in regard to policy and methods, the great strides which the universities have made within the past quarter of a century give ground for confidence that their contribution to the well-being and progress of the country will be far more vital and fruitful in the coming years than in the past. The history of Indian universities may be broadly divided into two periods—the first, a period of 60 years from 1857 to 1917, and the second from 1917 up to the present day.

The Period from 1857 to 1917.—I think it would be correct to say that the main function of Indian universities during the sixty years between 1857 and 1917 was to hold examinations and to confer degrees on the successful candidates. The Indian Universities Acts of 1857, which led to the establishment of the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, laid down that the purpose of these universities was "to ascertain by means of examination the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of literature, science and art, and of rewarding them by academical degrees as evidence of their respective attainments." To these universities were added the Punjab University in 1882 and the University of Allahabad in 1887. These five universities were thus purely examining and degree conferring bodies.

The Period from 1917 to 1942.—The ground for the important developments which took place during this period was prepared by the new educational policy enunciated by the Government of India in 1913. In 1910, a Department of Education was created in the Government of India, and in 1913 a Resolution was published in this department laying down an extensive policy in all branches of education. It drew attention not only to the need for additional universities in India, but also for university organisations of a better type. "At present," the Resolution stated, "there are only five Indian universities for 185 Arts and Professional Colleges in British India, besides several institutions in the Indian States. The day is probably far distant when India will be able to dispense altogether with the affiliating university. But it is necessary to restrict the area over which affiliating universities have control by securing, in the first instance, a separate university for each of the leading provinces in India, and secondly to create new local teaching and residential universities within each of the provinces in harmony with the best modern opinion as to the road to educational efficiency." This

pronouncement was followed four years later by the appointment of the Calcutta University Commission, presided over by Sir Michael Sadler and with our distinguished chairman Sir Philip Hartog, as a member, which issued an exhaustive report. The new policy laid down by the Government of India in 1913 and the recommendations of this Commission have guided university reforms all over the country.

The Commission endorsed the policy of the Government of India regarding unitary and residential universities, emphasised the importance of research work being undertaken by university teachers, and recommended the appointment of Academic Councils consisting mainly of university and college teachers, who should be the final authority in all purely academic matters.

The effect of the new policy of the Government of India and of the report of the Sadler Commission was the creation of a number of new universities of the unitary, teaching and residential type and the modification of the older universities into both teaching and affiliating universities. The new unitary, teaching and residential universities are those of Benares (1915), Osmania in Hyderabad (1918), Aligarh (1920), Dacca (1920), Lucknow (1922), Allahabad (1927) and Annamalai (1929).

The University of Mysore (1916), the first university to be founded in the Indian States, aims at the unitary type, but there are two university centres, Mysore and Bangalore.

The University of Travancore (1937) is primarily a teaching university established at Trivandrum, but has some private colleges within the State admitted to the privileges of the university.

The Universities of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and the Punjab are now teaching and affiliating universities. So are the new universities of Patna (1917), Nagpur (1923) and Andhra (1926).

The Delhi University created in 1922 is likely to develop into a teaching university of the federal type with a number of constituent colleges sharing in the work of the university.

The Agra University, which came into existence in 1927, still remains a purely affiliating university. Thus of the eighteen universities in India, with the single exception of Agra, the remaining seventeen universities are either wholly teaching and residential universities or universities of the teaching and affiliating type. Of these, two are All-India institutions of an essentially denominational character, the Benares Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University. It is worth noting that among the Indian universities, Osmania University in Hyderabad State is the only university which uses Urdu as the medium of instruction and examination, though English is studied as a compulsory second language. Several of the universities have professional courses in law, medicine, engineering, teaching and agriculture, while almost all of them are making increased provision



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Research Work.—The standard of research in Indian universities does not yet bear comparison with that of the work of British and American scholars, but that is largely due to the pressure of routine teaching duties on the university staffs in India and the lack of adequate laboratory and library equipment which are indispensable for research.

It is encouraging to note, however, that research work is being directed more and more towards things which have a direct bearing on the social and economic life of the country.

The lack of correlation between school and college curricula and the life of the people has often been pointed out as one of the most serious defects in the Indian educational system. The student absorbs a certain amount of knowledge from books, but it has no relation either to his own environment or to the practical problems which would confront him in later life.

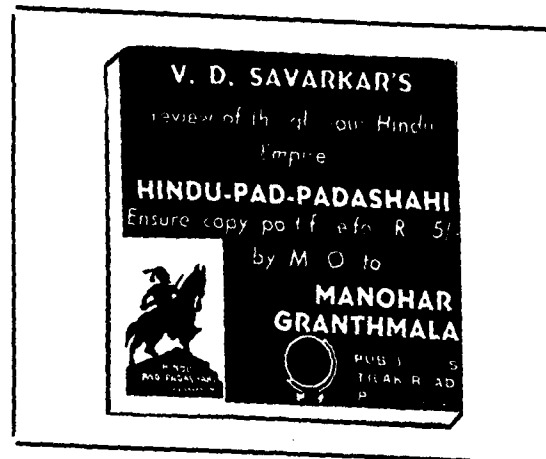
It is necessary that the subjects of study should, as far as possible, be brought into vital relationship with present-day realities, and that emphasis should be given to those aspects of knowledge which have a special contemporary value.

Attempts are being made to remedy this defect in university education, and greater attention is beginning to be devoted to subjects of Indian interest. If the scientific work of Indian universities could be more fully directed to the many problems connected with the development of the vast resources of the country, the universities would make a contribution of inestimable value towards promoting the prosperity of the people.

THE PROBLEM OF NUMBERS

One of the things which tends to impair the quality of the work done by universities is undoubtedly the presence in them of a large number of students who are not fitted to receive higher education.

Universities and colleges are so crowded with students that there is little scope for proper intellectual and moral training. The education of the average student is consequently of a very narrow type, and is measured mainly by success in examinations. The problem cannot be solved, as has been pointed out, by the mere imposition of more stringent standards of affiliation and examination, though this is necessary. Some of the universities and colleges have in recent years introduced the system of tutorial work, but in view of the numbers to be dealt with and the inadequacy of the staff, this work frequently takes on the character of merely supplementary lectures to those given in the class-room. Little or no attempt is made at throwing the student on his own intellectual resources and stimulating his independent thinking. The real solution can only come, as has often been pointed out, with the reorganisation of the school system in such a way that the great majority of the pupils could be diverted at appropriate stages either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. But along with the extension of vocational and technical education there is need for the expansion of industry and commerce if the men who are trained for these callings are to find suitable employment. Doubts have been expressed whether Indian boys are industrially minded at all, and would overcome the habit and tradition of centuries in order to take to



technical training. The great war effort of India at present has shown that these doubts and fears are groundless.

Need for Co-ordination of University Work.—In spite of the progress which has been made in the field of advanced study and research, the best results have not been achieved owing to the lack of co-operation either among the universities or between them and the research institutes in the country.

There is a need for collaboration between the universities and the various research institutions in the country. There are a number of central institutes which function as common federal institutions for advanced technical training and research. Among these may be mentioned the Agricultural Research Institute at Delhi, the Industrial Research Bureau, the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, the School of Tropical Medicine, the Dhanbad School of Mines, the Lac Research Institute at Ranchi, the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute at Cawnpore, the Indian Central Cotton Committee, Bombay, and the Indian Institute of Science founded by J. N. Tata at Bangalore.

Old and New Delhi

From India, where he is special correspondent of the *Daily Herald*, Victor Thompson send this background report. It is reproduced in the *News Review*, September, 1942 :

The Sahib remains aloofly in his clubs and the Indian sees in this not merely British reserve but British contempt. Segregation is neatly if accidentally symbolised here in Delhi, the capital and G. H. Q. of India. For Indians there is Old Delhi, picturesque and smelly, dominated by a mosque that takes your breath away and a walled fort from which you expect to see Akbar the Great ride out at the head of the Mogul army. Fortune-tellers and vendors of tawdry trifles importune you as you tack your way through the brightly dressed throng. Beggars, working for a beggar master who pays them a flat rate, good days and bad days alike, thrust deformed limbs under your eyes to try to waken your compassion.

But now let us take a taxi, if we can afford extortionate rates, and go a couple of miles to New Delhi, that imposing city of handsome buildings and long lawns and carefully measured vistas that stand as proud monuments to the majesty of the British

Raj. It is all very new. You feel you want to take it and rub it in the dust, to take off a little of the shine. All the same, you cannot deny its dignity, any more than you can deny the Roman virtues of the Britons who rules there.

What a contrast to Old Delhi ! And how carefully it is separated from the former Indian capital !

Corridors of the secretariat are full now of gleaming staff officers. Everybody is "in conference," there really is activity and no more than the inevitable amount of boring delays.

For a newspaper man back from the torrid airfields of Assam or the steaming jungle of Bengal, however, it is all a little too polished. If New Delhi knows all about the war, it is too well bred to betray its knowledge. It retains its proconsular calm even in face of the invasion of long-striding, free-talking American officers, who are housed in a big hotel and have raised the tipping standard to a point where it would almost be worth my while to work my way through Delhi as a waiter.

But behind the calm great decisions have been and must be taken. Here it was decided to meet Congress Party defiance with the arrest of Gandhi and other leaders. Here more than in London will originate any new approach to the Indian crisis. Is any new approach imminent ? There is no outward sign of it. But the position is not one which can be tolerated indefinitely. So the discussions in and around the Viceroy's palace are grave and prolonged.

I hope, though, that the discussers will be able mentally to leap the distance between New Delhi and Old Delhi. After all, the fate of 400,000,000 Indians is in the balance—one fifth of the earth's population.

The Taj Mahal by Moonlight

In an article entitled "In the Land of the Great Mogul" in *The Catholic World*, Richard A. Welfie thus describes the Taj by moonlight :

It so often happens that the things we hear people rhapsodize about turn out to be the most disappointing. But I am prepared to swear by all that is fair in the land of the Great Mogul that the Taj by moonlight will not let you down. It is absolutely superb, positively charming, simply. . . .

Perhaps a suppressed sigh of wonderment escaped my lips, but nothing more. For there at the far end of the basins, silhouetted against the satin starlit sky, and with its perfect image reflected in the water as in a mirror, rose up before me that pale apparition of bewitching beauty that is the Taj Mahal by moonlight. One really wonders if it isn't only an apparition. For it seems to be floating in space, a part of the moonlight, unsubstantial as a dream. The only word that comes close to describing it is enchanting ! But it is too ethereal, too elusive to be captured by mere words. Samuel Smith attempts it in his book, but after all he can only say that : "It hardly seems of the earth, earthy. . . . No such effect is produced by the first view of St. Peter's or Milan or Cologne Cathedrals ; they are all majestic, but this is enchantment itself."

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THE NEW COMER

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The Age waits expectant, New Comer,
Gazing at your path.
What message have you brought to this Earth.
Life's stage
Is set for some drama of yours :
What great words will you offer
For worship of man divine,
The song of immortal realms ringing in your ears.

In the scabbard at your waist
The great weapon lies hid
For fight with evil.
On this muddy road, flooded by sanguinary tide,
Even here where hatred and divisions rule,
A sanctuary of united hearts you may raise
Building a bank of peace.

The unseen mark of victory on your brow—
None knows in what quest is it gained;
To-day your name, still unwritten, we seek
Like the star of coming dawn.
The human child arrives, again and again,
With eternal assurance
That freedom is coming yet
In the new morning light.

(Santiniketan, 19-8-38)

Translated by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty

THE POET
By Sushil Kumar Mukherjee

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

NOTES

Federal Court Judgment

The Federal Court has held that the Defence of India Rule 26, in its present form, went beyond the powers which the Legislature had thought fit to confer on the Central Government and were for that reason invalid. About 8000 persons, including Mahatma Gandhi and the members of the Congress Working Committee are detained under this Rule. The judgment is given below:

In the course of the judgment the Chief Justice, Sir Maurice Gwyer, said: "We recognise that our decision may be a cause of inconvenience and possibly of embarrassment, even though temporarily, to the Executive authority. We regret that this should be so, especially in these difficult times, but we express the earnest hope that greater care may be taken hereafter to secure that powers of this extraordinary kind which may affect, and indeed have affected, the liberty of so many of the King's subjects in India, may be defined with greater precision and exactitude, so as to reduce to as small a compass as possible the risk that persons may find themselves apprehended and detained, without legal warrant. And we desire also to draw the attention of those who have the power of making orders of detention to what we have thought it right to say with regard to the obligation which lies on them to specify, as clearly and accurately as they can, the true grounds on which the order is made."

The appeal, which was against the refusal of the Bombay High Court to grant an order under Section 481 of the Cr. P. C. in the nature of a writ of Habeas Corpus in order to quash an order for the detention of one Keshav Talpade under the Defence of India Rule 26, was allowed and the case remitted to the High Court of Bombay with a direction that the appellant's application might be disposed of in the light of the observations made in the judgment.

After examining the language of Rule 26 and its enabling clause in the Act, namely, Section 2 (2) (1) the Chief Justice said: "We are compelled to ask ourselves (1) whether 'reasonably suspected' in the rule—reasonable to the detaining authority or whether it (2) whether a statutory power to make a rule for the detention of persons reasonably suspected of being about to act in a certain way justifies the making of a rule which merely empowers Government to detain a person if it is satisfied that with a view to preventing him from acting in such a way, it is necessary to do so."

POWERS AND ITS EXERCISE

The judgment went on: "We approach the considerations of these questions with the anxiety which a court of justice must always feel where the liberty of the subject is concerned; but we have at the same time to remember that the country is at war and that in war it is known today every Government in the world has found it necessary to arm itself with powers unthought

of and often unknown in time of peace. And though it is well to remember that courts of law ought to abstain from harsh and ungenerous criticism of acts done in good faith by those who bear the burden and responsibility of Government, especially in times of danger and crisis, we are not on that account, relieved from the duty of seeing that the Executive Government does not seek to exercise powers in excess of those which the legislature has thought fit to confer upon it, however drastic and far-reaching those powers may be and however great the emergency which they are designed to meet."

NO TRACE OF INTENTION

After pointing out the difference between Defence of India Rules 26 and the parallel rule in the Defence of Realm Regulations in England, "which the draftsman of both the Indian Act and the Rules had before him," Sir Maurice Gwyer said: "There is in the Indian Act no trace of an intention that any particular person or authority should exercise the power of detention. On the contrary, the selection of those who are to exercise these most important powers is left to be decided by the rules themselves (i.e., by the executive which makes the rules)." The vast area of the Indian sub-continent, the wholly different problems of Government which are to be found there, and the existence of 11 provinces in addition to the Central Government, besides other subordinate governing authorities, no doubt made it a more difficult task to select in advance an individual or individuals in whom these powers might be vested, as was done in the United Kingdom; but, so far as we can see, there is nothing in the Act to prevent these powers being vested in any person or body, however insignificant. It is one thing to confer a power to make a regulation empowering the Home Secretary to detain any person if he thinks it expedient to do so for a number of specified reasons; it is another thing altogether to confer a similar power on any person whom the Central Government may by rule choose to select, or to whom the Central Government may by rule give powers for the purpose."

LARGE NUMBERS IN DETENTION

Proceeding his Lordship said: "It will be said that the Central Government must be trusted only to make any rules vesting this power in responsible persons or authorities. The Central Government has in fact vested them in itself and in the Provincial Governments, that is to say, the Governor-General-in-Council and the Governor and those who advise him, whether Ministers or others. In the United Kingdom the number of persons detained under Regulation 18B, according to public statements made from time to time, has not been so large as to make it impossible for the Secretary of State to consider personally each case. We may take judicial notice of the fact that the numbers in India on the other hand have been comparatively speaking very large; and it is difficult to suppose that the Governor-General-in-Council or the Governors with their advisers have always been able to give their personal attention to each case; to put it no higher, to officials, sometimes no doubt highly placed, but not necessarily so. In these circumstances those in whom the legal right is vested might not always find it easy

to form an opinion whether the person apprehended or detained is reasonably suspect or not."

Turning to the question whether the statutory power to make a rule for the detention of persons reasonably suspected of being about to act in a certain way justified the making of a rule which empowered a Government to detain a person if it is satisfied that with a view to preventing him from acting in that way it is necessary to do the Chief Justice said: "We need hardly point out the divergence between Rule 26 and paragraph (10) of Section 2 (2) of the Act, which is clearly intended to be the authority for making it. The Act authorises the making of a rule for detention of persons reasonably suspected of being about to act; the rule would enable the Central Government or any provincial Government to detain a person about whom it needed have no suspicions, reasonable or unreasonable, that he is about to act in any prejudicial manner at all. The Government has only to be satisfied that with a view to preventing him from acting in a particular way it is necessary to detain him."

A Government may come to the conclusion that it would be wiser to take no risks and therefore may subject a person to preventive detention, against whom there is no evidence that he is about to do anything; and Rule 26 gives them power so to act. We can find nothing in paragraph (10) which justifies a rule in these terms. The legislature might have conferred upon the Central Government, the power to making so wide a rule, but we are clear that they have not yet done so. There is only power to make a rule providing for detention in a case where a person is reasonably suspected of being about to do a thing; that is a condition precedent to the exercise of the power. There is no power to detain a person because the Government thinks that he may do something hereafter or because it thinks that he is a man likely to do it; there must be suspicions based on reasonable grounds that he is actually about to do it."—A. P.

This judgment of an eminent jurist like Sir Maurice Gwyer has caused some embarrassment in New Delhi and White Hall. The authorities have so far shown no sign to obey the decision of the Federal Court but have been busy in endeavouring to find a way out by means of an Ordinance probably with retrospective effect.

In modern times, there has been enormous growth in Executive Legislation, but it has always been subject to strict limitations enunciated by the Legislatures and mostly confined within the domains of public health, education, poor relief and the like. These are cases of working out and enforcement of details by means of Statutory Orders and Regulations. Administration normally proceeds without recourse to judgment in such cases but no scope is given to the Executive to violate civil liberties. In spite of the progressive growth of Executive Legislation, Britain has always adhered to the fundamental principle of civil law since the Magna Carta that in the imposition of penal law judgment must precede execution. No violation of this fundamental principle is permitted in England under normal conditions although its

negation is a daily occurrence in India in normal times. The British *Dora* is a wartime measure, and even then it is applied by the Home Secretary himself with proper safeguards. In India the D.I.R. has armed the subordinate officers down to the rank of an Asstt. Sub-Inspector of Police with the widest possible powers to curtail civil liberties.

The tendency to oust High Court jurisdiction in the framing of Indian laws and statutory orders on the ground of emergency is clearly perceived. A great social danger lurks in such a tendency. Lord Shaw had observed in *R. vs Halliday* that "The author of the power is Parliament, the wielder of it is Government. Whether the Government has exceeded its statutory mandate is a question of *ultra* or *intra vires*. In so far as the mandate has been exceeded, there lurk the elements of a transition to arbitrary government and therein of grave constitutional and public danger. The increasing crush of legislative efforts and the convenience to the Executive of a refuge to the device of Orders-in-Council would increase that danger tenfold were the judiciary to approach any such action of the Government in a spirit of compliance rather than of independent scrutiny."

The spirit of law enunciated by Lord Shaw and accepted by the civilised democratic states has been flagrantly violated in India.

High Court Judgment

The following observations were made by the Chief Justice, Calcutta High Court, while presiding over the Special Bench which had decided that the Ordinance in Sections 5, 10, 14 and 16 was 'ultra vires'.

"In the Special Courts (set up under Ordinance II of 1942) which are temporary and established to meet the grave emergency, the rights of the subject are heavily cut down in the interests of the security of the State. . . . The present position may result in an indefinite ouster of jurisdiction of the High Court and an indefinite ouster of the subject's rights without either the Governor-General or the Court or the public being aware of the extent of it. The effect upon the administration of justice may be grave. It has already given the Court a great deal of anxiety and has given rise to serious complaints being made in the Bengal Assembly as to the use of this Ordinance."

The position was a difficult one for this Court to deal with, because the Special Courts in question did not come within the superintendence of the High Court by virtue of Sec. 26 of the Ordinance. Circulars and by directions had been forwarded by Government to District Magistrates—some marked confidential and some marked secret—with instructions as to how the Special Courts were to be worked. This Court had not received copies of those instructions until many months afterwards, sometimes 6 months or more.

POLICE—THE ARBITER

His Lordship continued that it appeared, the present case was tried by a Special Magistrate as a result of specific order to that effect by the District Magistrate. What had happened in other cases this Court did not know. His Lordship had made enquiries of one District Judge and found that the following procedure had been adopted in that district. The District Magistrate made an order to the effect that "cases arising out of the recent disturbances shall be tried by Special Magistrates." Thereupon cases were brought before Special Magistrates accompanied by a certificate from the Police to the effect that the cases arose out of the recent disturbances. Thereupon Special Magistrates dealt with them under the Ordinance. His Lordship remarked that this was extremely unsatisfactory from the point of view of the subject. It made the police the arbiter of a man's rights as to how he should be tried.

The Chief Justice observed: A man's rights as regards appeal and revision are not pre-determined by law but are left to the discretion or order of the District Magistrate and in some cases practically to the discretion of the Police.

Although the ordinary criminal courts at all material time had and still functioned and although the Criminal Procedure Code had not been repealed and although the substantive criminal law stood as it did before the Ordinance, there were now two sets of courts, ordinary criminal courts and the special criminal courts, working side by side and no man knew which court he might be tried in, that was left to the District Magistrate nominally to decide; in fact it might be decided by the police.

His Lordship was of the opinion that in a grave emergency like the present it was competent for the Governor-General to set up temporary special criminal courts and also competent for the Governor-General to prescribe the offences and persons that should be tried in those special courts even to the ouster of the ordinary courts. However, that was not what the Ordinance had done. It had left it to the Provincial Government to set up the special courts authorised in the Ordinance where it thought fit. The Ordinance left it to the local Government or some officer of the local Government to direct in writing what offences or class of offences and moreover what cases or class of cases should be tried by special courts.

In Bengal there had been double delegation, once by the Governor-General to the Government of Bengal and then by the Government of Bengal to the District Magistrates or Presidency Magistrates. There was no restriction in the Ordinance as to the offences or cases triable under the Ordinance.

These observations were made by Mr. Justice Khundkar:

"Who is to see that any case having no relation to the state of emergency is not directed to be tried by a court under the Ordinance? What man accused of a punishable offence can know in advance whether he will or will not be tried by a court under the Ordinance? What authority is to watch that a servant of the Crown who directs any person accused of any offence to be tried under the Ordinance will not make such direction at the dictates of another or of his own whim? In the Ordinance the arm of the High Court cannot reach out to control the making of such direction."

Mr. Justice Sen, the third member of the Bench, declared the whole Ordinance *ultra vires*.

His lordship proceeded that the Provincial Government had decided that even in Calcutta where there was no riot or civil commotion, where all the Courts includ-

ing the High Court were sitting and carrying on their normal duties in a normal fashion, a person wrongly convicted and sentenced by a special criminal court situated at a place a few minutes' walk from this place would not have the right to demand redress from this Court.

"This War the Beginning of Another War"

Manchester Guardian's correspondent reports a speech of Pearl Buck which caused a sensation in New York. She declared that the war was losing its character as a fight for freedom and that there was the possibility of its being followed by another war which would be the final struggle between democracy and fascism. She spoke at a dinner attended by several winners of Nobel Prize including Thomas Mann, Sir Norman Angell, Sigrid Undset and Harold Urey, the American Chemist. She said:

"There was a moment, nearly six months ago now, when the great peoples of Asia came very close to the people who were opposed to the Axis in Europe and America. Could there have been a man great enough at that significant moment to have declared this to be a war for the freedom of all peoples we would not have had to face now, as we do face, another war of which this one is only the beginning."

"One can only hope at the most now that there may be a breathing space between this war and the next. One cannot guarantee that there will be that space."

"For we had no man great enough to declare at the necessary moment, the true meaning of this war. Let us reckon with this fact—our leaders are men of local minds. They have not been able to think in terms of the world. And I mean by the world not merely the geographical world in military terms, so that an army can be sent here or sent there. I mean the world of human beings. This war has been limited in its true aims. It has become a military struggle. It has ceased to be a fight for freedom."

Pearl Buck referred critically to the lack of plans to help India and also to the failure to create throughout the United States the abolition of discrimination between creed and race.

She says: "Let us not be deceived in the nature of the struggle that lies ahead. None of us in this room is safe. Our kind anywhere is not safe . . . victory over the Axis does not mean victory over Fascism and you and I must know this; we must acknowledge it; we must reckon with it. Only by acknowledging this and reckoning on this can we do our part to save civilisation in Europe or of our own country but human civilisation for all humanity."

Now as never before in the history of the world we who believe in liberty of the mind and freedom of the body must speak again and again regardless of danger to ourselves. If we do not make this into a war for freedom we shall lose that freedom without which life is worthless. If freedom must be lost then let us lose it boldly still speaking what we know to be true and not in timidity and silence. For us words are weapons."

The universal principle underlying the Atlantic Charter has been sought to be localised by Mr. Churchill. The British Premier has declared democracy and freedom as the war aim but has proved by his words and deed that it is only a camouflage, he stands for the preser-

vation of the British Empire and if possible, for the restoration of the French and Dutch Empires. Mr. Churchill's mind does not travel beyond the bounds of his Empire. Roosevelt's voice is drowned beneath the roar of Churchill.

Majority of Anybodies Elected by Everybody

George Bernard Shaw, writing in the *New Leader* of April 10, on "Giraud, Wallace, Churchill and Hitler," says,

"When the rival empires of Germany, Japan and Italy will be crushed, the agreement between the Russo-Chinese front and the Anglo-American front will dissolve at the best into an agreement to differ and at the worst into another world war."

"To Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek, the British Empire will be the last to be overcome, and their (the Tories') huge parliamentary majorities of anybodies elected by everybody may enable them by appeal to the country to restore party Government with their own party in power, heading for another war—this time the British and American plutocracy against the Russian and Chinese Democracy and Socialism."

G. B. S. thinks that of all the Allied Nations, Russia and China are the real champions of democracy and another war may be necessary to make democracy safe.

No Protest Against Collective Fines?

Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth in the course of his Presidential address at the Jwalapur (Hardwar) Hindu Sabha Conference held on 19th April said, "The Hindu Mahasabha did nothing to help the Hindus on whom alone the Jazia tax in the form of collective fines was imposed. The President in his Presidential address at the Cawnpore Session of the Mahasabha had not even a word to say against this intolerable levy on the 'Hindus by the Government.'" He strongly criticised the present policy and programme of the Mahasabha and emphatically declared that its present leadership "had failed to arouse public enthusiasm. It was serving as a mere recruiting agency to the Government." Whatever momentum the Hindu Mahasabha had gained will be completely lost if it alienated itself from the masses of India.

India on the Vanguard to give Blood and Money

Lord Cranborne, Leader of the House of Lords, outlined the Government's ideas as to the principles on which the post-war peace policies should be based. Stressing the need for an international organisation after the war, he said:

"Our object must be to obtain respect for the

decisions of the new international authority by consent. It is essential that it should be more powerful than any potential aggressor and that it should contain all those nations inspired by the principles for which it stands and in particular nations who control raw materials without which modern war is not possible. The whole British Commonwealth must be included and the United States, Russia and China should also belong to it. Germany, Italy and Japan could not be members until they have shown by deeds that they are animated by the principles of justice. It should have the backing of an overwhelming armed force."

India forms the vanguard when blood and money is required. Indian troops form the vanguard of the only successful army under British command—the 8th Army in Africa. But all post-war schemes for the reconstruction of a better world, the name of India is significantly omitted.

Which Face do they Prefer to Lose?

In a recently published book named "Commonsense about India," Lord Huntingdon discusses the entire Indian problem in a dispassionate but sympathetic manner. The book contrasts the poor results of British rule in India for 150 years with the glorious achievements of Soviet rule in Russia during the last 25 years and makes out a strong case for democratic self-government of India. He has thoroughly exposed the objections urged by interested parties regarding communal and linguistic differences. He has supported India's demand for immediate self-government in the following words:

"In the first place the Government must at once release the Congress leaders and reopen negotiations. This is absolutely essential. . . . In the second place Britain must offer to invest real power in an Indian National Government. The operational control of the war and the armed forces must obviously remain in the hands of a British Commander-in-Chief, and the higher strategy of defence must be decided in Whitehall, or wherever the military headquarters of the United Nations may be. This condition . . . has already been fully conceded by the Congress leaders."

He has met the objection to the release of Congress leaders by the upholders of prestige in the following words:

"To those who say that by so doing the British Government would lose face, the answer is, which face do they prefer to lose? The Imperialist, *herrenvolk* face, which cannot endure to relax its authority over a subject people, or consent to free and mutual co-operation with a coloured race? Or the face which is turned towards freedom, and in whose honesty of expression we have asked the world to believe?"

Fatal Excuse for Seeking New Lease of Power

Dr. J. H. Oldham writes in the *Christian News Letter*:

Name of the Head	Present		
	As per Position Report (Estimated) 1941-42	lakhs	Decrease lakhs
Capital employed	50	25	25
Value of production per month	8	4	4
Total number of artisans	3.5	2	1.5
Wages distributed per month	5	3	2
Number of villages covered	15,000	8,000	7,000
Number of centres	1,200	800	400

Government's interference since August last with the work of the Association, according to the Report, has resulted in a definite set-back in the production activities. Work has practically stopped in Bengal, Bihar and U. P. More than 400 centres have had to be closed down. The programme of self-sufficiency which has been the chief aim of the Association could not be carried out. "The severity of the action taken by different provincial governments has varied from province to province," says the Report. "Many of our branch secretaries and some senior workers were taken away from the 9th itself or a few days thereafter even without having taken any part in any activities declared Government as unlawful."

The cloth position in India might not have become so critical if the Khadi centres were permitted to continue their work.

Britain, and not Congress, Refuses to Negotiate

Prof. Walter Phelps Hall, the noted Historian and Professor of Princeton University, has discussed Indian problem in the course of an article contributed to the *Current History*. He writes:

"Despite what Churchill and Amery have said, one does not feel that all negotiations are for ever impossible. Churchill has a blind spot for in regard to India and so too, has Amery. Both of them are imperialists by long training and conviction. Churchill has all his life been opposed to Indian devolution: but is it too late for him to modify that stand? After all it is in the blood of Britain Tories to yield when they must. Otherwise how could they have continued top dog so long?"

"Amery's speech of October 3, is very similar in tone to the speeches delivered in the House of Commons during 1774, 1775, 1776—No further negotiation with Rebels. One does not want to overemphasize the parallel but one does wish that both Churchill and Amery would read over quietly Edmund Burke on conciliation with America."

"The appeal of representative citizens in the *New York Times* is not as tactful as it might be. It leaves out much that might justly be included and it leaves out much that justifies Britain's angry attitude towards the Indian National Congress. But despite all this it points out one salient truth. It is Britain that now refuses to negotiate, not the Indian Congress."

Sj. Kalinath Roy Retires

Sj. Kalinath Roy, who has served his country with his pen for over a quarter of a century has laid down the office of the Chief

Editor of the *Tribune*. Mr. Jung Bahadur Singh has given an admirable sketch of Sj. Roy's career in the *Tribune*, in which he says, "Impatient Indian patriotism has repeatedly looked to Mr. Roy for words of sober advice; so has intoxicated British chauvinism for correction in its course. His contribution to the changes in Congress policies was not small. Though officially speaking he was not even remotely connected with its Swaraj Party he was described by Mr. Rajagopalachariar as its brain. So he was. While fighting for Indian Nationalism in Parliament Lord Lothian summoned some of Mr. Roy's cogent, powerful and penetrating articles to his aid."

The Food Problem

The food problem in Bengal remains where it was. The Bengal Government has at last removed all restrictions on the movement of boats over the greater portion of the rivers of the province. In a press note the Government observes that this relaxation of denial orders which have been in force for about a year "represents a substantial step towards rehabilitating old established trade routes and normal conditions." It has taken the omniscient and omnipotent Civilian Secretaries at the Secretariat a year to take the action that has been repeatedly and continually pressed for in the Legislature and the Press. They have at last done what the leaders of the people told them to do but only after the masses have been swindled to the extent of crores of rupees by the profiteers and racketeers. Short-sighted, unsympathetic and ill-informed officials in charge of civil supply are primarily responsible for the food muddle in Bengal resulting in extreme misery of the people. The denial policy enforced on boats has, from the very beginning, been urged as unnecessarily harsh both for the poor boatmen and also for normal trade.

The Paper Position

The declaration of the Government of India to release 30 per cent of the total production of paper in India instead of 10 per cent as previously requisitioned, has not eased the paper market to the slightest degree. The speech of Mr. N. R. Pillai in the Council of State has not cleared up the mystery of the actual consumption of paper by the Government. The figures given prove nothing. The Commerce Secretary has carefully evaded the real issue when he declined to give the figure of how

much paper the Government were sending out of India. He only said, "We have effected a drastic curtailment." The exact figure of how much paper the Government is consuming has not also been given. It is difficult to understand how the publication of these informations can be looked upon as prejudicial acts calculated to give valuable information to the enemy. The war is being fought with bombs and shells, and certainly not with paper.

No Permission to Interview Gandhiji

Mr. Phillips, President Roosevelt's personal representative in India, is shortly leaving for America. On the eve of his departure he told press correspondents that he desired to meet and talk with Gandhiji and requested appropriate authorities for permission to do so. The authorities however expressed their inability to grant the necessary facilities.

The *Washington Post* admitted, on receipt of the news of this refusal, that Mr. Phillips would have been remiss in his duty had he failed to make an effort to see Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru, and it was unfortunate that the necessary permission to visit the imprisoned nationalist leaders was not granted. The paper however tried to give a sugar coating to this bureaucratic act and commented that "A visit by Mr. Phillips to Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru would probably have been interpreted throughout the length and breadth of India as an indication that the United States was ready to intervene in the Indian situation." This argument of the *Washington Post* does not bear scrutiny. No such agitation had convulsed India when Mr. Cordell Hull had interviewed Lord Halifax during Mahatma Gandhi's fast. Although much importance was not attached here to this meeting, the people in this country had noted that the U. S. A. was not a mere silent spectator of the Indian situation. Earlier, during the Cripps negotiations, Mr. Phillip's predecessor Col. Johnson had actively intervened in the solution of the Indian constitutional impasse. The refusal to grant the necessary permission to Mr. Phillips will be looked upon in this country as a discourtesy to America and President Roosevelt.

Public Opposition to New Ministry

Since the formation of Sir John Herbert's "broad-based" Ministry, the people of Bengal have demonstrated their lack of confidence in it. Largely attended public meetings have been held in Calcutta and almost all the Ex-Ministers of the Progressive Coalition Ministry have addressed

ed it. Very startling disclosures have been made by Mr. Fazlul Huq and Nawab Bahadur of Dacca. In his Deshbandhu Park Speech, the Nawab Bahadur took the public into confidence and told them how the reluctant Governor was compelled to accept the Progressive Coalition Ministry. He said, "The Governor hesitated for several days to ask Mr. Fazlul Huq to form the Cabinet despite the fact that Mr. Huq commanded the absolute majority in the Legislature. It was with utmost reluctance that Mr. Huq was asked to form the Cabinet." The Progressive Coalition Ministry succeeded in restoring peace and order in the province—the virulent communal riots subsided. Sir Nazimuddin, then the Home Minister, had signally failed to bring communal riots under control. But in spite of this achievement, it was apparent that the Progressive Coalition was not pulling on well with the Governor and his subordinates. The Midnapore scandal brought this internal conflict to a crisis and resulted in the resignation of the Finance Minister, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee. Charges of a gross breach of constitutional principles were brought against the Governor on the floor of the Bengal Legislature. These went unreplyed.

When demands were made in the Bengal Legislature for inquiry into the alleged government atrocities in Midnapore, Mr. Huq promised a Tribunal which however did not come into being. It has now been revealed in Mr. Huq's Hazra Park Speech that "the Governor had asked him to explain his conduct as to why he had promised an Inquiry Committee without the Governor's consent. Mr. Huq had replied that he did not owe any explanation to the Governor. On the other hand, he administered a mild warning to the Governor that in his correspondence with the Chief Minister, the Governor must not use unbecoming and indecorous language." Mr. Huq also explained why he had failed to set up a committee to enquire into the Dacca jail shooting, in spite of the fact that he wanted to have men like Sir John Lort-Williams on the proposed Tribunal. These revelations will now convince the public that in the Midnapore and Dacca jail affairs, the authorities in charge had not acted with clean hands and that the Governor, in his eagerness to shield them, has frustrated the attempts at Enquiries by the Progressive Coalition Cabinet.

Against this background, the story of Mr. Huq's resignation will become clear as daylight. It is quoted below:

He said on March 23, of being summoned by the Governor he saw H. E. at Government House at

7-30 p.m., Mr. Williams, the Governor's Secretary, being the only other person present at the interview. After some casual talks the Governor asked him to resign. This came as a surprise to him. On his inquiring why he should resign when he commanded the confidence of an effective majority in the Legislature, H. E. said that his (Mr. Huq's) speech in the Assembly that he was prepared to resign for the formation of an all-parties Cabinet was tantamount to his resignation.

Mr. Huq explained that what he meant was that he was prepared to resign if the Governor thought that he (the Governor) was in a position to form an all-parties Cabinet, and added that as at present there was no possibility of the formation of any such Cabinet the question of his resignation did not arise. H. E. said that unless Mr. Huq tendered his resignation he could not ask the party leaders to form an all-party Cabinet and therefore it was necessary that he should resign. H. E. assured him that he would not use the resignation letter unless it was absolutely necessary and that it would remain as a document only for the purpose of showing it to party leaders if necessary. H. E. further asked him to keep the matter a secret saying that he himself would also keep it a secret. Upon this he agreed to resign.

Almost immediately H. E. placed before him a typed letter purporting to be written by him to the Governor resigning from the Cabinet. The letter which he signed was as follows:

"Dear Sir John,

Understanding that there is a probability of the formation of a Ministry representative of most of the parties in the event of my resignation, I hereby tender my resignation of my office as Minister in the sincere hope that this will prove to be in the best interest of the people of Bengal."

At his request Mr. Williams gave him a copy of the letter.

At 10 o'clock, the same evening, he received a letter from Government House informing him that his resignation had been accepted. At the end of that letter which was a typed one, there were two lines written by the Governor himself as postscript that according to Mr. Huq's desire his (Mr. Huq's) letter would not be made public before 8 p.m. the next day. Mr. Huq said that when he signed the letter of resignation there was no question of making an announcement of his resignation, nor was there any question of its acceptance. He immediately wrote a letter of protest to the Governor.

On March 26, he had written a letter to the Governor stating that he was prepared to resign for the formation of an all-parties Cabinet. In reply, he received the following letter from Mr. Williams:

"Dear Chief Minister,

H. E. asks me to thank you for your letter of today's date in which you state that you are willing to tender your resignation in order to facilitate the constitution of a Cabinet comprising all political parties. I am to inquire whether you would have any objection to the letter being shown to party leaders with a view to consulting them as to the formation of such a Cabinet."

There was nothing in it to show that the formation of such a Cabinet was in sight. On March 28, he was made to resign.

From this statement, one can now come to the conclusions:

(1) That after three unsuccessful attempts to express no-confidence in the Progressive Coalition Ministry, the Governor had resorted

to trickery in ousting the Huq Ministry from Office which he was unable to do constitutionally.

(2) That from the very beginning, his desire to have an all-party Ministry lacked in sincerity. Immediately after procuring the resignation of Mr. Huq, the 'all-party' slogan had been changed to one of 'broad-based' ministry and the Council of Ministers that has at last been formed may aptly be termed a League Ministry broad based on the shoulders of Europeans and renegades.

(3) That the real intention of the Governor was to get rid of the Progressive Coalition Ministry by any means and to have his Council of Ministers packed with yes-men who would not come into conflict with the permanent officials and the British vested interests.

When Received and How Spent?

In his Shraddhananda Park Speech, Mr. Huq has disclosed the reason for the present food muddle in the following words:

Mr. Huq had been to Delhi. On his return he was told that all surplus rice of Bengal was being removed. Arrangements for export from surplus districts were complete. Mr. Huq was told that all surplus rice collected from the surplus districts must be collected at one place and must be removed. This policy was adopted without the knowledge of the Ministry. Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim who was member in charge of Commerce had no knowledge about it. On erroneous statistics the districts of Barisal, Mymensingh and Khulna were declared as surplus districts. Mr. Huq was told that the Governor had called the Secretary and commanded him to remove the rice—30 lakhs maunds—in a couple of days' time. The Secretary came back from Government House and was thinking how he would arrange for the removal of such a huge stock of rice in so short a time. The Governor again summoned the Secretary and most anxiously inquired if the rice had been removed. The Secretary replied, that he had not upto that time been able to find out how to remove the stock.

The Governor said, that he would not listen to the explanation; His Excellency again gave him command that the rice must be removed by any means. The Secretary replied, that he did not know any person who could undertake the responsibility. It was pointed out to the Secretary that there was one such company. Eventually that company was given 20 lakhs of rupees as advance for the purchase of rice and its transport to Calcutta. When Mr. Huq came back from Delhi and heard this story, he at once wanted to know if any document had been kept from the company regarding the advance made to them. To his utter surprise Mr. Huq was told that no such document had been kept. The legal advice was taken, and the opinion was that the money might be considered as lost. Government decided to make purchase of one and a half crore rupees worth of rice. The contracts were given to different agents. These agents went to rural areas and offered ridiculous prices; the cultivators were forced to sell their commodities at the prices these agents offered as nobody else could purchase rice.

Misuse of public money in the name of public benefit has become too frequent. The

amount of twenty lakhs of rupees is only an addition to it.

In this connection, one may remember the speech delivered by Mr. A. R. Siddiqi on the floor of the Bengal Assembly in defence of the House of Ispahanis on the 18th September 1942. Mr. Siddiqi told the House that the Ispahanis had said, "We shall render what service we can: We shall put in all the money required and any profits that accrue would be placed at the disposal of His Excellency the Governor to be given to any charities he liked."

Will the Governor disclose whether any money was received and how it was spent?

Anti-Indian Legislation in South Africa

The Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Bill shows that even the most eloquent and perfervid declarations in support of democracy have not deterred General Smuts, who is now at the head of the Union Government in South Africa and is one of the most eminent and stalwart supporters of Britain, from paying his homage to Hitler in practice by following the odious and repulsive policy underlying the Nazi and Fascistic cult against which the United Nations profess to fight the present war with the object of upholding the principles of freedom and justice for all people. The measure seeks to amplify and extend the existing restrictions affecting facilities for trading and residence of Indians in the South African Union and by imposing segregation casts a slur on the honour of Indians and stigmatise the Indian Nation. It was declared on behalf of the British Government in 1943 when Natal came into the possession of the British to the effect that there shall not be, in the eye of the law, any distinction or disqualification whatever, founded upon mere distinctions of colour, or origin, language or creed, and that the protection of the law in letter and substance, shall be extended impartially to all alike. Subsequently, at the request of the Natal Colonial Government, the British Government agreed to supply that country with Indian labour. This enabled the colony to develop its resources and it was Indian labour which mainly contributed to its progress and prosperity. The country has now for some time, for all practical purposes, passed into the hands of the White colonists. But all their solemn declarations, along with the deep sense of responsibility of their "trusteeship," of which such loud protestations are so frequently made by British statesmen, notwithstanding the colour prejudice and race pride of the white

population have gone on increasing in such an aggressive form that even a British clergyman, the Rev. Palmer, Dean of Johannesburg, has been constrained to describe it as "as foul as Hitlerism."

The tenure of the measure is now for three years, but when once it has been placed on the Statute Book, what prospect is there of its repeal at an early date when one finds that all the parties in the South African Union Legislature representing the white population are united in their demand for the enactment of the measure in spite of the persistently vigorous agitation that has been directed against it both in India and in South Africa? In a cable to Field-Marshal Smuts, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Maharaj Singh, and Sir Raza Ali, former Agents-General of the Government of India in South Africa, protested against the Bill and urged its withdrawal. The Government of India also made representations against the measure. A significant feature of the debate on the Bill in the Union Assembly was the very outspoken condemnation of the measure by one of the members of the Cabinet, Dr. Hofmeyer, Minister of Finance, who offered to resign his membership of the Cabinet on the issue. "Regretfully, I have to say," Dr. Hofmeyer observed, "that I can only regard this proposal for an unjustified prolongation of an unjustifiable piece of discriminative legislation, as a surrender to racial and colour prejudice, and with that surrender I must decline to be associated." *The Forum*, a weekly magazine, of which Dr. Hofmeyer is Chairman, has condemned the action of the Union Government in the strongest terms. *The London Spectator*, while commenting on this attempt on the part of the Union Government for the maintenance of white predominance in relation not only to the indigenous African population but also to the Indians, makes the following significant remark:

"Its effect can only be to harden opinion against any thought of acquiescence in Dominion Status when the Indian is thus discriminated against by a British Dominion. The Dominion Status does not argue equality and something of family relationship. It has little attraction. It is worth remembering that it was his championship of the rights of Indians in South Africa that first gave Mr. Gandhi prominence fifty years ago."

All protests have, of course, borne no fruit, and the British Government appears to stand at this juncture as an apathetic and indifferent onlooker. All that Mr. Amery could say in reply to questions on the subject in the House of Commons put by Labour members was

that the matter was one that had been dealt with by the Government of the Union of South Africa and that he had no statement to make concerning the matter. Could anything be more cynical, unfair and dishonourable than this? The following conversation then took place on the intervention of Earl of Winterton.

Earl Winterton (Conservative): Surely the Secretary of State is aware that representations have constantly been made in the past by the Government of India and, by His Majesty's Government when the Union of South Africa has taken action which in the opinion of the Government of India is derogatory and inimical to Indian interests?

Mr. Amery: This has been represented by the Government of India and discussed between the Governments of India and the Union of South Africa.

Mr. Sloan: Owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the reply, I give notice that I will raise the matter on adjournment at the earliest opportunity.—(Reuter).

Mr. E. H. Brookes, who is described as "a Native Representative" for Natal by Reuter, presented to the Senate of the Union on the 22nd April a petition from the Natal Indian Association opposing the Bill. While speaking in the course of the debate on the second reading of the measure in the Senate on that day,

Mr. Brookes said that he felt disquieted about it. It bore many of the marks of "panic" legislation, containing as it did a decisive new departure in favour of Indian segregation. There were no means by which the Indian community could come into contact with the Parliament. The crisis which had resulted in this legislation had clearly shown the need for Indian representation on the Senate. If this could not be done, he felt any legislation affecting the Indian community should be submitted to a Select Committee before which Indians could appear and give evidence. During the committee stage he intended to move an amendment deleting the provision that the Bill could be renewed after three years by a resolution of both Houses.—Reuter.

It is now announced that the South African Senate passed the third reading of the Bill on the 26th April last without any discussion. The Government of India appear to have fulfilled their responsibility in the matter by expressing their "keen disappointment" at the action of the Union Government and by a declaring that they are in full accord with the Indian opinion which "has unanimously protested that the legislation is repugnant, unnecessary and inopportune," after the Bill has already been passed by the Union legislature in all its stages. If the flagrant outrageous nature of the attempt, on the part of representatives of two millions of White people in South Africa, to dominate over seven millions of Africans and Indians, without anything like an adequate and proper representation on the legislature and without any voice in the Government of the country, is to be countered, it is imperative that

there should be a persistently prolonged and intensive campaign against it. But what effective action is possible so long as there is no radical change in the status of India and in the spirit and policy of the British Government? The struggle in the matter which has already begun should, however, be continued unabated until the cause of freedom, justice and fairplay is fully vindicated.

S. K. L.

The Pegging Law in South Africa and General Smuts' View

It is sometimes thought that the attitude of General Smuts on racial discrimination in South Africa is something new in his mentality. The following extract from an article written in *New India* in 1924 by James H. Cousins will show that the leopard has not at all changed his spots, but was and is by temperament a discriminationist. After tracing in the article certain foolish statements of that brilliant specimen of intellectual darkness, G. K. Chesterton, to congenital mental dishonesty, Professor Cousins continued:

"We find the same mental dishonesty in General Smuts' reply to the Maharaja of Alwar at an Imperial Conference in London. Questioned by the Maharaja as to what was proposed to be done with Indian settlers in Natal who had put their whole lives into the country, General Smuts replied: 'They have all the rights, barring the rights of voting for Parliament and the Provincial Councils, that any white citizens in South Africa have. Our law draws no distinction whatever. It is only political rights that are in question there.' Earlier in his speech, General Smuts had argued that common citizenship in the British Empire did not mean common rights of franchise. Observe how it works.—There are certain rights of citizenship, some political, some otherwise. The coloured settlers have all the otherwise. The white settlers reserve the political—plus the otherwise. But they are only a trifle, you know, merely voting for a few people to meet and talk in Parliament. 'Our law' makes no real distinction. But when we ask the question, from whence emanates the law that is so broad-minded, we put our finger on the hollow sham of General Smuts' infantile sophistry. It feels a humiliation of one's intelligence to have to point out that the law under which the coloured settlers have function which they are denied. The law, as made by details of trading, education, finance, social conditions, Parliamentary error and the goad to Parliamentary truth men, and in our time women, have suffered and died legislative vote for the institution that controls all life, political and otherwise. No one, of course, claims that any citizen of any country can walk into another country and claim citizen rights. But the claim that where the duties of citizenship are fulfilled according to the law of a country, he or she who fulfils such conditions should have the collateral rights of citizenship, cannot be set aside by a wave of the hand of General Smuts. Once upon a time nothing could deter General Smuts from his

fight against a power that wished to control his own political organization. He was ready to slay and be slain for the right that he now denies to others. On him, as on Mr. Chesterton, the ghost of racial superiority and egotism has cast its obsession. He who once surmounted barbed wire entanglements is now unable to jump the colour bar."

The racial discrimination that General Smuts alleged twenty years ago to be outside the "law" in South Africa he is now bringing within the "law," and making that country one of the problems of the future as a contradiction to the New World Order that is being forced on humanity.

India's Share in the Lend-Lease Strategy

The Lend-Lease Act was passed by the American Congress on the 11th March, 1941. This was nine months before Japan launched its attack against the United States of America at Pearl Harbour. It is provided in the Act that "the terms and conditions under which any... shall foreign government receives any aid... shall be those which the President deems satisfactory; and the benefit to the United States may be payment or repayment in kind or property, or any other direct or indirect benefit which the President deems satisfactory." A very important condition affirmed by the Government of the United States in this connection is, "Since aid was being furnished in our own defence and it was important to avoid the international debt experience of the last war, payment might be made in kind or property or other benefits, rather than in dollars." The United States Government are frank enough to state that they have aided other countries under the "Lend-Lease" scheme because they think that the interests of those countries coincided with their own interests.

At the end of January last Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Lend-Lease Administrator, submitted to the Seventy-eighth Congress a report on the operation under the Lend-Lease Act from the passage of the measure, March 11, 1941, to December 31, 1942. Chapters of this report which describe the scope of Lend-Lease and Reciprocal Aid, together with an extract from the Eighth Quarterly Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations along with a brief outline of India's contribution, are now published in the form of a pamphlet, entitled, "The Strategy of Lend-Lease," by Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Lend-Lease Administrator. A copy of this has been furnished to us with the compliments of the Principal Information Officer of the Government of India, New Delhi. The following paragraphs, quoted from the pamphlet, give an idea of the nature and extent

of India's share of contribution to the Lend-Lease Strategy:

Reciprocal Lend-Lease Aid began as soon as the American forces came to India with accommodation provided in hotels and in buildings built for them, e.g., in New Delhi. Accommodation built or building for them runs up in cost to Rs. 118 lakhs, while in addition charges of several lakhs more are incurred for hire of accommodation. The bulk of all rations for American soldiers is provided regularly under reciprocal aid, the cost of which works out to several lakhs of rupees per month. Uniforms have been made for them likewise. Their transportation charges are provided, running into a figure of many lakhs of rupees. Similarly, inland telegram and telephone charges and Port Trust charges at Karachi. Aerodromes are being made for the U.S.A. aircraft in appreciable numbers, the cost of which runs into not lakhs but crores of rupees.

Motor vehicles of all kinds have been issued and fuel for these and aircraft runs into several million gallons per month. A great variety of other equipment has been given, covering almost the whole field of ordinary military consumption: petrol containers, spare parts, animals, coal, furniture and office equipment, stationery, engineering and air-force stores, bicycles and so on.

An additional element is repair and overhaul under reciprocal aid of American aircraft and vehicles.

Not all, and not even most, of this reciprocal aid can be expressed in dollars at all since it would obviously consume too much time of administration to cost every item of supplies made or service rendered. But for ready calculation where figures have been put, one lakh of rupees can be equated to 30,053 dollars and one crore of rupees is 100 times that (\$3,005,300).

The following is an extract from the "Eighth Quarterly Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations":

"From June 1, 1942, to January 1, 1943, India built or turned over to American forces more than a score of airfields; provided 3,500,000 gallons of gasoline and several hundred trucks; constructed warehouses, repair shops, barracks, hospitals, and miles of roads; is furnishing such quartermaster supplies as shoes, shirts, mosquito-net and gas-proof clothing; engineers' stores; small arms and other munitions; and is providing such services as light heat and communications as reverse lend-lease."

S. K. L.

Hindu Intestate Succession Bill

At the close of the last session of the Indian Legislative Assembly, the House agreed, without a division to the Law Member, Sir Sultan Ahmed's motion for a reference to a Joint Committee of both Houses of the Bill drafted by the Rau Committee to amend and codify Hindu law relating to intestate succession. The salient features of the Bill are:

1. That it embodies a common law of intestate succession for all Hindus in British India in respect of non-agricultural property;
2. That it removed the semi-disqualification by which Hindu women in general had hitherto been precluded from inheriting property in various parts of India; and
3. That it abolished the Hindu women's limited estate.

Sir Sultan claimed that the bill embodies a common law of intestate succession for all Hindus in British India by adopting a compromise which did not in any sense or degree cause violence to either the 'Dayabhaga' or the 'Mitakshara' school. The bill provided for the adoption for the most part of the 'Dayabhaga' scheme for near succession, that is, near relations enumerated in the Bill, while distant succession was regulated mostly by the 'Mitakshara' scheme.

In introducing the Bill Sir Sultan Ahmed made an excellent speech. At the outset the Law Member very appropriately paid a graceful tribute to the supreme genius of ancient Hindu law-givers. These, more than anything else, had, the Law Member said, 'maintained the existence and unity of Hindu social fabric and cultural life throughout the centuries.' He added: "But for the basic unity preserved in these codes, circulating all over the land from Manas-sarovar to Kanyakumari and from Amarnath to Chandranath there could be no talk today at this distant date of evolving a universal code for all Hindus of India."

Fate of the Leaders' Deputation

It had been decided that a deputation from the Leaders' Conference, headed by Sir Tez Bahadur Sapru, would meet the Viceroy at New Delhi on the 1st April to discuss matters relating to their attempt at a settlement of the present political deadlock. A Memorandum was submitted to Lord Linlithgow by the deputation in accordance with His Excellency's desire that he should have beforehand a written statement precisely explaining what they wished to say. It was suggested at the last moment that the procedure to be followed at the meeting was that the deputation should read their Memorandum and hear the Viceroy's reply thereto, and then the proceedings should come to a close, there being no personal discussion of the points that the deputation wished to raise. On this the idea of the deputation meeting the Viceroy was dropped and His Excellency was asked to dispense with their personal attendance. As a Press communique issued from the Viceroy's House dated April 1, states, the deputation further asked His Excellency to accept their statement, with certain additions which they had incorporated in it as officially presented to him with a view to publication with the Viceroy's reply. His Excellency readily agreed to the arrangement. Owing to the unavoidable absence of Sir Tez Bahadur Sapru the deputation was to consist of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, Mr. N. M. Joshi and Mr. K. M. Munshi.

S. K. L.

Lord Linlithgow's Reply

A communique issued from the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, dated the 1st April, released for the information of the public, the text of the Memorandum submitted by the deputation from the Leaders' Conference along with Lord Linlithgow's Reply. The most important subject touched in the Memorandum referred to an attempt at an early settlement of the Indian problem. The deputation expressed a desire that His Excellency should permit a few of them to meet Mahatmaji, to ascertain authoritatively his reactions to the events which had happened since his arrest and to explore with him avenues for reconciliations. They added:

"Unpleasant as it is, we cannot help feeling that refusing to permit us to have any contact with Gandhiji now would be equivalent to a determination on the part of Great Britain that there should be no attempt at a settlement of the problem and no reconciliation between Nationalist India and Britain. Whatsoever may be the immediate administrative convenience thereof, we hope that His Excellency will not take up this attitude. We feel that though there is no present danger of Axis aggression in India, the strained relation between Government and people is fraught with grave evil and all that is possible should be done to replace it by a better feeling."

In his reply to the deputation the Viceroy at the outset expressed regret that he did not find in the Memorandum "any fresh arguments in support of the suggestions which the Leaders' Conference has put forward" and "that unpaing of violence which the public and I are entitled to expect from you as representing the Conference." The substance of Lord Linlithgow's reply amounted to this, that so long as Mr. Gandhi and the Congress did not dissociate themselves from the resolution of last August, and also repudiate the violence for which the Congress was held responsible by Government, there could not be any talk of any reconciliation. At a Press conference at New Delhi, while commenting on the Viceroy's reply, Mr. Rajagopalachariar referred to the observations in the Memorandum quoted above and said:

After reading His Excellency's reply, I still feel that and have no reason to alter that opinion. I must infer from the reply that Government do not desire reconciliation, however proper their reasons may be from their point of view. Not only do they not desire a reconciliation but they wish to humiliate the Congress. Even all those who love the name of the Congress. However much I try, I cannot resist that conclusion. Speaking personally I feel sorry we made this request because I think the reply will make the people in India more angry with Britain and I did not want that result.

The refusal of facilities to the deputation for any contact with Mahatmaji has been received

The new Ministers took the oath of office today.

S. K. L.

"What Next in India?"

It appears from the comments of the American Press that the reaction of the refusal by the Government of India to grant the request of Mr. William Phillips, the personal representative in India of the President of the United States of America, for an interview with Mahatma Gandhi has not at all been favourable to Britain. In this connection we would like to present to our readers the suggestions made by Mr. Prof. Walter Phelps Hall of Princeton University in the course of an article entitled "What Next in India" in the well-known American journal *Current History*. The writer says:

The time is short, the situation desperate, and not Americans alone but Belgians, French, Hollanders, Norwegians, Poles, Czechs, Chinese, Filipinos, Greeks, Russians, Serbs, and many other nationalities, all have a stake in what takes place in India. In their name, is it too much to ask that Britain

1. Recall her Viceroy.
2. Re-enter into negotiations with the Congress Party.
3. Request the aid of a mediation board on which there are American and Chinese members, to represent those United Nations most immediately concerned.
4. Permit the guarantee of India's post-war freedom to be not simply a British guarantee but one in the name of all the United Nations.

And to ask that India:

1. Rescind her campaign of non-co-operation.
2. Agree to accept the findings, for the duration of the war, of the aforementioned United Nations mediation board.
3. Co-operate in every way, both civil and military, in the effort to drive the Japanese out of Burma and China.

Indians will not certainly hesitate to accept the writer's suggestions concerning India, but what prospect is there of the British Government accepting the proposals that concern them in their present mood and the existing circumstances?

Bengal Ministerial Tangle

We desire to express our most emphatic condemnation of the extremely irregular and improper manner in which the Governor of Bengal intervened in setting up the new Ministry. The entire procedure followed in securing the resignation of a Ministry with a majority of members of the Assembly at its back, on the plea of bringing into existence a more representative and stable all-parties Ministry, followed by the transfer of the government of the province to himself under section 93 of the Government of India Act and the certification of the budget, thus facilitating the constitution of a reactionary and communal Cabinet, which

with the deepest regret all over the country. The unbending attitude of the British Government has been condemned all over the country as being extremely unwise and unstatesmanlike. Mr. Rajagopalachariar fully reflects the general feeling in the country when he speaks of increased resentment and bitterness as caused by the attitude of the British Government in the matter.

S. K. L.

New Ministry in Bengal

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal revoked on Saturday, the 24th April, 1943, the proclamation suspending the constitution of Bengal under Section 93 of the Government of India Act and appointed a new Ministry with Sir Nazimuddin as Chief Minister. The Bengal Legislature was subsequently prorogued. The following proclamation was issued on the 24th April:

"In exercise of the powers conferred upon him by Sub-section (2) of Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935 the Governor of Bengal by this proclamation, made with the concurrence of the Governor-General, is pleased to revoke the proclamation, dated the 31st March, 1943."

The following announcement was further made in the course of a notification issued in the evening on that date:

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint:

- (1) The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, K.C.I.E., to be Minister-in-charge of the Home Department (including Civil Defence Co-ordination).
- (2) The Hon'ble Mr. Husein Shaheed Suhrawardy, to be Minister-in-charge of the Department of Civil Supplies.
- (3) The Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Charan Goswami, to be Minister-in-charge of the Finance Department.
- (4) The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, to be Minister-in-charge of the Education Department.
- (5) The Hon'ble Mr. Barada Prosanna Pain, to be Minister-in-charge of the Department of Communications and Works.
- (6) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hossain, to be Minister-in-charge of the Department of Agriculture (including Rural Reconstruction).
- (7) The Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mukherjee, M.B.E., to be Minister-in-charge of the Revenue Department (including Evacuation and Relief).
- (8) The Hon'ble Nawab Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur, to be Minister-in-charge of the Judicial and Legislative Departments.
- (9) The Hon'ble Mr. Khwaja Shahabuddin, C.B.E., to be Minister-in-charge of the Department of Commerce, Labour and Industries (including Post-war Reconstruction).
- (10) The Hon'ble Mr. Premhari Burman, to be Minister-in-charge of the Forests and Excise Department.
- (11) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmad, to be Minister-in-charge of the Department of Public Health and Local Self-Government.
- (12) The Hon'ble Mr. Pulin Behari Mullick, to be Minister-in-charge of the Publicity Department.
- (13) The Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, to be Minister-in-charge of the Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness Department.

is entirely at the mercy of the British block of members, and which is opposed by a strong and influential section of Muslims and almost the entire Hindu community, the three caste Hindu members included in the Ministry representing themselves only, by dubious and questionable methods, and in finally proroguing the Provincial Legislature, has been wholly arbitrary and unconstitutional. All this once again demonstrates the extent to which provincial autonomy in Bengal has been reduced to a mockery and a sham. At a critical juncture like the present, when the Province is faced with serious difficulties, His Excellency should have consulted all party leaders with a view to exploring all possible avenues for the successful formation of a Ministry based on the support of all sections of the House. It is very much to be regretted that this has not been done. Public opinion in the Province has already expressed in an unequivocal manner its strongest disapproval of the methods adopted by the authorities in bringing about the present undesirable situation. In view of Sir Nazimuddin's appeal for co-operation and maintenance of good relations between the communities, may it be hoped that notwithstanding all that has happened, the present Ministry, specially the Chief Minister, will make an earnest endeavour to fulfil the responsibility that rests on them for the welfare of the people of the province as a whole, by mitigating the acute and widespread economic distress and hardship that prevails in the province, discountenancing all disruptive forces and sectional tendencies, and avoiding controversial issues which are likely to mar communal harmony and peace! If Sir John Herbert expects that his actions and policy should command the confidence of the people and he be looked upon with the respect due to the head of a Province, His Excellency should immediately take all reasonable means to clear up the the grave allegations that have been made about his measures and methods.

Bernard Shaw Urges Gandhiji's Release

According to the New Delhi correspondent of the *Hindu*, Mr. George Bernard Shaw, requested to suggest a solution of the Indian problem, is reported to have declared that he had no positive contribution to make beyond stating that the King should order the release of Gandhiji and apologise to him for the mental defectiveness of his Cabinet which ordered his arrest.

Two New Bengali Books of Rabindranath

The Visva-Bharati publishing department has published *Atma-parichay* and *Sahityer Swarup* on the eve of the public celebration in commemoration of the Poet's birthday. The first volume (pp. 127) is composed of a series of Bengali articles written by the Poet throwing light on his personal and poetic life. The earliest article is dated 1904 when he was barely 43 and the latest written on the completion of his 80th birthday. His letter to Mr. P. N. Neogy dated 1910 which was published in the *Prabāsi* in the poet's autograph facsimile has been printed at the end of the volume which we are sure will be read, with deep interest and lasting benefit, by the admirers of the Poet. With the exception of the article no. 5 printed as a preface to his Collected Edition, the rest of the papers were never printed in any previous edition and so would be keenly appreciated by the public. We miss in this volume a remarkable paper entitled *Atma-parichay* by the Poet himself who read the same at the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and which he printed in the *Tattvabodhini Patrika* (1912) then edited by him. Some more such documents may be forthcoming and meanwhile other present volume will stimulate our hunger for more materials.

K. N.

The Ethical Foundation of Brahmanism by the Late Prof. Hopkins

The late Prof. W. E. Hopkins of the Yale University came to spend his holiday in Paris in 1921 when Rabindranath was touring through Europe lecturing on his noble project of transforming Santiniketan into a veritable University of Internationalism through the Visva-Bharati. A scheme was afoot to commemorate the sixtieth birthday of the Poet by presenting him with a volume of original writings and Prof. Kalidas Nag was entrusted with the work of collecting the papers. Prof. Hopkins met Prof. Nag at the home of M. Sylvain Levi and gladly offered to contribute a paper to the projected volume. This paper was cherished by Prof. Nag in the original manuscript of Prof. Hopkins and sent to the May issue of *The Modern Review* commemorating the birthday of the Poet. The scheme of publishing the memorial volume could not however be materialised in 1921 owing to the fanatical hatred dominating the spirit of the writers of France and Germany. So the Golden Book of Tagore of which the Editor of *The Modern Review* is the General Editor and Prof. Nag the General Secretary could be only published ten years later in 1931 during the seventieth birthday of the Poet.

SWORDS AGAINST CANNON-BALLS : THE BATTLE OF PATAN, 1790

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, KT., C.I.E., D.Litt.

THE battle of Haldighat was fought in 1576; here both the contesting armies followed the indigenous method of warfare, and there was no European present in the ranks of either. Two centuries and fourteen years later another memorable battle was fought, again in Rajputana, and again between the forces of the local Rajahs and the agents of the Emperor of Delhi. It was at Patan and in 1790. But here for the first time in Rajput history, the indigenous art of war was opposed to the European system and European-drilled troops, and the enemy was directed by a European general of outstanding ability, whose sepoys were led by European commandants. For this reason this battle is worth studying; it also differs from the many battles of the English East India Company, both before and after 1790, in which white troops fought side by side with disciplined sepoys under European commandants, but there was not a single European private in De Boigne's army.

Full and authentic accounts of the fighting at Patan and the intrigues that preceded it have been preserved for us in (i) the Marathi despatches of Mahadji's and the Peshwa's agents in North India, (ii) the news-letters (in Persian) written to William Palmer, the British Resident with Sindhia, (iii) the detailed Persian narrative of Faqir Khair-ud-din Allahabadi, who had of friends and relations in high posts under De Boigne, and (iv) the French memoirs of De Boigne himself which were compiled two years before his death in his native town of Chambéry. They utterly disprove Tod's story of the battle, based on gossip, and the wild rhapsodies of V. de Saint-Genis.

Mahadji Sindhia, as Regent of the Delhi Emperor, had been forced to evacuate Rajputana after his fatal encounter with the Jaipur Rajah Sawai Pratap Singh at Tunga (miscalled the battle of Lalsot) in July 1787, but he had vowed to wreak vengeance as soon as he would be able to recover his power. The inevitable conflict came in 1790. The Jaipur Rajah hired the armed aid of Mirza Ismail Beg, the nephew and successor of the late Muhammad Beg Hamadani, a famous commander of a strong force of mercenary Mughalia (i.e., Persian) troops and sepoy battalions who had deserted Sindhia on the eve of the battle of Tunga, joined the Maratha chief again, and again deserted him. Sindhia made adequate preparations and sent

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THEATRE OF WAR DESCRIBED

Nestling in the V-shaped hollow formed by three hills, over 2,000 feet in height, which almost join one another, lay the rich city of Patan. Its fort crowns the hill at the back of the town, standing 2385 feet above sea-level. North-east, south-east and south of Patan the land is dotted with isolated hillocks greatly restricting access to the city. The whole of its western flank for many miles north to south is blocked by a very long chain of hills rising even higher (over 2,600 feet) and separating Patan from the famous battlefield of Maonda which is only six miles due west of it in a straight line drawn across an impassable rocky barrier. Similar difficult terrain also covers much of its northern side, where only a long narrow path, leaving the road from Narnaul at Dabla, and winding through four successive defiles by way of Salodra and Kishorpura, can reach Patan. The main, or in truth the only road, for access to this city is one running south-eastwards, via Rajapura to Kot-Putli, 15 miles away, across the Sota river (a feeder of the Sabi.)

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is entirely at the mercy of the British block of members, and which is opposed by a strong and influential section of Muslims and almost the entire Hindu community, the three caste Hindu members included in the Ministry representing themselves only, by dubious and questionable methods, and in finally proroguing the Provincial Legislature, has been wholly arbitrary and unconstitutional. All this once again demonstrates the extent to which provincial autonomy in Bengal has been reduced to a mockery and a sham. At a critical juncture like the present, when the Province is faced with serious difficulties, His Excellency should have consulted all party leaders with a view to exploring all possible avenues for the successful formation of a Ministry based on the support of all sections of the House. It is very much to be regretted that this has not been done. Public opinion in the Province has already expressed in an unequivocal manner its strongest disapproval of the methods adopted by the authorities in bringing about the present undesirable situation. In view of Sir Nazimuddin's appeal for co-operation and maintenance of good relations between the communities, may it be hoped that notwithstanding all that has happened, the present Ministry, specially the Chief Minister, will make an earnest endeavour to fulfil the responsibility that rests on them for the welfare of the people of the province as a whole, by mitigating the acute and widespread economic distress and hardship that prevails in the province, discountenancing all disruptive forces and sectional tendencies, and avoiding controversial issues which are likely to mar communal harmony and peace! If Sir John Herbert expects that his actions and policy should command the confidence of the people and he be looked upon with the respect due to the head of a Province, His Excellency should immediately take all reasonable means to clear up the grave allegations that have been made about his measures and methods.

Bernard Shaw Urges Gandhiji's Release

According to the New Delhi correspondent of the *Hindu*, Mr. George Bernard Shaw, requested to suggest a solution of the Indian problem, is reported to have declared that he had no positive contribution to make beyond stating that the King should order the release of Gandhiji and apologise to him for the mental defectiveness of his Cabinet which ordered his arrest.

Two New Bengali Books of Rabindranath

The Visva-Bharati publishing department has published *Atma-parichay* and *Sahityer Swarup* on the eve of the public celebration in commemoration of the Poet's birthday. The first volume (pp. 127) is composed of a series of Bengali articles written by the Poet throwing light on his personal and poetic life. The earliest article is dated 1904 when he was barely 43 and the latest written on the completion of his 80th birthday. His letter to Mr. P. N. Neogy dated 1910 which was published in the *Prabāsi* in the poet's autograph facsimile has been printed at the end of the volume which we are sure will be read, with deep interest and lasting benefit, by the admirers of the Poet. With the exception of the article no. 5 printed as a preface to his Collected Edition, the rest of the papers were never printed in any previous edition and so would be keenly appreciated by the public. We miss in this volume a remarkable paper entitled *Atma-parichay* by the Poet himself who read the same at the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and which he printed in the *Tattvabodhini Patrika* (1912) then edited by him. Some more such documents may be forthcoming and meanwhile other present volume will stimulate our hunger for more materials.

K. N.

The Ethical Foundation of Brahmanism by the Late Prof. Hopkins

The late Prof. W. E. Hopkins of the Yale University came to spend his holiday in Paris in 1921 when Rabindranath was touring through Europe lecturing on his noble project of transforming Santiniketan into a veritable University of Internationalism through the Visvabharati. A scheme was afoot to commemorate the sixtieth birthday of the Poet by presenting him with a volume of original writings and Prof. Kalidas Nag was entrusted with the work of collecting the papers. Prof. Hopkins met Prof. Nag at the home of M. Sylvain Levi and gladly offered to contribute a paper to the projected volume. This paper was cherished by Prof. Nag in the original manuscript of Prof. Hopkins and sent to the May issue of *The Modern Review* commemorating the birthday of the Poet. The scheme of publishing the memorial volume could not however be materialised in 1921 owing to the fanatical hatred dominating the spirit of the writers of France and Germany. So the Golden Book of Tagore of which the Editor of *The Modern Review* is the General Editor and Prof. Nag the General Secretary could be only published ten years later in 1931 during the seventieth birthday of the Poet.

SWORDS AGAINST CANNON-BALLS : THE BATTLE OF PATAN, 1790

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, K.T., C.I.E., D.Litt.

THE battle of Haldighat was fought in 1576; here both the contesting armies followed the indigenous method of warfare, and there was no European present in the ranks of either. Two centuries and fourteen years later another memorable battle was fought, again in Rajputana, and again between the forces of the local Rajahs and the agents of the Emperor of Delhi. It was at Patan and in 1790. But here for the first time in Rajput history, the indigenous art of war was opposed to the European system and European-drilled troops, and the enemy was directed by a European general of outstanding ability, whose sepoys were led by European commandants. For this reason this battle is worth studying; it also differs from the many battles of the English East India Company, both before and after 1790, in which white troops fought side by side with disciplined sepoys under European commandants, but there was not a single European private in De Boigne's army.

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Sindhia's salt and then gone over to his enemies in battle; he had next joined Ghulam Qadir, but fought against him in Delhi when re-engaged by Sindhia, and now he had deserted Sindhia's service a second time for a new pay-master. The Mughalia mercenaries were ever ready to sell their venal swords to the highest bidder. Within the Muslim army too, there was all but declared civil war. Ismail Beg's boundless arrogance, cruelty and harshness of speech had set his captains against him and his insolvency had driven them to starvation and desperation. Besides, he was known to be planning the treacherous arrest and murder of the commandants of the trained battalions under his banner,—as he had murdered one commandant Muhammad Yar Khan. Hence Abdul Matlab Khan, the chief of the sepoy and artillery portion of his army, always armed in self-defence whenever Ismail rode out to battle. This section of the Muslim army pitched their camp at a safe distance from Ismail's own troops, and a Rathor force had to be stationed between these two divisions in order to prevent them from fighting or plundering each other! [*Ibrat*. iii. 359. *DY*. S. 26, ii. 11.]

This was the unhappy army that Gopal Bhau and De Boigne blocked up among the hills of Patan. For a week the Marathas kept their horses saddled ready day and night, to guard against surprise, and sent out their Pindari irregular horsemen to sack the villages around and cut off the Mirza's provision supply. Then, on 21st May a letter was received from Mahadji sharply censuring his generals for their idleness and failure to secure a decision by fighting. Gopal Bhau therefore decided to send De Boigne's artillery and musketeers next day inside the pass in an attempt to break the enemy's line.

FRUITLESS ATTACK OF 22ND MAY

Three hours before that summer dawn the drums beat to arms in De Boigne's camp. Leaving a strong force to guard his tents and baggage, he issued with the rest of his division, consisting of trained sepoy battalions and artillery under European officers and a body of Indian cavalry. His right and left wings were commanded by Major Hunter and Ashraf Beg and his centre (which had artillery in front of it) by Michael Filoze. Behind the two wings the cavalry was drawn up under Nusrat Yar Khan. From each battalion De Boigne picked out two companies of sharpshooters and one

captain and sent them ahead to engage the enemy.

The Rajputs and their Muslim allies took up the challenge and manned their trenches and drew up in line of battle. The force of De Boigne moving in the open, presented a sure target to Alah Yar Khan's guns which had been ranged in a line on a higher ground and tied together with iron chains, with Abdul Matlab's musketeers on guard. The hail of shot struck down many of the assailants, and when at mid-day De Boigne abandoned the field after "some fruitless attempts without achieving anything," he had lost two hundred men, and his cavalry leader Nusrat Yar Khan had been knocked down senseless by the whiff of a cannon-ball. But his artillery had replied with some effect.

In another part of the field, i.e., at the south end, Ismail Beg drew up his own contingent in front of the hill of Patan, headed by artillery and sepoy battalions. The Rajput cavalry was placed in support, one-half of it behind Ismail and the other behind Abdul Matlab. A force of Nagas, or fighting monks in Jaipur service, held their own trenches at the bottom of a hillock in the extreme north. The advance of Gopal Bhau's cavalry was checked by Ismail Beg's fire; similarly Holkar's contingent was repulsed by the Naga musketeers. And towards evening both sides gave up the useless slaughter and retired; Ismail having lost about 200 men killed and two of his battalion commandants wounded; on the Rajput side Hemraj Bakhshi and a Jodhpur *jamadar* were wounded.

The exploratory thrust failed, and Gopal Bhau decided to starve the enemy out by closing his paths of supply. Four more weeks passed in watchful inactivity, which were used by Ambaji Ingle in inducing Abdul Matlab's corps, for a bribe of 1½ lakhs of Rupees, to promise to desert to the Marathas during the next battle. Then came another stinging letter of reproof from Sindhia, and by a happy coincidence a prediction of the astrologers that if the battle was fought in the afternoon of 20th June (*Ashārh shukla* 8th), the stars would give the victory to Sindhia.

BATTLE OF PATAN, 20 JUNE, 1790

The Maratha army was thus drawn up: De Boigne's disciplined brigade and quick firing guns formed the spear-head of the Maratha attack, and occupied the van in front of the centre; Ambaji Ingle and Balaji Ingle commanded the left wing (opposite Ismail Beg),

SWORDS AGAINST CANNON-BALLS:

FINAL STAGE OF THE BATTLE

When the sun began to decline from the meridian, the Rajputs and their Muslim allies retired to their respective camps, undressed, and engaged in cooking their meals and recovering from the heat. The Maratha army held its ground near the mouth of the pass, its generals Gopal Bhau and De Boigne sat on a hillock behind the line of their troops, keeping watch on the field and the enemy entrenchments in the distant west. The real battle was precipitated in the evening by an unforeseen skirmish. About three hours before sunset, some Pindaris from the left wing of the Maratha army, after a detour to Ismail Beg's rear, seized the transport animals of that general as they were coming back from pasture. A Muslim force hurried out to the rescue of the cattle, and then Balaji Ingle with 2000 horsemen fell on the newcomers, and a severe confused fight raged for an hour. Next Ismail Beg, in spite of his fever, which had been doubled by the sun's heat, took horse, headed a charge and drove the Marathas out of the allied lines, by his reckless personal bravery.

A general fire was now opened on Sindhia's army by all the confederate artillery, but it did little execution on account of the long range. Next Gopal Bhau sent some squadrons to skirmish against the Rathors in the centre. These Deccani masters of Parthian tactics, after a little demonstration, pretended to give way. The Rathors followed in reckless pursuit at full gallop with loud cries of victory, leaving their sheltered position on the heights. As soon as they descended into the plain and came within range, the artillery of De Boigne opened a deadly fire, mowing down hundreds among the dense Rajput masses. The remnant fled back to the hills. De Boigne followed up this success by advancing at the head of his battalions and seizing the artillery of Abdul Matlab, which was completely taken by surprise and could offer no resistance.

During the confusion of this life and death struggle in the centre, Ismail Beg with his Mughalia horse and sepoy battalions had moved up against the Maratha left wing (under Ambaji) and at first carried everything before him.* But De Boigne immediately after worsting the Rathor horse, turned his guns

Holkar's contingent (under Kashi Rao and Bapu Holkar) with some minor captains the right wing (facing the Jaipur Nagas); Gopal Bhau and Jiva Dada with the main body of the Deccan horse the centre (opposite the Rathor cavalry). The two armies stood opposed to each other facing east and west in a long line; Ismail's own contingent formed the right or extreme south wing of the confederates, then came a small body of Rathor horse, next Abdul Matlab's battalions, and thereafter the centre where the bulk of the Rajput cavalry was massed, and finally the left wing under the Jaipur Nagas at the north end. There were three rows of artillery in this army, one before Ismail, another before Abdul Matlab and the third in the trenches of the Nagas,—a total of over 125 pieces. On the Maratha side the only artillery was that of De Boigne's brigade, whose superior mobility and greater accuracy and rapidity of fire more than compensated for their smaller number.

The battle of Patan was not fought by means of a simultaneous attack along the entire front, so customary in Indian warfare, but began sporadically at some points and developed into a general engagement only near the close of the day. There was no unity of command on the side of the confederates, nor any plan of battle except to watch passively for the enemy's action. Hence, the Maratha army in the actual clash of arms had the advantages of surprise and initiative, for which De Boigne's eagle eye and rapid decision must bear full credit.

On the 20th of June neither side was in haste to come to grips. Gopal Bhau would not repeat his fruitless bloodshed of 22nd May, and the Rajput swordsmen were mortally afraid of the Frenchman's guns which they would agree to charge only under cover of darkness or from behind a screen of hillocks. The Maratha army took up arms before daybreak and advanced four miles westwards from their camp to the mouth of the pass leading to Patan, where they had hitherto maintained a small patrol. One quarter of the day was over before the enemy showed themselves on the heights. Then Sindhia's line of battle was formed, but there was no actual fighting for six hours afterwards. It was the *shukla ashtami* day, and the Hindu soldiers on both sides, who were observing their religious fast, felt overcome by thirst and the heat of the summer sun of Rajputana. "For one quarter of the day, not a shot or bullet was fired from either side; only the Muslim troopers of both the armies galloped into the field and retreated after every such excursion." [*Ibrat*. iii. 371.]

* Grant Duff writes, "Ismail Beg fought with his usual bravery, and a body of Pathans thrice charged through the regular infantry of the Marathas, cutting down the artillerymen at their guns." [iii. 73.]

upon Ismail and raked him with a flank fire, from Abdul Matlab's captured guns, now served by De Boigne's own artillerymen. The Persian's artillery was silenced; his followers fell fast or fled away before a murderous fire to which he could not reply; and at last he admitted the inevitable, flung away his blood-stained sword and galloped back to his tent in hopeless defeat. His commandants, Abdul Matlab and Ala Yar Beg sought their own safety, abandoning their sepoy to their fate.

Only in one sector of the battle front there had been no fighting worth speaking of. On the Maratha right Holkar's contingent (about 4000 strong) were attacked by the Rathors, but were saved by reinforcements hurried up to them by Gopal Bhau. Then they "remained standing still" before the trenches of the Jaipur Nagas. But De Boigne had already told off two battalions to keep the Nagas in check, and now freed from the struggle in his centre and left, turned all his force against the Nagas and routed them by a sudden onset. It was already 9 p.m. and the last trace of resistance died out.

MARATHA VICTORY AND GAINS

All that night and for the whole of the next day, a relentless pursuit was kept up by the Maratha horse, and the famished, thirsty, tired Rajput fugitives were butchered unresisting. For, Gopal Bhau had proclaimed before that he would allow every soldier of his army to keep whatever spoil he could seize.* The enemy's trained battalions did not share the flight of the Rajput horse, but took refuge in Patan city, only to put their surrender off by a day.

No victory could be more complete. All the property, guns and arms of the confederates left in the field or in their camps were captured. Next morning De Boigne went with some guns to the gate of Patan city and threatened bombardment; the Rajah Sampat (or Himmat) Singh was powerless to resist.† Five of the defeated battalion commandants fled away on horseback to the hills, but all the other commandants within the city surrendered, and of the common soldiers nearly 2000 cavalry and 10,000 sepoy's grounded arms and were sent away with only the dress they stood in. De Boigne next laid siege to the fort of Patan, which capitulated in the course of six hours, and all the

vast enemy property deposited in these two places fell into the hands of the victors. For a week afterwards the Maratha army halted there and combed the villages around, recovering from them all the enemy property and guns concealed there.

The spoils of victory amounted to 105 pieces of artillery, twenty-one elephants, 8,000 flintlocks, 1300 camels, 300 horses, besides other kinds of property worth many lakhs. [DY. S. 29. HP. 575. Ibrat. iii. 375, gives 6500 horses, 5300 camels, 3200 oxen &c., but I doubt these inflated round numbers.] The casualties on the side of the vanquished were five battalions and 3,000 Rathor horsemen destroyed; but Ismail Beg's fine army was practically annihilated, it ceased to exist as a military unit and lost all its arms and equipment, tents, baggage and even cooking pots. On Sindhia's side, in the Household Cavalry (*hazurāt silehdār*) 52 men were slain and 309 wounded (of these 188 by firearms), and 69 horses were killed and 104 wounded. No chief fell on either side, though a false report arose that Gangārām Bhāndāri, the Jodhpur generalissimo, had been killed. Only two of Sindhia's officers were wounded, but slightly.

Patan was a decisive battle: as the result of it Jaipur was knocked out of the ring and did not attempt to challenge Sindhia's power for ten years afterwards. From the victorious plain of Patan, Sindhia's generals made a resistless advance against Jodhpur, wrested Ajmer fort and province from Maharaja Bijai Singh, and almost annihilated the Rathor chivalry at Merta (September 1790), where once again the new model army of De Boigne proved its unquestioned superiority over our indigenous troops, however brave. And when at the end of a decade the Rajputs again fought a pitched battle against Sindhia, at Malpura (on 17th April 1800), the result was disastrous for them and it proved to be the last open trial of arms between the Rajputs and the Marathas.

DE BOIGNE'S ACHIEVEMENT

It cannot be denied that the decisive part in this very decisive victory was contributed by De Boigne. His French biographer rightly praises his cool alert generalship during the swaying tides of the combat:

"The coolness of the General and the excellent discipline of his troops prevented any disorder, even when Ismail Beg's horsemen broke his line and sabred his gunners at their pieces. The ranks were dressed anew, the line was formed again as soon as it was broken, and his conserved and well-directed fire repelled

that vigorous attack. . . Leaving his cannon in charge of the reserve, he put himself at the head of one of his battalions and ordering the other to follow, threw himself, sword in hand on the batteries of the enemy, and seized the first immediately; he was master of the second at 8 p.m., and the enemy were found in complete rout at 9 p.m." [Memoire, p. 85.]

The Marathas were jealous of the greater fame and favour which this foreigner enjoyed, but even their despatches are constrained to admit his brilliant achievement:

"De Boigne having secured mastery in the fight with the Marwaris on the right wing [really, the centre], fired his guns on the left wing marvellously well. . . The newly raised campoo of De Boigne fought magnificently, and he himself is a hero." [H. P. 574.]

That De Boigne's initiative and martial genius alone made the victory possible, will be clear from the following anecdote narrated by Faqir Khair-ud-din, the former *munshi* of the Anderson brothers (Residents at Sindhia's Court):—

In the evening, Colonel De Boigne was seated on a hillock eating his lunch. On seeing the shaking among the troops of Ismail and the Rathors, he gave up his meal and asked Gopal Bhau to permit him to launch an attack as the enemy had no power left now to make a stand. Gopal Bhau replied, "It is the end of the day. What can you do now?" De Boigne replied that he refused to obey his General and would take full responsibility for his action. . . Leaving two battalions to face the Nagas and taking two battalions and ten guns with himself, he marched on the enemy's artillery (i.e., Abdul Matlab's) and began firing on it. At this unexpected attack the order of the enemy force was broken when they tried to assemble, . . . and after a time they took to flight," &c. [Ibrat. iii. 373.]

WAS THERE KACHHWA TREACHERY AT PATAN?

Authentic accounts of the fighting at Patan have come down to us. Not one of them alleges that the Jaipur generals were bribed by Mahadji Sindhia to "keep aloof during the fight" and treacherously leave their Rathor allies to fight and perish unaided, as Tod asserts in the following passage:

"An unlucky stanza which a juvenile Charan had composed after the battle of Tunga, had completely alienated the Kachhwās from their [Rathor] supporters, to whom they could not but acknowledge their inferiority. . . This stanza was retained in recollection as the battle of Patan; and if universal affirmation may be received as proof, it was the cause of its loss, and with it that of Rajput independence. [Kachhwa] national pride was humbled; a private agreement was entered into between the Marathas and the Jaipurians, whereby the latter, on condition of keeping aloof during the fight,

were to have their country secured from devastation. As usual the Rathors charged up to the muzzles of De Boigne's cannon, sweeping all before them, but receiving no support, they were torn piecemeal by showers of grape, and compelled to abandon the field. . . Even the women, it is averred, plundered the Rathors of their horses on that disastrous day; so heart-broken had the traitorous conduct of their [Kachhwa] allies rendered them. . . Both these ribald strains are still the taunt of either race; by such base agencies are thrones overturned, and heroism rendered abortive."

The contemporary record of eye-witnesses proves that the mercenary drilled sepoy's and artillery commanded by Abdul Matlab Khan and Ala Yar Beg, that had entered Ismail Beg's service, were so exasperated at their pay being long in arrears that they agreed to be neutral in the coming fight as soon as Sindhia paid them 1½ lakhs of Rupees. Ismail Beg knew of this discontent and had, for some time before the battle, planned to seize Abdul Matlab by treachery, but had not yet succeeded. Treachery there was at Patan, but it was between the two Muslim groups of the same army and not between the two Rajput clans.

If the Jaipur Rajah came to terms with Sindhia after this battle much earlier than the lord of Jodhpur, it was primarily because his kingdom lay directly in the path of the victor, while Marwar was at a safer distance. The French life of De Boigne which Col. Tod had read before he wrote his annals of Amber, distinctly says this: "*Le raja de Jypore, qui se trouvait le plus voisin de l'armée maharatte, fit quelques offres de soumission; mais celui de Joidpour concentra ses forces*" &c. Secondly, the Jaipur Rajah was merely a defaulter of tribute to Sindhia, while the Jodhpur Rajah had in addition robbed him of the fort and subah of Ajmer and was unwilling to give these possessions back; therefore, his offence was unpardonable, and these two Rajput kingdoms did not stand on the same footing in the eyes of Sindhia.

No student of war can doubt that the Rathor swordsmen would have been butchered as helplessly by De Boigne's highly-disciplined and European-led musketeers and quick-firing guns, even if ten thousand Kachhwa cavalry had pushed their ill-armed allies from behind; they would only have swelled the number of the victims.

There was a rupture between the Rathors and the Kachhwās after the battle, but money was at the root of it. Bijai Singh had agreed to help Sawai Pratap Singh with his Rathor cavalry on condition of their full expenses being borne

* Ibrat, iii. 376. H. P. 574.

† The Rajah of Patan immediately made peace with Sindhia, through Ramsevak (the diwan of his relative, the Rao Rajah of Alwar), agreeing to pay a ransom of Rs. 60,000. [DY. S. 41. Ibrat, iii. 378.]

by the Jaipur Government. Sawai Jai Singh II was popularly believed to have left behind him many *crores* of treasure; but in reality his successor at the time of this battle was utterly impoverished, his vassals were withholding their annual tributes and his war-wasted fields were yielding no revenue. This fact the Rathor contingent would not recognise and they at last abandoned the Jaipur cause in anger.

Thus, the "universe" whose affirmation Tod has received as "proof" excludes all the impartial contemporary witnesses and records, and comes, in the ultimate analysis, to be reduced to the opium-eaters who are "still" (to use Tod's own testimony) wrangling over the question whether the Rathors or the Kachhwas are the more heroic of the two clans.

RABINDRANATH : MY GAINS FROM HIM

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDHUSHEKHARA SASTRI

THE revered Editor has kindly asked me to contribute an article on Rabindranath, our Gurudeva, to the present number of his Review, and availing myself very gladly of the opportunity, I propose briefly to write here what I have gained from him by my association with him, which fortunately extended for more than a quarter of a century in Santiniketan.

My presence there was quite unexpected and I never thought or dreamt that it would be for my all-round good in life as it has actually proved afterwards.

Well, but how much have I been able to take from him? Certainly not much, for how much water of the flowing Ganges can a small pitcher contain? Only so much as is allowed by the capacity of that receptacle. Similarly owing to my own shortcomings or defects I could not gather much from him, I confess, yet, the quality of whatever I had the fortune of gaining from him is certainly very great and of immense value and importance.

In January, 1905, I was at Benares as a young student of Sanskrit reading at the feet of my revered *gurus*, Mahamahopadhyaya Pandits, Kailas Chandra Siromani and Subrahmanya Sastri. But one fine morning I found myself at Santiniketan as an ordinary teacher of Sanskrit for the young boys reading there and specially for Rathindranath, the present General Secretary, Visvabharati, and Santosh Chandra, his friend who breathed his last very untimely.

In reading the following lines it should be noted by the reader that in every respect there is now a wide difference between the Santiniketan of that time, and the Santiniketan of the present day.

Being situated on a high table-land in a

vast open field extending in three directions to the horizon with only one or two very small Santhal villages on the west and a large and long tank (*bāndh*) with its extended and thick row of high palm trees on its western bank, Santiniketan presented at once a very lofty and majestic view of the place. It was in a well-laid-out garden of fruits and flowers with a *mandira*—'temple'—on the north-east side having its floor of white marble and the walls of glass, facing the east; and on the north-west side, in a more lonely place with plentiful plants and creepers, having a shrine under the shade of a twin *Saptachhada* tree (*Alstonia Scholaris*) which made it quite suitable for one's spiritual meditation. In the middle there was as at present a big two-storied house with two rows of beautiful *Amalaka* trees (*Amblic myrobalan*) on its front and a big gate before it with a motto in golden letters from an Upanisadic text. The house was meant for guests who might come there in order to satisfy the hunger of their spiritual advancement. Long before the foundation of Santiniketan Maharsi Devendranath, the father of our Gurudeva, being much attracted by the nature of the locality used to come there occasionally and meditate under the *Saptachhada* tree referred to above, and afterwards an Asrama—'hermitage'—was founded by him there in the name of Santiniketan—'Abode of Peace,'—from which the mind as well as the purpose of the founder can easily be understood. It was originally meant for *tapas*—'religious austerity' or 'severe meditation,'—which is the means for *Santi*—'peace.' It was regarded as a *tapovana*, and certainly not a place for any worldly affairs. Gradually it was destined to be also a place for the study of *brahmayidyā* and consequently

was called *Brahmayidyālaya*, and again it underwent a certain change with the name of *Brahmacharyāsrama* being a hermitage for practising *brahmacharya*, a sacred practice, than which there is nothing higher for one's real advancement. Let one try here to understand the ideas behind all this, I need not dwell upon it. At that time in the *mandira* perfumed with specially prepared incense, *Brahmaupāsana* was to be performed regularly twice a day, morning and evening, with proper solemnity and devotional music and songs befitting the occasion, sacred texts from the Upanisads being recited and explained. Short sentences, as mottos, mainly from Upanisads, either written or inscribed, were then to be found abundantly in different places of the institution. The students of the time, almost all of whom were very young, used to put on a long robe made of cloth dyed of a reddish colour (*gairika*), in performing their sacred duty of *upāsana*, two times a day, and also in taking their lessons from the teachers. They would not use umbrella or shoes. They were vegetarians and were practising hardship and the restraint of senses. Thus they, in my eyes, presented a very fine picture, however defective, of the young *Brahmachārins* of the past. Gurudeva as an *Achārya*, in the strict sense of the word, was living with them day and night guiding us all and taking an active part in the affairs thereof. In short this was the state of the sacred atmosphere and environment of Santiniketan of that time, and this exercised a tremendous influence on my mind, and I think that the opportunity given to me for living in this Santiniketan was the first and most precious gain that I had from Gurudeva.

My second gain was the invaluable connexion with the great Dwijendranath, the eldest brother of Gurudeva. He was living there from the very early days of Santiniketan in a plain but very fine bungalow in a grove of *Amlaka* trees in the middle of a flower garden located on the northern bank of the tank already alluded to. He was a true philosopher being always merged in high philosophical thoughts, and, in fact, a great wise man living a pure and simple life. Birds and squirrels would come to him with absolute confidence, take food from his hands, and play without the least fear of injury sitting on his person. He was the embodiment of simplicity and truth, and full of love towards every one. The idea of the following short sentence of the Upanisad (*Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, III. 5. 1) found its fullest expression in him : तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः पाण्डित्यं निर्विद्य बाल्येन तिष्ठसेत्

'Let therefore a Brāhmana become disgusted with scholarship and desire to live as a child.' I used to think that Rabindranath who was living on the northern part of the Asrama, was as the mountain Himālaya, and Dwijendranath residing on the southern one as the Vindhya; and between these two mountains was the Aryāvarta of Santiniketan which was for spreading a high order of civilization and culture in the world. I had the fortune of winning his love and affection and I cannot say how greatly I profited by it.

My third gain was an acquaintance or association through Gurudeva in Santiniketan with quite a good number of great men of the world at large. Some of them came over to Santiniketan from the various parts of the country, and some from foreign lands. I had no hope whatsoever for meeting them elsewhere, far less for living together or working together with some of them. While some of them were casual visitors, others lived here for considerable time.

It is here in Santiniketan that I had the exceptional good luck of making a personal acquaintance with the living *Bodhisattva* of the world, Mahatma Gandhi.

It is here that I regarded myself highly fortunate to become an unworthy associate of C. F. Andrews, Christ's Faithful Apostle, as he was rightly described by a very dear friend of mine, my *Bhai Sahib* Gurdial Mallik. I regarded him as a Brahmin of Brahmins, a Brahmin in spirit, a Brahmin on account of the qualification (*guna-brāhmana*) necessary for it and not owing to a particular caste (*varna-brāhmana*).

Andrews was an embodiment of what is really good in English people, a real *Dinabandhu*—'Friend of the Poor,'—specially of India, a true Christian from the Christian point of view, and a true Vaisnava—'Devotee of the All-pervading One'—from the Vaisnavite point of view. Where can one get an association with such a great man?

It was also in Santiniketan that I had W. W. Pearson as one of my esteemed friends. His heart constantly desired the independence of India, for which he had to suffer much at the hands of the Government of the country. His genuine and profound love for India was given the fullest expression by his own last word in an unconscious state on his death-bed in Italy—"My love, India!" For the humanitarian work with special reference to the Indian people abroad he was a close associate

of Andrews. He was also a very loving and much beloved teacher of the young students of Santiniketan. One scarcely gets a friend of such type.

The fundamental and central idea, in brief, of Gurudeva in converting the old educational institute at Santiniketan into *Visvabharati* was to connect India (*Bharata*) with the Universe (*Visva*) in a friendly relation through the study of the different cultures of the East and West with special reference to the former. The inner spirit of the *Visvabharati* is expressed by its motto taken from a Vedic text : यत्र विश्वं भवत्येक-

नीडम् — 'where the Universe finds its nest'— as Gurudeva would put its sense in English. Necessity was therefore felt of appointing teachers both Indian and European and among the latter were invited the following scholars as visiting Professors : Levi, Winternitz, Lesny, Kenow, Formichi, Tucci, Benoit, Bogdanor, Germanus, etc. Being a lifelong student and then in charge of the *Vidyābhavana* (the Research Department) to which they were attached I had some special contact with them. I learnt much from them in various ways, specially on Indology. This was possible only through the kindness of Gurudeva and I regarded it as a precious gain.

Besides this contact with the eminent Oriental Scholars, I had another gain with regard to my literary activities. It was the unrestrained facilities kindly given to me by the authorities at Santiniketan in using the Library there. I had access to it even at dead of night, one of its keys being with me and the *Venukunja*, my residence, being very near to it. At first it was small, yet with a good collection. Originally the English books of the Library belonged to Gurudeva himself and the Sanskrit ones to the *Adi Brahmasamāḥ*. Now it has grown into a considerably big one. I had an innate desire and love for a library and for working therein, and fortunately in the earlier days I was kindly permitted by the authorities even to pass my nights either in a corner or in a side room of the Library itself, thus giving me a rare facility for my studies. I used to work in the Library being surrounded by my beloved pupils who gave me special inspiration by working with me. This was a gain which I can never forget.

One of the other gains that I had was the opportunity of getting and teaching pupils from different provinces of the country as well as from the foreign lands such as Japan and Germany. It was of immense value, and importance, and

pleasure to me to have lived and worked together with so many teachers and students belonging to different nationalities and assembled with the same purpose in Santiniketan.

Attracted by the extraordinary personality of Gurudeva, people from every part of the globe used to come to Santiniketan, and many of them lived there for some time; and there was a stream of correspondence of the master-minds of the world with Gurudeva on the great problems of the time. These two facts coupled with the lofty idea of *Visvabharati* as said before actually made its inmates think as if they were really living in the Universe, and not in a narrow place.

But above all, my foremost and most precious gain was my contact or association with Gurudeva himself. It was my special privilege to have been acquainted with some of his noble ideas only a fraction of which has taken forms in Santiniketan and Sriniketan. It is the ideas and not the forms or facts that concern us most. Scholars question the historicity of Christ and it will not be an easy task to prove the same for Rama and Sitā. Yet, there are, and will remain the ideas of them all, and they will serve humanity. To my mind, Gurudeva's best contribution to the world is his great ideas which can now be understood from what he has created in various ways.

It was also my proud privilege and gain to sit at his feet in the evenings and listen to his talks on various topics, the charm of which can in no way be appreciated by one who had not the fortune to have been in such a position.

There is nothing that I did not receive from him. There was no desire in me that was not satisfied by him. What did he not give me? Of course, I did not ask the moon of the heaven from him. He gave me even what I did not request him to give. And what he did not do for me? He gave me what made me think that I was a king, I took my food as a king, and I slept like a king, or better than a king, for a king has hardly such sound and peaceful sleep as I had there.

But all of a sudden there came a sad change. What an irony of fate! What I never dreamt came to happen and I started from Santiniketan with my tears dropping for a place which I did not like in fact. But there was heard a low and gentle voice from one who was apparently moved : "You will have to come here again." Now it remains to be seen if that prophecy turns true.

THE ETHICAL FOUNDATION OF BRAHMANISM

By E. WASHBURN HOPKINS

THE connection between every form of religion and ethics has always been peculiarly close. For even in those inferior strata which we are wont to designate as superstitious it is remarkable that they are never opposed but always favourable to recognized morality. This does not mean that they further in every case such moral rules as we regard as cogent, but that they stand distinctly on the side of conduct which is regarded as moral by the people concerned. Thus in African fetishism the fetish is employed to hunt down the recognized sinner, thief or adulterer, and in the complex system of Polynesian taboo it is "forbidden" (taboo) to steal, to touch another's wife. To so great an extent is this true that capable observers have even held that the moral sense itself has arisen from taboo. Though this is an exaggeration, or rather an inversion of the relations between taboo and ethics, it nevertheless remains true that both in taboo and in fetishism there is an intimate connection between the religious and the ethical. For sin is generally secret and the whole power of fetishism is directed toward the discovery and conviction of the hidden sin. That which is recognized as good needs no discovery. The ordeal, by fire or by water or by poison, is employed only against the sinner, and in religions much higher than fetishism and taboo the ordeal is already a religious weapon, that is, it no longer works by itself as a sentient power but is employed as a means of discovering the truth by a divine Power, as the poison-water of the Hebrews by Jehovah or the water-ordeal of the Hindus by Varuna.

In all the higher religions this union of ethics and religion is accepted as an unquestionable fact. The man that comes before the divine judges in Egyptian religion has to prove that he has been morally impeccable, or the gods will not be satisfied with him. In Greek and Roman religions, the gods punish the sinner both in this life and the next. In Zoroastrianism all unethical behavior is opposed to Ormuzd. Religion is, in short, not only the expression of a certain faith in gods, but it is also by implication the expression of a belief that the gods are good and that a man who is immoral is therefore opposed to the divine power, because that power is itself moral.

But the moral sense evolves and as man becomes more civilized he is no longer content with the ethics of previous ages. He still feels however, that morality is based on religion and therefore he repudiates the gods of old in favor of newer and more ethical divinities. Thus the gods of Homer appeared immoral to a later age and the Greeks replaced them with a new conception of Zeus or replaced him altogether with a new figure, who was greater and more moral, retaining Zeus as a mere popular designation for Divine Power immanent in the world. Thus from Greek Stoicism came the idea of God to Rome.

But at the same time, though it was universally admitted that God was good, it was not so easy to determine just what goodness was. That was left for man to discover from a contemplation of the Divine; for there was no jural system of ethics.

It was this which gave so great a power to Judaism and in turn to Christianity, which inherited the "laws of God" from the Hebrews and added thereto the personal example of the life of its founder. The Christian did not and could not argue any question of morality touched upon in his divine laws, whether those were expressed in the very words of God (as he believed), that is, in the Ten Commandments, and in other Biblical records, which to him were also the word of God, or were implied by the teaching of Christ. He simply said, 'It is commanded.' No other religion had such a corpus of ethical teaching supposed to be direct from a divine source or even written with God's own hand.

The missionary to India is naturally impressed with this when he enters upon his field of work and is apt to say that he brings to India a religion in which for the first time ethics is placed upon a religious basis. He is apt too to go further and say that in Hindu religions there is no recognition of any ethical authority, no divine law and hence no religious law of right. He is quite genuinely (and ingenuously) shocked to think that there is no connection between religion and ethics. "Read," he says, "the records in the literature and you will see that a man was esteemed a great saint, no matter what he did; because of his sainthood all things were permitted him."

In a paper read before the American Oriental Society in April, 1920, I endeavoured to point out the very intimate connection between Vedic religion and ethics. As this paper has not yet been published, I may here indicate its thesis. At the very beginning of Indic literature, that is, in the Rig Veda itself, the ethical sense is strongly religious. The man who sins, and he has no doubt as to what sin is, feels that he has offended a heavenly Power. The gods too may sin, but their act is recognized as sinful; it is not free from blame because it is divine. There is an ethical Power in the world and to offend it is to sin.

In the present paper I would start from this point. Brahmanism recognizes the connection between religion and ethics. Sometimes it is the gods, sometimes it is the almost equally divine Fathers or saints in heaven, who are the models on which human behavior should be fashioned. The authority is sometimes evoked for merely ritualistic ends in the Brahmanas: "So did the gods" is here the norm. But the same authority, a vague but divine source, is invoked in behalf of morality. "Remember," says the jurist in Manu's code, "that all the gods are waiting to see if you, O witness, speak the truth." The punishment of hell is in the hands of Yama for him who sins. The Sun-god sees the lie and the gods in general defend the right and oppose the wrong. There is no written code attributed to God at this early stage but there is none the less a divine authority for right.

When Brahmanism, with its too great emphasis on ritual, began to express itself in philosophy, it held even more firmly to the idea that the True was at the same time the Good. The philosopher, who saw in himself the Soul of the Universe, saw that Soul in its true entity only as it was "pure." The purity thus imagined was not simply a purity marked by freedom from materiality but by all that was implied by that materiality. For sin to the philosopher was but the result of material obsession and to be emancipated from one was to be free of the other. Only in specific instances and then rather in popular conception than in reality was it possible for one to transcend all moral laws. This notion was not practical but philosophical and its equivalent is found in the antinomian attitude of certain Christian philosophers. The freed soul because it was freed rose above all restraint. Popular interpretation might say that this means, a very good man can be sinful, but such an interpretation is as crude

as it is popular. The philosopher might reply, "God cannot sin and as I become like God, so it becomes impossible for me to sin." To the philosopher or the saint, sin is beneath his potency rather than beyond it. The pure soul cannot sin because it will not. Let the vulgar interpret this to mean that the saint may sin and forget that it cannot, the fact remains that the whole religious life of the Hindu saint implies from the beginning an ethical foundation which in turn is based upon an ideal of perfect sinlessness. However grotesque some of the attributes of the Yogin may seem to our modern minds, the ability to fly through the air, etc., all these attributes are merely the exterior marks of a soul that has renounced everything except purity, a purity freed from material restraint which implies the ability to surpass or suppress all that is not "pure soul." This "pure soul" has nothing to do with material temptation and is therefore *ipso facto* in the highest degree ethical.

Even in the popular presentation of the Gītā the suppression of "desires" bears with it the same implication, as in *sankalpaprabhavān kamans tyaktvā sarvān asesatah manasaivendrigrāmam viniyamya samantatah sanaih sanair uparamet*,* etc., where "desires" is obviously a term which includes *a posteriori* every form of unethical inclination as well as gross sensuality or immoral action. But the basis of the whole Gītā religion, though it includes the older Yoga practice, is devotion to a divine ideal. "Come to me," that is, "be like me," who am, as divine, above all passion and incapable morally of sin, this is the real meaning of *maccittā madgataprānah*,† and such expressions, found toward the summing up of the discourse no less than in its heart as a protest against the notion that the ethical and religious are not indissolubly united. Just so Jesus Christ's "come to me" is by implication the repudiation of an immoral life. It is therefore false, both for Brahmanic philosophy and for the popular religions based largely on the sense of personal relation with divinity, to maintain that ethics has no religious foundation in Hindu life. On the one hand,

* संकल्पप्रभवान् कामास्त्यक्त्वा सर्वान्
असेताह मनसाैवन्द्रियाग्रामं विनियम्य समन्ततः
शनैः शनैरुपरमेत् ।

† मच्चित्ता मदगतप्राणाः ।

the philosopher recognizes only the spiritual, which abjures the unethical, and on the other the devotee follows his master, who both in word and deed exalts the Yogi ideal in its practical application to life. Whatever may have been the extravagances of certain phases of the later Krishna-cult, they have no more to do with the vital teaching of Krishna, as presented in the Gītā, than the philosophical antinomianism and the crude extravagances of certain Christian sects have to do with the plain doctrine of the New Testament.

But the common man (for all cannot be saints), educated in the tenets of orthodox Brahmanism and perhaps not a devotee of Krishna, is nevertheless as strongly bound by ethico-religious law as are saint and devotee. For his codes of morality are both sacro-sanct through immemorial tradition older than the Christian religion and based on divine authority, either directly or by transmission through a personage speaking with more than human authority. Either the Father God or one who "speaks as one having authority" declares the code, and this is true not only of the great codes but of those ethical chapters which are now embodied in the corpus of the great epic, while the personal character of Rāma and Sītā in the lesser epic are still quasi-divine models of conduct to hosts of devout believers. As such also in many modern sects serve the lives of the sainted founders, a continual stimulus, not only to the piety but to the ethical probity of the various congregations bearing the founder's name. The formulation of moral conduct as found in such codes and such living models leaves nothing to be desired. They touch not only on the greater but on the less, with a particularity known only in the minute examination of sins deadly and venial made by the Church Fathers. Here discontent, jealousy, ill-humor, anger, stinginess, etc., have their place as well as murder, theft, and adultery. Here, before such a thought found expression in the western world, one is taught that kindness to all including animals is part of the moral law and that the whole world is one's country in the light of one humanitarian fellowship. "In the presence of God castes disappear," it is said, and also "the earth is my home," "treat all living creatures as if they were one with thyself." And as the caste-system is thus religiously modified in the interest of a higher morality, so the Karma-doctrine, which seems at first to embody a wholly selfish appeal to one's own salvation, will be found on closer examination

to embody an ethical ideal based on a belief in a superhuman, if not divine, power. For in Hindu religion, whether sectarian or Brahmanic, as in Christianity, though the appeal appears to be to self-interest, self-salvation in one form or another, yet its very strength lies in its call to something beyond self, to an ideal union with perfection which has guided man toward the good, whatever has been his nominal creed. Thus it is as futile to assert that in the Karma-doctrine one's interest in morality is simply self-interest, as it would be to say that a life-long devotion to the Christian ideal is based merely on the hope of living in bliss hereafter. What is not futile is the fact that the whole doctrine of Karma, whether in itself true or false implies a rigid adherence to a high ethical standard. The idea that birth expiates a former fault, that a morally elevated life now will result in a better, because higher, birth hereafter, is inexplicably united with the thought that sin brings its own punishment both at the hands of the gods (hence hell in addition to a lower birth) and by the working of Karma itself, which therefore must be not only an all-embracing power, but a moral power in the universe. Both Brahmanism and Buddhism accept this implication, the one uniting it with a divine surveillance of man, and the other, in its primitive form, ignoring or denying the divine element.

But even if, as Buddha taught, there is no personal God who is interested in man (though later Buddhism practically repudiated this teaching), Karma itself is the expression of an ethical law universal and fundamental, embracing all forms of life. As such, whether it be called a divine law or not is immaterial. To Brahmanism it was not only divine but more than divine, embracing in its cogency even the gods, as a Fate in moral guise. It is the earliest as well as the most profound enunciation of the belief in the moral order of the universe, of which all codes, divine and human, are but a partial elucidation.

In every aspect then, from the earliest period to the latest, India has recognized ethics as interwoven with or based upon religion, whether that religion be expressed in terms of personal or cosmic powers, gods or abstract ethical necessity. Whatever have been its lapses from its own ideal, and Brahmanism has suffered from its priests as have other religions, it has recognized consistently and constantly that moral conduct alone is in accordance with the great laws of the universe, as promulgated by its divinities

and its saints, or expressed tacitly by the cosmic code, if one may call it so, the rule of life in which all life is involved. Brahmanism has had its inspired teachers and its divine law-givers of morality, but it has also discovered that ethics is based on a foundation more stable

even than its gods, on the very constituents of sentient life, and if, as Brahmanism also teaches, this life be a form of the highest divinity, then, according to this teaching, ethics is itself an expression of that highest and man as he is more moral is the more divine.

PRICE RISES AND CURRENCY EXPANSION

Need to Check Hoarding and Profiteering

By C. V. H. RAO

PHENOMENAL price-rises in India within the last few months have induced immense interest in the causes thereof and inevitably in that connection is adumbrated the theory of inflation as a sequel to increase in currency circulation. Theoretical disquisitions bearing on this problem are legion and many of the conclusions drawn by disquisitionists do not appear intelligible to the common man who looks at it from the strictly practical point of view, which means the point of view which is obvious on the surface of things and not necessarily one which is obvious to a professor of economics or a research scholar. One fundamental fact that stands out prominently, however, is that there has been considerable expansion of the currency since the beginning of the war. It is also a fact that while production of commodities has accentuated to a considerable extent, most of it is concerned with the production of articles essential for war purposes. Prices of agricultural produce have no doubt been on the up-grade, but side by side with the higher incomes of the agriculturists, the latter's non-spending or hoarding habit has also been on the up-grade. Civilian consumption, on the other hand, has not gone up to any appreciable extent, because there is a dearth of commodities, both foodstuffs and manufactured ones, attributable partly to large-scale buying for military needs and partly to the unsocial practice of hoarding and cornering of stocks and profiteering, which had been proceeding almost wholly unchecked during the last three years. The real or effective value of the rupee has, therefore, visibly diminished.

If the indubitable fact of soaring prices is considered in the light of the currency expansion that has taken place, the relationship between the two will become palpably patent. Call it by whatever name you like, the printing and circulation of notes has produced monetary and psychological conditions propitious to hoarding coins on the one hand and rising prices

on the other. It is undeniable that the notes in circulation possess adequate backing in gold, silver and rupee securities as prescribed by the law. But when production of goods, though on the up-grade, is not proportionate to the pace of expansion of the currency, and especially when an important proportion of the goods is purchased by a particular party, in this case the Government, and a large proportion of the remainder is prevented from emerging into circulation by the hoarding tendencies of the dealers, in anticipation of future profits and high prices, inflation of some sort must be regarded as having set in. Force the hoarded commodities especially foodstuffs out into the market and create conditions in which they will be converted into what are called consumers' goods, prices will automatically become steadier, if for nothing else at least because artificial scarcity will not be a factor in their determination. If the expansion of note circulation is not to have the effect of currency inflation in the technical and orthodox sense of the term and, therefore, come to be regarded as indirect taxation of the poorer sections of the consuming public, what the authorities should do is to be extremely vigilant and take stern and relentless measures against the hoarders and profiteers.

That is the first step alike in fighting inflationary tendencies and in allaying mounting public dissatisfaction over the daily increasing artificial scarcities that cornering of stocks and refusal to sell commodities by dealers have led to and are increasingly leading. Side by side there should also be earnest endeavours to see that Government buying on military account conforms strictly to the prices fixed by the authorities themselves. Increase in note issue and the greater velocity in the circulation of notes at present enables Government to make these purchases at prices which do not correspond to civilian capacity to respond to them. But when the preservation of civilian

morale is as important and as imperative as the preservation of the morale of the fighting forces, when every effort must be made to avoid a collapse of the former, sufferance of disparities in the prices of essential and indispensable consumption goods is an unwise and imprudent policy. Government by permitting them to exist are laying themselves open to the charge of encouraging and stimulating price-rises which hit the masses with intense severity.

It is also true that the war savings movement has not made a spectacular headway in India, notwithstanding that that is an important method of facilitating the withdrawal of such surplus purchasing power as exists in the hands of the public from active circulation or unproductive hoarding having the effect of inflation, into active production, or as a means of financing war measures without further avoidable currency expansion. It would have also facilitated the avoidance of enhanced taxation and the consequential aggravation of civilian hardships. Sir Jeremy Raisman admitted indirectly the lack of adequate response to the war savings movement, though his argument about increased purchasing power in the hands of the general public lacks the convincing touch. This problem of diversion of surplus cash into war investments is, however, more or less completely a question of public confidence and connected with public psychology at the moment. There is indeed no doubt in the understanding and instructed public mind in the understanding of the Government of India or their ability to discharge the financial obligations which they have undertaken. It is essentially the political factor that intervenes and impedes the general public, especially the villagers and the agriculturist sections enthusiastically and eagerly coming forward to invest their savings in the various war loans, bonds and certificates, facilities for which are available now in an ample measure. Fullest advantage is not being derived too, on account of this inhibiting consideration, from the series of Allied victories in recent months. The engenderment of the necessary degree of public confidence in the administration and in the ultimate victory of the Allies, which now appears almost certain, which will ensure a continuous flow of investments in the war savings movement, is a task of paramount importance. That is also an imperative factor in the agriculturist being induced to sell his produce without demanding coin instead of paper notes, as is the case now at some places.

Discussions regarding inflation, high prices, falling rupee value and so on will be purposeless and must be considered as being wide of the mark in the absence of a realization of the practical and stern realities of the situation and the provision of measures therefor. India's war production, as Sir Jeremy Raisman pointed out, has still to attain its maximum pitch in the matter of the utilization of both man-power and natural resources and, therefore, war expenditure will necessarily go on increasing. It is difficult to set limits to this expenditure when war is still a stern and inescapable reality, which must be provided for. For the same reason, expansion of currency will have to be provided for and need not be regarded a grave calamity so long as production also is expanding, for it is physically impossible to pay for the war without such expansion. If, however, production does not keep pace with currency expansion and prices continue to soar up, clearly it becomes an open encouragement to inflation and the evils that follow in its train. The expansion of production postulated will involve and necessitate the establishment of new industries and new avenues of employment and further encouragement to existing ones, so that when peace supervenes, the country will come to possess a network of industries, which will serve to increase its prosperity.

The need for stern measures to check profiteering and hoarding and artificial price rises has already been emphasized. Simultaneously every effort must also be made to ease the internal food position by shipment of foodstuffs from outside and encouragement of imports into the country to the extent that shipping space can be made available. Only in recent weeks the authorities have awakened to this need and let us hope they will persist in the good work that has been so belatedly begun. I have also emphasized the necessity for a systematic drive to promote public co-operation and interest in the war savings movement, which will enable the Finance Member to abstain from resort to intensive compulsory borrowing and enhanced taxation and facilitate increased spending in the post-war period when the danger of falling prices and depression is very likely to arise. Public confidence is a powerful sustaining factor of any financial system; and in India, the practical need for creating it should not be ignored any further but promoted by a settlement of the political stalemate which holds the country in its grip.

THE HOUND OF HEAVEN

An Appreciative Study

By MARGARET E. COUSINS, B.MUS.

WHEN I read in the Press that Francis Thompson's poem *The Hound of Heaven* was noticed on Gandhiji's bed when he broke his fast I knew that he would soon be partaking of one of the spiritual feasts in English poetry. Why should not as many as possible share his feast as well as his fast? I remembered notes that I had jotted down when this famous poem had been my comforting companion in circumstances which compelled me to travel alone from Colombo to New York by a cargo steamer touching land for only two hours in a month's voyage, and with only five fellow-passengers—a condition not unlike imprisonment. The time seems fitting for sharing with others these notes of my joy in the poem.

The Hound of Heaven is a poem of 182 lines written in the form of an Ode in the manner of the religious poet of the 17th century, Richard Crashaw. It consists of five sections in irregular form of long lines with occasional short lines of dramatic intensity. These longer sections have each a similar but varied six-lined refrain which tells how Divine Love, the Hound of Heaven, follows the Soul who flees from it.

"I fled Him, down the nights and down the days;
I fled Him, down the arches of the years;
I fled Him, down the labyrinthine ways
Of my own mind; and in the mist of tears
I hid from Him, and under running laughter,
Up vistaed hopes, I sped;
And shot, precipitated,
Adown Titanic glooms of chasmed fears,
From those strong Feet that followed, followed after.

But with unhurrying chase,
And unperturbed pace,
Deliberate speed, majestic instancy,
They beat—and a Voice beat
More instant than the Feet—
"All things betray thee, who betrayest Me."

One senses youth in the way the poet speaks of the length of Time of the fleeing in the first stanza—"the arched years" and "vistaed" hopes in his listed emotions within which he hid. In the sixth stanza he alludes to the "rash lustihood of my young powers" when he stood amid the dust of the "mounded years."

Like all youth he desires, he loves certain things, rather than Love itself. Though he would plead his "intertwining charities" as a way of stopping the chase he knew in his heart that Love demanded complete self-surrender and could not be bribed by crumbs

of love. Attachment to partials begets fear. Suffering has to teach the supreme truth that all parts are included in the whole. He was making the "child's mistake" of dreading that "having Him, I must have naught beside." From the sweetly domestic figure of speech of the red-curtained casement of the hearth through which he tried to deflect the attentions of the Hound, he rises rhapsodically to the gold and silver of stars and moon to give him shelter. He asks all aspects of Time and of Light which bring about beauty—"skyeey blossoms" and a "vague veil," all his poetical imagery for the Hindu conception of "Maya"—to cover him from "this tremendous Lover."

The placidity of the moon is expressed by gold and silver in contrast to smiting the clanged bars of the "gateways of the stars." But Thompson was always so much more engrossed in the essential than in the form that he forgot that when he pleaded to be hidden from the Lover he had personified it as a hound which has scent.

So far he had been under the drive of the flight and the chase. But it is as if at this point the poet had re-read what he had so far written, and he is arrested again by the word "betray" which at first brought gold and silver to his mind, but now he turned it to the idea of tempting those who loved Good, to help him but in vain. He uses masterly economy and choice of words here to convey antithetical reactions—"their traitorous trueness, their loyal deceit." He chooses the horse as his figure of speech for speed, and made its "whistling mane" out of the winds. But neither in the smoothness of the heavenly blue nor in the raging and flying lightnings kicked up by the "spurn o' the feet" of the racing creatures of speed could he outpace the "following Feet."

In turn he seeks comfort from the innocence and sweetness of children, and gives up adult humanity, but "their angel plucked them from me by the hair." There is pathetic wistfulness in these nine lines and an autobiographic self-consciousness of depths of self-degradation to which he had fallen and which might sully innocent purity.

He turns for "delicate fellowship" to the children of Nature, the elements, the changing moods of morning and evening—"I triumphed and I saddened with all weather." But all his

pantheistic unity, superlative in its exquisite imagery, failed to satisfy his yearning for companionship. Nature is dumb. Between its children and a human being there is no exchange of thought and experience through speech. It is easy to understand the discontent existent in a poet when there is no word. A Scripture opens with the saying, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God."

Utterly disappointed at his failure to escape through flight, through hiding, pleading, bribing, struggling, tempting, or through the companionship of the old or young in humanity his mood entirely changes. He turns to penitence and self-analysis. Everything in his life has proved itself futile,

"Yea, faileth now even dream
The dreamer, and the lute the lutanist."

This section is full of gloom and despair. He almost wallows in self-pity. "Such is;" he exclaims, "what is to be?" But in the mists which have gathered round his mind rifts show themselves. In them he gets glimpses of his Redeemer "with glooming robes purpureal, cypress-crowned." He calls out in anguish his protest against the price exacted by the Judge of all the earth—whether one dies physically and dies to selfishness by utter self-surrender

"Must Thy harvest fields be dunged with rotten death?"

Again the refrain brings forward the arabesque of the pursuit in the words of the Voice chanting "Lo, all things flee thee, for thou fleest Me."

The difference is stressed between human and divine Love. The Voice reminds him then that human love needs human meriting. It drives it in on him that he merits no such love. It emphasises that he is a strange, piteous, futile thing. Then with a dramatic, sudden turn of the thought that very unfitness is the appeal of this dingiest clot of all man's clotted clay and its strongest claim to the Divine Love.

"Whom wilt thou find to love ignoble thee,
Save Me, save only Me?"

With what precious delicacy, tact, and intuition the poet questions, as all thinkers question when Death comes as the last law of Nature, whether the final judgment will be made of our motives, our intentions or our actual actions—"Whether man's heart or life it be which yields Thee harvest." He is still clinging to some hope of salvation other than the inevitability of capture by the pursuing Love.

To a simple, lonely, sentimental mind which has acknowledged almost in the exaggerated mood of self-effacement its realisation of its own unworthiness of salvation Thompson's solution is convincing of the situation that he had so graphically expressed. It is especially typical of the English mind. It is the call of the Mother to the erring child to come home.

"All which I took from thee I did but take,
Not for thy harms,
But just that thou might'st seek it in My arms.
All which thy child's mistake
Fancies as lost, I have stored for thee at home:
Rise, clasp My hand, and come."

The explanation is too naive for the philosophical Hindu mind, or the Western materialistic mind, or the logical ever-questioning mind. But the invitation brings the pursuit to an end.

The original genius of the poet had conjured up the Feet of Love, first as "strong Feet following, following after, unhurrying, unperturbed"; next deliberate speed, majestic instancy; next the Noised Feet as the chase drew nigh, still later

"Now of that long pursuit
Comes on at hand the bruit."

And finally after the Divine Lover's word "Come,"

"Halts by me that Footfall."

And the Voice answers the still lingering doubt of the poet shown in his question mark,

"Is my gloom, after all,
Shade of His hand, outstretched caressingly?"

by the swing of the Intuition of the questioner right up into the consciousness of the Pursuer who reverses the whole figure of speech on which the poem was based, and says that it was not He who pursued, but the poet who drove the Hound before him, not realising that it was the very Love he sought which he was driving away from him. At first reading one almost gasps at the audacity with which the *volte face* is made, at its power of conviction, and at its full close, as of a wheel having come full circle.

Apart from its emotional and intellectual content as a "human document" the poem stands as one of the immortal achievements of English poetry (my copy of the booklet is one of its 200th thousand) because of its imaginative fervour and figurativeness expressed in an extraordinary wealth of vocabulary and arrangement sometimes unusual but always immensely effective, beautiful and g.

THE WORLD'S MOST VALUABLE GARDEN

Kew Gardens

By SIDNEY HORNIBLOW

[This is the story of a garden by the banks of the Thames near London, where are trees, shrubs, plants and flowers from every country in the world; a garden that produces herbs and drugs which save men's lives. From this garden men have taken seeds and plants to the far corners of the earth, where they have grown in such profusion that they have formed the basis of vast new industries and transformed barren lands into thriving colonies. This is the story of the most valuable garden in the world. The story of Kew.]

ALTHOUGH the official title of the world's most famous garden is the Royal Botanic Gardens, Londoners always call it Kew Gardens. It comprises land—about 300 acres (121·404 hectares) in extent—which is made up of two famous properties—Kew House, and Richmond Lodge.

Kew was the first and, for many years, the only institution in Great Britain that carried on the systematic introduction and development of new plants which were brought to England by collectors from all parts of the world.

About a hundred years ago the gardens first began to assume something of their present importance. There were many people in Great Britain then who felt that the gardens should be transformed into a great instructive and scientific institution for the benefit, not only of the British public, but of the whole world. The Government appointed a Committee, and that Committee recommended that these gardens should become the head-quarters of an Imperial Botanical Service.

It was realised that not only agriculture and horticulture but medicine, commerce and many valuable branches of manufacture would reap untold benefit from the creation of such a world-wide service.

At that time one of the chief tasks of the experts who laboured in the gardens and greenhouses and research laboratories at Kew was to determine which were the most useful plants suitable for cultivation in Britain's Dependencies overseas, there to foster new industries, to bring prosperity to those Dependencies themselves, and to help in the development of the Empire as a whole.

That work began a hundred years ago, and since then an almost endless variety of fruits and vegetables, trees and plants has been introduced into every fertile corner of the Empire. They, in turn, have yielded medicines

and drugs of inestimable value; they have yielded products such as rubber, timber, dyes and fibres—the raw materials for many of the world's greatest industries.

Two of Kew's most remarkable successes in this field have been the introduction of the quinine plant to India, and of Para rubber to Malaya.

The late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, when he was Colonial Secretary in 1898, declared that several of Britain's important Colonies owed their prosperity to the assistance given by the Authorities at Kew Gardens.

All through the succeeding years Kew has been adding to its unrivalled collection of rare botanical specimens. In the Herbarium, which is the most extensive and complete in the whole world, there is to-day a collection of four million plants—named, classified and filed in cabinets. There is a record, if not an actual specimen, at Kew Gardens of nearly every tree, shrub, plant and flower to be found anywhere on the face of the earth.

The Gardens are a place of infinite interest to students and chemists and horticultural experts, who come to visit them from every country. They are also a source of constant pleasure to members of the public, who are free to wander where they will in these gardens which are only a six-penny bus ride from the heart of the City of London. On the average a million people a year go to Kew Gardens.

Now what has the war done to this remarkable place? Kew has been bombed, like many other districts around London, and many of its greenhouses were shattered. However, many other institutions in London, when the threat of serious bombing became acute, had their most valuable treasures were distributed throughout the country. And with them went members of the staff to take care of them.



There is a record or specimen at Kew of nearly every plant found on the face of the earth



Beds of flowers in the world's most famous garden, the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew

MODERN ART



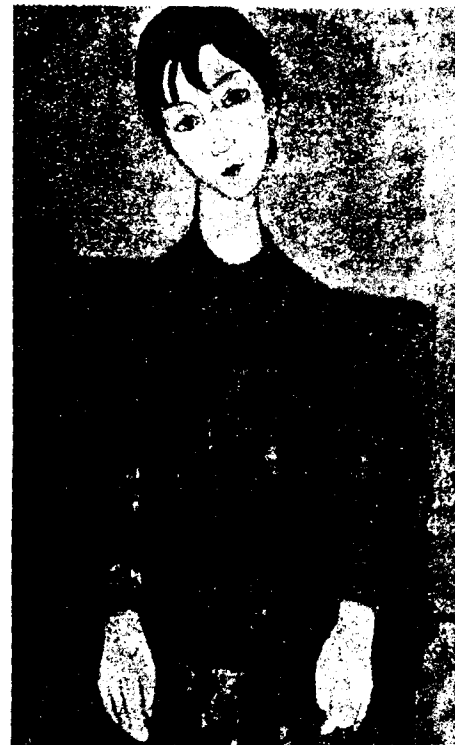
Landscape, Aix
By Cézanne



Women of Tahiti
By Paul Gauguin



Animated landscape (1921)
By Fernand Leger



Young girl in black
By Modigliani

neglect of craftsmanship and finish. This is apt to be construed as a fanatical love on the part of the artist for ugliness and brutality. Old gentlemen of sedate and cultured habits throw up their hands in horror and exclaim, "Can there be beauty in so much crudity and violence?" They can only view the younger generation as cruel and degenerate, revelling in the ugliness of life. The beauty inherent in facing stark reality escapes them, particularly when reality is uncongenial to their preconceived notions. Modern Art is a cultural revolution and has made a cult of stark reality as a means towards new canons of art

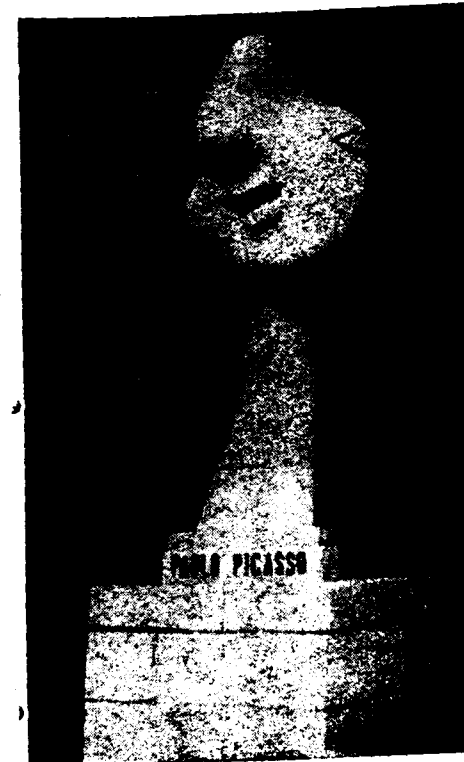


A halting-place of Gipsies
By Van Gogh

and a new proportion. It aims at the future of civilisation which has yet to bear the throes of a re-birth and re-proportioning.

Each age is a dream that is dying.
Or one that is coming to birth.

The truth is that the lay public even when disinterested is curiously uninformed about the evolution of art from the domain of direct and



At the gateway of the Modern Art Pavilion
(Paris International Exhibition)
Photo: Sailoz Mookherjea

sentimental appeal to the sphere of literary and intellectual imagination. Long centuries of hero-worship has warped the vision of the modern public and has saddled him with an artificial outlook which is loth to accept anything which does not conform to the well-established theories and conventions of academic traditions. Artists who paint landscapes in the remorseless light of the noon or represent the ungainliness of toiling bodies are beyond the pale. The heavy pall of the Renaissance has yet to wear off! The guiding principles of Modern Art are, however, much simpler in that it is less intellectual, less artificial than the modern public. What is needed is not a rotation of new models or new patterns to replace the



Pablo Picasso



The dream (1935)
By Henri Matisse



Portrait of M. A. Rouveyre (1906)
By Marquet



Orange jacket
By Augustus John

outworn grammar of the classical art but a rich vision unspoilt by contact with the treasures of the past. It is from the savage tribe that have still had little contact with Western civilisation



A young girl (marble)
By Maillol

that we must learn. That was to be the work of Cezanne, the Old Master of Modern Art. The revolution of Cezanne, the result of many years of uninfluenced toil and research was absolutely sincere, and unconsciously he became a primitive artist, as if the complex organisation of contemporary society did not exist. For,



The stairs
By Andre Lhote

in reality modern artists have gone back to the beginning.

The influence of Cezanne, the foster-father of the modern school, is so considerable, so deep because he was never a theoretician but only endeavoured to develop a technique of his own which allowed him to express his sensations without any filling up. Every little brush-stroke of Cezanne has a real meaning and there is an intention in every inch of his canvases. Cezanne was a man of the future and not of the past.

Instead of following the trend of civilisation Modern Artists have rather anticipated the future to a certain extent and if Modern Art has not yet reached the general public, its ways will appear as natural to the public of the future and as obvious as did those of the Royal Academy and the Salon a short time ago.

One must, however, disabuse oneself of the Tolstoyan theory that any art in order to be great, must be appreciated by the tillers of the soil of its own time as was the case evidently in ancient Greece and mediæval Europe. For

according to this view there has been no great art since the Renaissance. It would be fanciful to say that the appeal of Raphael or Reubens went to the hearts of the ploughmen of their day! Ardent disciples of this theory may cherish the view that art has been steadily declining and until to-day modern art with its choice band of votaries, marks the lowest depth to which it has fallen. The man in the street is not enamoured of modern art. His attitude, if he is at all unprejudiced, is a defensive aloofness even when he admits that there must, after all, be something behind so much repulsion. To make modern art popular, to have it displayed on poster boardings and walls of public buildings, it would be necessary to deprive it of all its true significance and leave only the superficial form. The fate of the self-taught investigator of modern art, Vincent Van Gogh, who for ten years even after



Waitress serving beer—By Manet

his death was unknown to the public of his time and killed himself, is representative of the struggle of modern art to assess new values to artistic thought and creation. Van Gogh was intent not on the object but its interpretation, not the being but the drama of beings: the fixation in colour of swift, wild, ephemeral, inner experience. Though in his lifetime he did not gain the appreciation of his public—never sold a picture—his name now is one to conjure with. Paul Gauguin disgusted with the 'diseased civilisation' of Europe which failed to recognise his struggle in artistic creation, left for the South Seas and his Tahiti paintings are the fruits of

his new primitive cult which has revolutionised the art world. Inspired with the exotic grace of the Polynesians on the Islands of the Tahiti, Paul Gauguin produced those plane-like softly-glowing decorative pictures which fascinated the generation that followed. The contribution of Epstein, Matisse or Picasso to creative modern art has ridden roughshod over popular appeal and has endeavoured only to re-adjust artistic values. Who knows but their efforts might bend the public vision to a real appreciation of what is sincere!

Said Pablo Picasso, "Why not try to understand the bird song?"

LAURENCE BINYON*

An Obituary Tribute

By O. C. GANGOLY

THE death of Laurence Binyon [1869-1943] at the age of 74 removes from the brilliant constellation of European authorities and critics of Far Eastern and Indian Art, its only English representative. Opinion is still divided as to whether his contribution to British Culture rests on his reputation as a Poet or as an Art-critic. Beginning his career as a Newdigate Prize-man at Oxford, in 1890, with his poem "Persephone," and ending with the Charles Eliot Norton Professorship of Poetry at the Harvard University in 1933, his poetic career is strewn with numerous volumes of poetry (*London Visions, Praise of Life, The Death of Adam, The Sirens, The Idols*), and some Dramas (*Sakuntala, Attila, Arthur, Boadicea*), and he has been regarded as one of the three most notable poets of the last 20 years. He is said to have won immortal place in the English heart by his famous war poem 'For the Fallen.'

But literary prepossessions and a distinguished literary career very seldom befit one for the making of a connoisseur, or a critic of the Plastic Arts. And we are more concerned here with his qualifications as a connoisseur, and the value of his contributions to the study of Asiatic Art. His training in this line began with his contact with one of the finest Collections of Chinese and Japanese Painting in the British Museum. Beginning as an Assistant in the Department of Prints and Drawings, later, he became the Deputy Keeper in charge of Oriental Prints being appointed as the Keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings in 1932. Though deeply steeped in English

Literature, he was singularly free from the insular British prejudice against any form of Oriental Art and he was able to bring to his studies of Japanese Prints and Paintings an open and un-biased mind if not a trained or gifted vision, and this was the secret of his success as a critic of Far Eastern Art, though he has no knowledge of the Chinese and Japanese Languages, nor any intimate acquaintance with the back-ground of Sino-Japanese culture such as possessed by Arthur Waley, his eminent colleague in the Department.

His reputation as a sympathetic critic of Far Eastern Painting was built with his first volume of Far Eastern Art studies: *Painting in the Far East* which ran into three editions (1908, 1915, 1923). Chiefly an Essay in the understanding of the peculiar merits of Japanese and Chinese Paintings, it included chapters on the Central Asian Schools, and on the Frescoes of Ajanta. His contact with Indian Painting is mainly represented by his Introductory Essay to the monograph on Ajanta (issued on a stupendous scale by H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad), his Foreword to the *Bagh Cave* published by the India Society (1927) and the Introduction to French's *Himalayan Art* (1931). But the quintessence of his studies in Far Eastern Art is contained in his charming little book on the Essay on the Theory and Practice of the Arts in China and Japan (*The Flight of the Dragon*, 1911). In his comparison of the merits of Chinese and European landscape painting,

ing, his bias sometimes overstepped his aesthetic judgment:

"Turner's art, of course, had its roots in topography, though it soon expanded its scope. And much of the European landscapes is topographical and local in its immediate inspiration. But the landscape of the long Chinese tradition merges the local in the cosmic and mirrors rather 'a state of the soul.' It is different in type from the great landscape painting of Europe. Each nobly complements the other."

Mr. Binyon's studies of Chinese Painting did not reach the heights attained by the great French critic Raphaël Petrucci, or the depths of the "inside view" of Oswald Siren.

But from our point of view, he stands or falls by the quality of his reactions to Indian Art, with which however, he had no adequate opportunity for direct contact except in the meagre representatives of Indian Sculpture in the British Museum, and the portfolios of Mughal Miniatures in the Collection. In reviewing Mr. Binyon's *Examples of Indian Sculpture at the British Museum* (1927) an European critic observed: "We should like to raise objections against the presence of some monuments in it and the absence of others." Mr. Binyon never came out to India and had not the chance of studying the Indian Frescoes in original. His sympathetic attitude towards Indian Art was however indicated as early as 1910 when he signed the famous Manifesto recording a protest against Birdwood's denunciation of the Image of the Buddha. But his only solid contribution to the study of Indian Art is his *Introduction* to the first volume of *Ajanta*: "I have never seen Ajanta.....How could I be justified in attempting to write an introduction to such an important work as this?" He was severely reprimanded by M. Ivan Stehoukine for the former's somewhat depreciatory estimate of Frescoes in his *Painting in the Far East*, in which he had characterized the compositions as 'crowded and incoherent' and the Art as 'primitive' in a depreciatory sense. In his *Introduction* he developed a more sympathetic attitude, if not a vision born of a real knowledge of the background of Indian Culture. For, while he admitted "what a supreme position Ajanta holds in the Art of Asia," he reverted to his earlier assertion that at Ajanta "the composition is often turbid and we are left with a sense of splendid struggle rather than of supreme mastery...."

"To us, * * * the art presents a self-contained and patently reasoned whole with an imposed logic of construction, seems to reflect an inadequate apprehension

of the living world. It represents a conquest, but from the very fact of being a conquest seems to shut out and ignore so much that lies beyond it and eludes it."

We have no right to object to this criticism which may be just and accurate—but it is not an attempt to look at Indian Painting from the Indian point of view and no criticism of Art could be accurate which fails to take account of the artist's own point of view. One wonders what would have been Mr. Binyon's estimate of Indian Buddhist Painting if he were equipped, like Foucher, with a first-hand knowledge of Hinayanist and Mahayanist Literature. Yet without the "Anglo-Indian" bias of Fergusson, Birdwood and Vincent Smith, Mr. Binyon had approached Indian Art with a sincere desire to study, though only equipped with a vision derived from an intimate if somewhat biased connoisseurship of Japanese Painting. His study of Mughal Painting, in companionship with Professor Arnold (*Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, Oxford) did not yield much richer fruits, for, here, also he had to play the second fiddle offering poetic comments on the Illustrations (Mughal and Quasi-Rajput) without any knowledge of their motifs, or of the back-ground of Mughal Culture. His study of Akbkar (1933) is as clear and sympathetic a portrait as could be expected from one to whom the original sources were inaccessible. His Charles Norton Lectures at Harvard published under the title *The Spirit of Man in Asian Art* (1935) earned encomiums in the press-reviews as the best available introduction to the inner life of Asiatic peoples as it has found expression in Art. It is a broadly interpretive though hardly an intimate or profound discussion of the subject. Much more interesting was his little Lecture on the Art of Asia (China Society, 1915). His contribution to the *Ars Asiatica*, was a miscellaneous 'nosegay' of all phases of Asiatic Art with no scope for an intensive study of any. He had occasionally contributed articles to Art Journals (B. M. Quarterly, Burlington), e.g., his French essays *Les Peintures Rajpoutes* (*Revue des Arts Asiatiques* III). His serious attempt to study a very early phase of Bijapur Painting is represented by a small article on the Illustrations of the MS of "Nujum-al-Ulum" (Chester Beatty Collection) published in *Rupam* (January 1927). He commanded a very lucid and charming style free from cants or rhetorics. It was something far better than the mere prose compositions of a poet. He will be remembered as a talented litterateur, even if he is forgotten as a Critic or a Connoisseur of Pictorial Art.

* Died on 10th March, 1943.

SOME ANCIENT MATHAS IN VIKRAMPUR

By JOGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE passengers of the ferry steamers which ply between Goalundo, Narayangunj and Chandpur cannot fail to notice certain Mathas and temples situated near the banks of the Padma, their high spires showing above clumps of trees and often disappearing behind them. Mathas are



Sati Thakurani's Math

numerous in both north and south Vikrampur. They are to be seen also in Barisal, Mymensingh and other districts of East Bengal, but not in such numbers as in Vikrampur. The Rajabari Math once announced the vicinity of our own village. But it is now under the waters of the Padma. Many old as well as new Mathas of

north Vikrampur have been swallowed up by the same river.

There is a noticeable peculiarity in the architecture of the Mathas and temples of Bengal. Those that are still found in the villages of Vikrampur have certain characteristics. Some of them are triangular in form with high spires, some are like double-thatched cottages, some have got one spire, some five and some even twenty-one spires such as the Pancharatna Math, Nabaratna Math and the Ekavinsaratna Math built by Raja Rajballav. Most of them are brick-built. The temples which resemble thatched cottages in their appearance are also brick-built. Though there is hardly to be found any stone-built temple anywhere in the district to-day, there is evidence to show that there were temples built of stone within the capital cities of ancient Vikrampur. Columns, stairs and fragmentary remains of stone-built temples are being discovered to-day as a result of excavations in different parts of the district. Some of them have been housed in the Dacca Museum. I confine myself to the description of a few Mathas and temples of Vikrampur only.

SATI THAKURANI'S MATH

The Suttee rite was once widely prevalent in Bengal. An attempt was made to abolish it towards the end of Lord Wellesley's government. It was the social reforms of Bentinck that have immortalised his name. He abolished the Hindu practice of *Sati*, the immolation of widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands (1829).

"He secured the unanimous approval of the judges of the highest criminal court, and a decided preponderance of opinion in his favour from many officers, important civil administrators, high police officials and many noted private individuals, among whom Rammohun Rai is the best known to fame."

On the 8th of April 1820 (B.S. 27th Chaitra 1260) Alakamanjari or Alokamani, the second wife of Raja Rammohun's eldest brother Jagamohun immolated herself on her husband's pyre. This event greatly shocked Rammohun who described it as a form of murder. He published in 1818 a work in Bengali entitled *Sahamaran Visayak Pratham Prastab*. On the 30th November of the same year this pamphlet on self-immolation of widows was translated into English. Students of history are aware how Rammohun succeeded in bringing this evil practice to an end through indefatigable labours

* *The Oxford History of India* by V. A. Smith, pp. 663-664.

which he undertook from after this period. The figures for the women who practised *Sati* in the Dacca division are as follows:—31 in 1815, 24 in 1816, 52 in 1817, 58 in 1818, 55 in 1819, 51 in 1820, 52 in 1821, 45 in 1822, 40 in 1823,



Math at Baraikhali

40 in 1824, 101 in 1825, 65 in 1826, 49 in 1827, 47 in 1828. Among these *Satis* those belonging to Vikrampur were the most numerous. Even now there are to be found in certain villages of this district Mathas commemorating *Satis* of which the *Sati* Thakurani's math at Beigao is the most notable.

About 150 years ago this Suttee rite took place at Beigao in Vikrampur. The daughter-in-law of the family who burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband belonged to a celebrated family of Vikrampur known as the Munshis. This was the family of Nilkantha Mukherjee whose members traced their descent from Bharadwaj. Kashinath Mukherjee of this family like his other brothers held a responsible post under the Government. In those days highly-placed Government servants while returning home from the places where they worked announced their approach either by playing upon various musical instruments or by reports of guns. Although Kashinath Mukherjee was returning home during the Puja holidays the band did not play with the customary note of jubilation. All the relations at home and the

villagers grew anxious when the boat drew near the bank. Mukherjee spoke to those who had assembled there and said as he was very ill he had instructed the band not to play at its customary high pitch. The patient was removed to the bedroom of his eldest brother from where he was taken to his own bedroom at the request of his wife Mahamaya Devi.

Mahamaya threw herself heart and soul into the work of nursing her husband. By night and by day she was at her husband's bedside. She even forgot her own children in the midst of her all-absorbing care for her husband but Kashinath did not survive. Everyone in the family was lamenting but Mahamaya Devi herself was bright and smiling and was without the shadow of any unhappiness in her face. Early



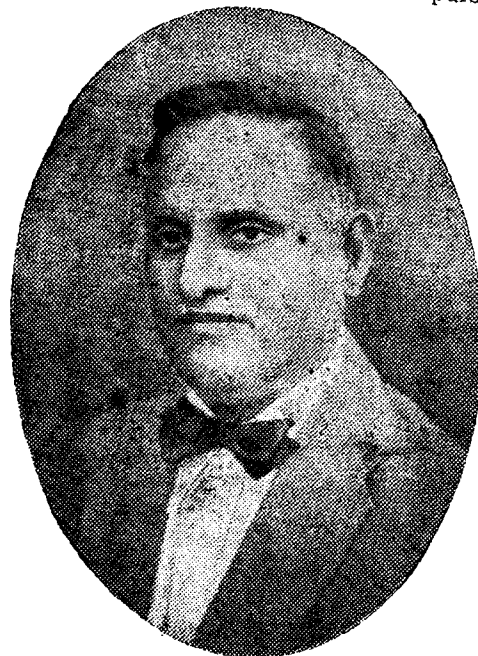
Math at Fegunasar

in the morning she had taken her bath and had put on the red silk wedding garment and had dyed her lips with betel till they shone like pink petals of a lotus. The body was removed to the burning ghat. The wife Mahamaya Devi made herself ready to follow her husband to the burning pyre. Everybody asked her not to sacrifice her life and her relations reminded her of her two daughters and baby son but she was adamant; even the police inspector who was informed failed to dissuade her from the course she was now determined to follow. Men and

A GIVER OF LIGHT IN DARKNESS

By X.

WHEN a selfless silent public benefactor is honoured in his lifetime, the people only do their duty. Dr. Dinkar S. Sardesai, L.R.C.P. & S. (Edin.), the philanthropic eye specialist of Bombay, was recently congratulated at two public meetings held at Poona and Bombay, on the completion of his 60th year in March last. Dr. D. K. Karve (of the Indian Women's University) presided over the first and Dr. Collaco, the Mayor of Bombay, over the second of these,—at the latter of which a purse of



Dr. Dinkar S. Sardesai

Rs. 10,000 was also presented to Dr. Sardesai, for any object he would consider worthy.

Dinkar Rao was born in the Ratnagiri district (Bombay), of a poor Brahman farmer's family, on 17th March 1883. After passing his L.R.C.P. & S. at Edinburgh in 1909, he worked for some years as a house surgeon in an eye hospital at Wolverhampton, and then started private practice at Bombay in 1913, and gradually built up his fame as an expert eye surgeon. He had been impressed by the great good work done in a selfless spirit by the Christian mission

doctors, and was eager to place his own skill at the service of his poor suffering countrymen. Many a man's sight is destroyed through ignorance and want of cheap facilities for the early treatment of eye troubles. As early as 1914, Sardesai started (along with his friend Dr. D. D. Sathaye) a charitable eye hospital in a rented room in a *chawl* in Parel (the mill labourers' quarter of Bombay). In time other equally devoted colleagues (notably Dr. C. R. Athavle) joined the two, and the work grew apace. Young licentiates and graduates in medicine also got here an invaluable opportunity for practical training in the treatment of eye-diseases. And the *chawl* clinic grew into the Khan Bahadur Haji Bachoo Ali Free Ophthalmic Hospital of Parel, housed in a magnificent building of its own, where Dr. Sardesai still works free. It has 70 beds and treated over a *lakh* of sufferers last year. In addition more than 650 medical men have been indebted to it for their practical training here, and over a dozen doctors work here honorarily.

Ten years later, Dr. Sardesai carried his relief work to the interior. He opened a small free clinic for eye cases at Talegaon, a health spot on the Bombay-Poona Line. Thanks to the co-operation of many medical friends and the bounty of Sir Ness Wadia and other donors, the little eye-clinic in a hired room has now grown into the Talegaon General Hospital with its own buildings and extensive grounds, worth over a *lakh* and a quarter of rupees. It accommodates 50 patients in the Ophthalmic, Medical, Surgical and Maternity wards, and is equipped with modern apparatus and an adequate residential staff. Specialists in various branches of the healing art regularly visit this centre every Monday, when new cases are admitted and surgical operations are performed, Dr. Sardesai passing the whole of that day here. Recently the organizers have added at Talegaon a Tuberculosis Sanatorium, with 10 beds in the general Ward and 30 separate huts for individual patients.

Still further away, at Sholapur, 283 miles from Bombay, at the instance of Seth Jivraj Gautam-chand, Dr. Sardesai with the help of Dr. Apte, formulated a scheme for the Seth

Sakharam Nemchand Free Eye Hospital, which was opened in 1933. Dr. Sardesai travels to it from Bombay and works on the *last Friday of every month*,—eye patients from distances of 400 and 500 miles waiting for him there on that day. This hospital has 20 beds, and treated 33,000 patients last year.

Besides this, he has devoted the *third Friday of every month* in operating at a similar charitable hospital at Baramati (Poona district), founded in 1935. In addition to all these honorary personal services regularly month after month and year after year, he inspired and laid

down the plans for the Free Eye Hospital opened by Rai Sahib Seth Kishanlal Jalan in his native town of Bhiwani (Hissar district), in 1933,—which last year afforded free relief to 14,000 sufferers. Splendid health, methodical work, and spare living alone have enabled one man to do all this. Dr. Dinkar Rao Sardesai's transparent love of humanity and charming character have attracted to his side a band of unselfish workers to form a brotherhood vowed to the service of man. Together they have, *unaided by the Government*, opened in the Bombay Presidency, four centres of light for the eyeless. May other provinces imitate!

MOHINI MOHAN MAJUMDER AND DEAF-MUTE EDUCATION

By S. DAS GUPTA

It is not very often that a person is so fortunate as to see the dreams and labours of his youth fulfilled,—whether in the public life or private.

But this can be said of S. Mohini Mohan Majumder, one of the founders of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School. It won't be any exaggeration to say that the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School and the movement for the education of the deaf-mutes in India that developed in its wake—opened a new vista of national service. The unhappy parents of the deaf-mute children at once saw in it the hope for their dear and unfortunate ones. Today many institutions of its type are working in various places of the country with the noble mission of making useful citizens of the disabled of this class.

At the time when Mohini Mohan and his friends took up this noble project few could realise the urgency of such an institution and nobody could cherish any high hopes about its future. But imbued with the ideal of service of humanity—of the distressed and the disabled,—Mohini Mohan and his life-long colleagues plunged wholeheartedly into it. And today the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School with its various departments claims to be the foremost institution of its type in India. For all its manifold activities the institution is surely indebted to Mohini Mohan and his illustrious colleague, late Jamini Nath Banerjee, another founder and first Principal of the school. Mention must also be made of late Srinath Sinha to whom the idea of the school first dawned, and of Umesh Chandra Dutt of hallowed memory, whose help and guidance at every step brought the institution

into being and led it to its subsequent development.

The special contribution of Mohini Mohan to the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School,—to the



Mohini Mohan Majumder

deaf-mute population in particular,—is the organisation of the Industrial section of the school. It was he who first pointed out that academic training alone would do the deaf-mutes no lasting good. And with this conviction he organized the Industrial section against much opposition. The subsequent result of the department has proved beyond any shadow of

doubt that technical training side by side with academic education is the best course for the disabled of this class. Not to speak of the disabled only. Mahatma Gandhi has prescribed such training for the normal boys as well in his Wardha Scheme. In this respect the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School has done a pioneering work and all thanks are due to the foresight and untiring labour of Mohini Mohan. A glance over the annual report of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School shows that scores of ex-students of the school earn their living by following the crafts they learnt in their *alma mater*. This is no mean achievement.

Another important service of Mohini Mohan in the domain of deaf-mute education is the publication of his *Muk-Shiksha*, a primer written in Bengali on the method of teaching

of the deaf-mutes with a brief history of the deaf-mute education in India and the world with interesting illustrations. This is the first and perhaps the only book of its kind in our country.

Two of his sons have joined the works of their father. One of them S. N. Nripendra Mohan Majumder is one of the founders and organizers of "The Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India," which body has been doing splendid work.

Thus in very many ways the movement for the education of the deaf and dumb owes more to Mohini Mohan than words can say. May he live long and inspire the spirit of service and sacrifice in the cause of the country and humanity.

SONAR BANGLA*

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

My Sonār Banglā, I love you.
Ever your skies, your breeze
play the flute in my heart.
In Fālgun,¹ in your mango-grove
the perfume makes me wild with joy,
ah, me :
in Aghran,² in your fields full of grain
what sweet smile have I seen.
What beauty, what shade, what tenderness,
what enchantment,
with your *anchal*³ have you spread
at the root of the banyan tree,
and at the shores of your rivers.
Your voice is like bliss to my ears,
ah me,

* *Sonar Bangla* : literally, "Golden Bengal." The word *Sonar* has acquired delicate associations of love and of beauty and of adoration in the Bengali language and is untranslatable. The expression *Sonar Bangla* is current all over the province, and is symbolic of the devotion that Bengalis feel for their homeland. This poem, cast in the traditional form of Bengali folk songs, indulges in the simple and sentimental repetition of the word "mother" which abounds, more particularly, in patriotic lyrics. In this translation by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, which aims at an exact rendering, the evocative word has not always been used; the refrain at the end of each stanza, which is the same as the patriotic song, sung in every Bengali home, cannot be taken by itself apart from the tune, which is also the poet's own variation of a mode of traditional Bengali folk-songs.

1. Name of a month in Spring.
2. Name of a month in Autumn.
3. The hem of a Saree.

When your face is pale with sadness,
tears fill my eyes.
In this playground of yours, mother,
my childhood have I passed;
my life, I know, is blessed
by your dust on my limbs.
At day's end, in the evening
when you light the lamp,
ah me,
Leaving all my play
I come running to you, my mother.
In your fields where cattles graze
and at your ferry-ghat for crossing over to
the other shore,
all day, in your shadow-covered village lanes
where birds sing,
in your court-yard filled with grain,
my days they pass away.
ah, me;
They are my brothers all, your shepherds and
your peasants.
At your feet, mother, I make obeisance,
the sacred dust will be the crown of my head.
Whatever wealth I have in my poverty
I shall lay before you;
ah me;
Never shall I again buy from the outsider
the fatal noose
as garland for my neck.

—The Visva-Bharati Quarterly

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE month of April has not seen much movement on the Russian fronts. The chief factor in this lack of action is undoubtedly the thaw, but the regrouping of forces and refitting and rearranging of the armies of both sides for the campaigns of the summer and autumn have a good deal to do with the seeming inactivity. The Germanic forces have managed to retain so far their spring-boards for the assaults on the oil fields of the Caucasus. There is fighting still going on in a sporadic fashion around the Kuban bridgehead and around the port of Novorossisk but in the main all such moves—there and elsewhere—have been correctly described by commentators as manœuvring for position. Spring has advanced far into the undulating plains of south-eastern Russia and summer is now only a few weeks away. The struggle that lies ahead has in a sense been pre-determined as to its results by the consequences of the campaigns fought in the Soviets' territories during the latter half of 1942, which was the most crucial year of the war.

1943 will see the peak of armament production in the Allied countries. Axis Europe has already attained the zenith of its production drive along normal lines and attempts are being made now to increase production by the adoption of extraordinary measures, the results of which are uncertain to say the least. It is a different story altogether when we turn to the Asiatic partners of the Axis, for there the stepping up of the production drive has probably only just got going, after the mobilisation of the raw material resources of the countries overrun has been accomplished to a certain extent. Tooling-up for mass production in Japan must be a difficult and laborious process as machine-tool production in that country has always been far behind that of western countries like the U. S. A. and Germany. But given unlimited time and vast resources, the most backward of all countries can work marvels and Japan cannot be called backward by the exercising of the widest stretch of imagination—a feat which the war-commentators of the Allied countries seem to be doing now. The history of Japan's progress along the lines of Western "civilization" is full to the brim with most

marvellous feats of improvisation and adaptation and of the achievement of large-scale results obtained under tremendous handicaps. To belittle the capacity of such a race, specially with its record of fanatic determination and ruthless disregard of all hardships inflicted on the civilian population in times of war, would be courting disaster. All Japan needs in order to mobilize her resources for mass-production of armaments on a vast scale is time—and only time. 1943 will not see Japan at the peak of her production, or indeed any production on a scale comparable with that of the U. S. A. or England. But Japan at the end of 1944, if she is left undisturbed, will be most certainly far more formidable.

The position of Russia with regard to the production and supply of war-materials is far more complex. The Soviets have worked wonders with their munition centres in the Urals and in the Siberian areas. But with all that it is highly improbable that Russia will be able to cope with titanic problem of replacements and refittings called for by the war-wastages of summer and autumn campaigns like those of 1941 and 1942, unless assistance is rendered by her allies to a far larger degree than what obtained hitherto. This assistance in its turn is vastly complicated due to the tortuous and long-drawn lines of communication, which are subject to enemy action at most crucial points. Only by a most efficient co-ordination of efforts—both military and armaments supply—can the position in Russia now be turned into one of advantage for the United Nations.

The Battle of the Atlantic did not go in favour of the Allies if the reports from the U.S.A. are correct. Last year's sinkings were not exceeded by the shipping production of England and the U. S. A., as we were led to believe by certain authoritative statements. And even if they were, the position would be none the less unsatisfactory as the tonnage sunk did not consist of empty hulls offered as targets to the enemy but on the contrary it represents the gross register tonnage of ships filled with vital necessities for the continuance of the war effort of the United Nations. Until this everpresent menace of the sub-marine has been mastered,

the full application of the strength of the Allies cannot be made and in that way this grim relentless struggle that is going on in dead-silence, so far as the news-sheets are concerned, is of the most supreme import to the Allies. Unless the stranglehold of the U-Boat be broken the counter-offensive of the United Nations cannot develop to its full strength.

Sometime during the summer and autumn of this year the potential strength of the Allies will attain an all-round High as compared with that of the Axis. How all that weight will be brought to bear upon the challengers to force the issues, regardless of cost and labour, will depend on the Supreme direction of the Allied forces.

News of Axis preparations for the impending summer campaign in Russia is filtering through. The position this year is more complicated than at the beginning of last summer's campaign. The relative strength of the opposing forces is more indeterminate than ever owing to the nature of the last Winter campaign and it is to be hoped that the Soviets will be able to refit and recoup substantially during this period of inaction. That Germany still possesses sufficient strength to launch into another major campaign is certain and, failing the creation of a second front on the continent of Europe at an early date, this campaign is certain to bring on critical days of trial for the Russian forces. There can be no doubt that the indomitable valour and patience of the Soviets' forces will meet any call made on it but modern warfare entails many other things beyond what human courage and determination can achieve. The

Russians have fought singlehanded for two years the almost entire combined might of the Axis in Europe and it is time that a substantial measure of the weight be taken off their shoulders.

The fighting in Tunisia has reached a critical juncture. According to the western commentators, there is a chance of its degenerating into siege warfare of the type that prevailed on the western front during the last Great War. The danger in this lies in the fact that thereby the Axis may stall off any strategic plans the Supreme Command of the United Nations may have regarding the continent of Europe. May and June are the most critical months of this year in that respect and there can be considerable difficulties placed in the way of carrying out of Allied plans by the Axis if they can hold out in Tunisia till the beginning of July.

In the Far-East Japan has resumed action in several places in China and her air-forces have shown a certain amount of activity in the South Pacific. There is no sign, however, of a major offensive being started. Japan is playing for time apparently and all her activities are to stall off the possibility of an early counter-offensive in those areas. Coming nearer home the position on the Arakan front is not quite clear. Jockeying for position is going on there according to latest reports, and the Japanese have not given up in spite of failures. But whether these moves presage any further developments or not cannot yet be judged. The monsoons are not far off and so the clearing up of the situation is not likely to be far delayed.

SPECIAL NOTICE

The advertisers and the advertising agencies are hereby notified that owing to the scarcity of paper and the all-round high increase in prices of all printing materials we are forced to enhance our rates of advertisement. The latest Newspaper Control Order has forced up Newspaper advertisement rates by 50%, and there have been previous increase in Newspaper rates.

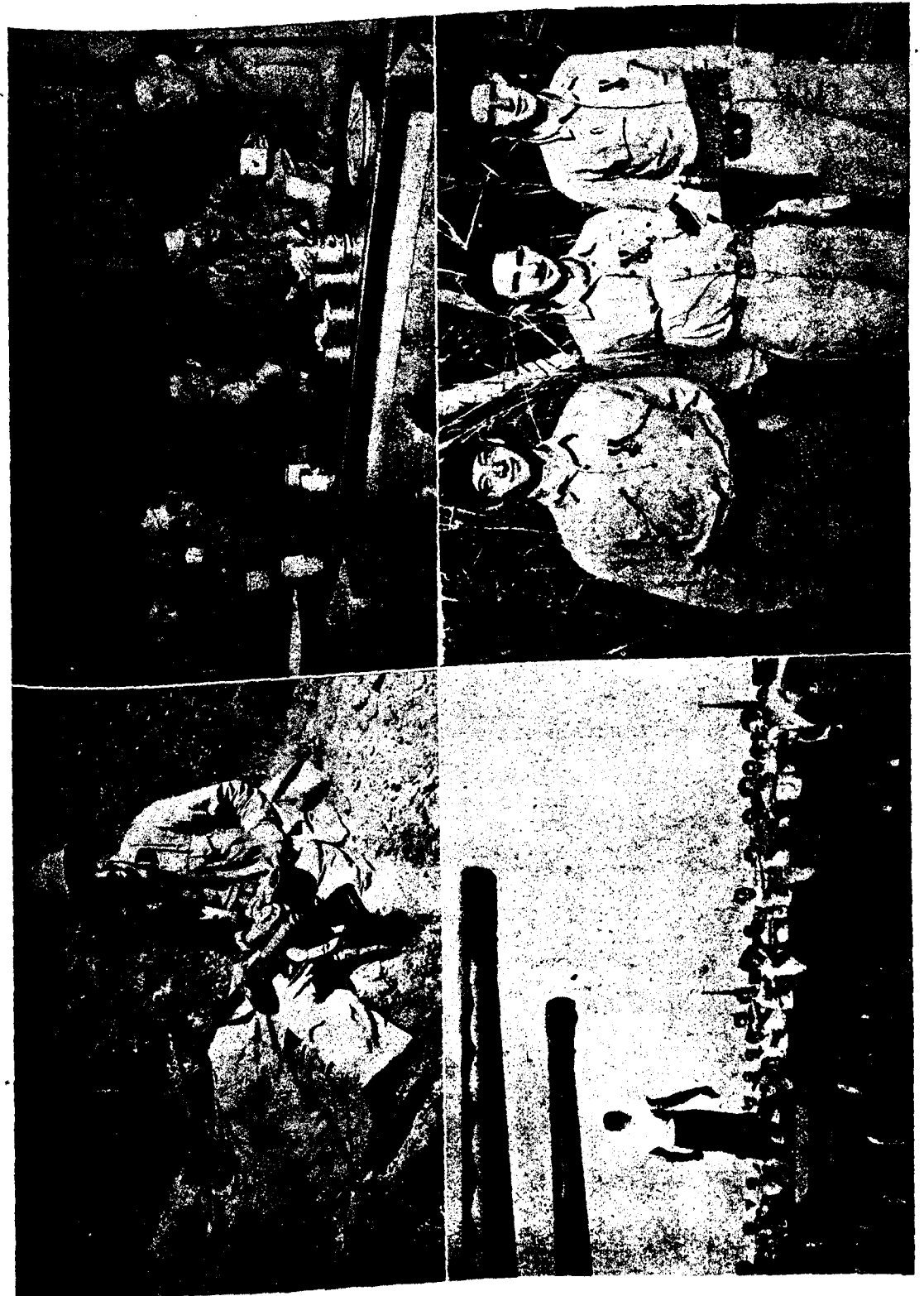
We have been suffering losses since the very outset of war, but until now we did not increase the rates of either subscription or advertisement, in consideration of the interests of our esteemed subscribers and advertisers. But the continuous and extremely high increase of costs in every

item of the printers' and publishers' business has now left us with no other alternative than to increase the advertisement rates.

We have therefore revised our advertisement rates just as printed at the advertisement page no. 20 below index of this number of *The Modern Review*, that will be in force from the next issue of June 1943. It should be noted that this is the first increase since the start of the World War and we have introduced the very minimum increase possible.

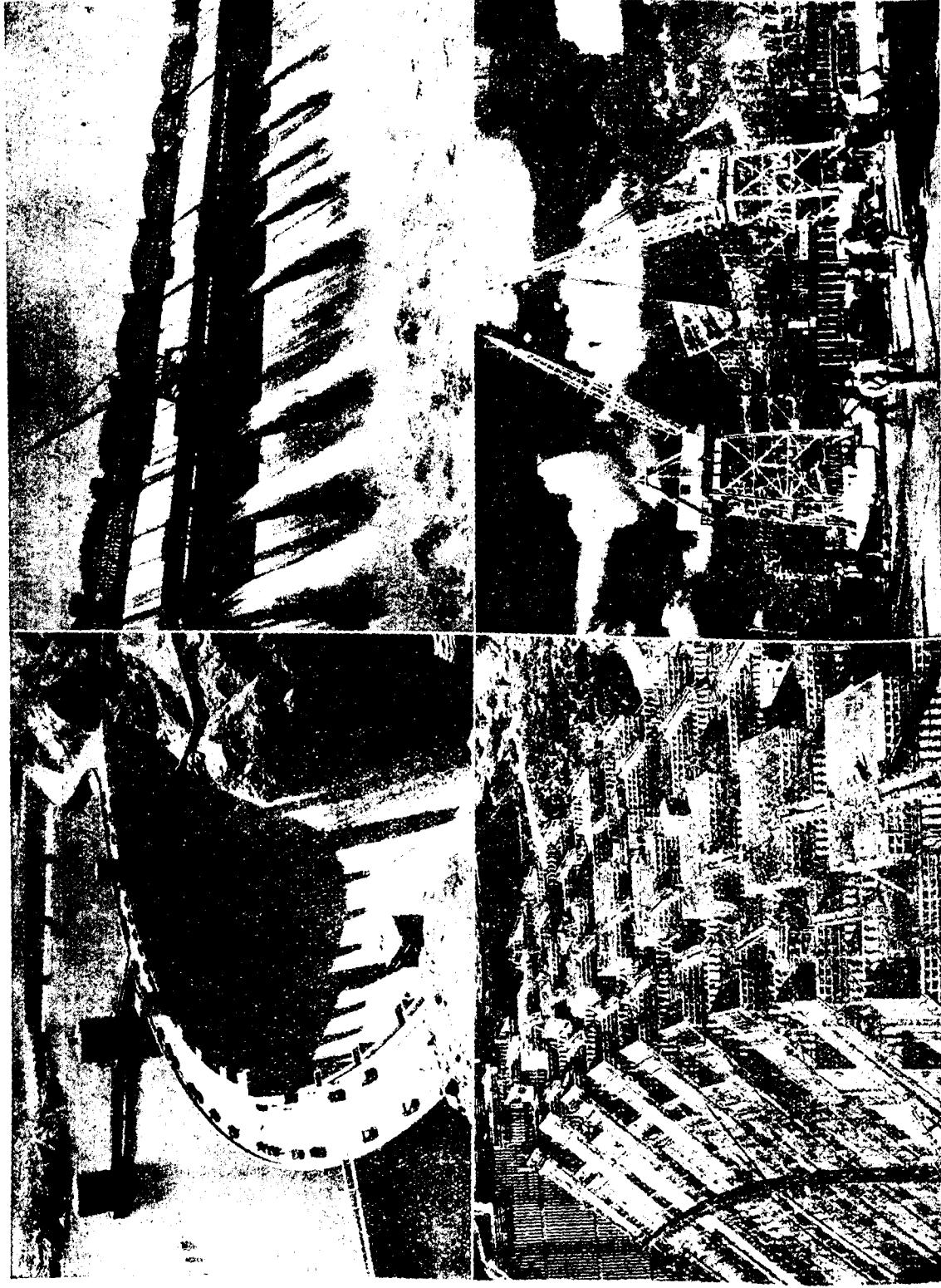
We hope that our advertisers will please realise the situation we are put in and extend their liberal co-operation to us.

U. S. A. IN WAR



Top: (1) In the Solomon Islands a U. S. marine passes for lunch with his sub-machine gun on his lap
(2) U. S. airmen take tea at a hut near the Port Moresby airfield in New Guinea after a raid on Jap positions
Bottom: (1) U. S. sailors exercise at sea on a cruiser for efficiency in combat
(2) These three American flyers have shot down 46 Jap planes

U. S. A. IN PEACE: WORK BY HENRY J. KAISER, A "MIRACLE BUILDER"



Top: (1) The Boulder Dam over the Colorado river, the highest Dam ever built by man
 (2) The 535-foot-high Grand Coulee Dam over the Columbian river
 Bottom: (1) The construction of the gigantic Shasta Dam requiring 6,000,000 barrels of cement
 (2) Henry J. Kaiser constructs a freighter in 5 days, the estimated construction time per ship being 105 days

Just against this idealistic and patriotic note is the most realistic type of War-poems, describing the grim tragedy of modern warfare. This type has as its main theme—the War in its deadly and demonic attire full of real but bitter truths of life and death, and if ever such War-poets think of patriotism it is overshadowed by the dark looming picture of deadly war. We in the midst of another still bigger War with U-boats, 'Tiger-tanks' and huge Bombers feel Death more near us and thus would enjoy more as our own picture of war the picture of these War-poets.

Wilfred Owen, who drew inspiration from the horror and pity of a war in which he took no mean part, takes us through this bloody game, through the inside of a camp or a battle-line or trenches. That war is not the splendour it was imagined to be by 'fever-struck home-stayers,' that it is an ugly dirty game of the jungle, is first seen or heard through poetry here in these War-poems. Owen says:

Gas! Gas! Quick, boys.—An ecstasy of fumbling,
Fitting the clumsy helmets just in time,
But some one still was yelling out and stumbling
And floundering like a man in fire or lime.
Dim through the misty panes and thick green light,
As under a green sea, I saw him drowning.
In all my dreams before my helpless sight
He plunges at me, guttering, choking, drowning.
If in some smothering dreams, you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin;
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,
Bitter as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues,
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old lie: *Dulce et decorum est
Pro patria Mori.*

Lines like these show that 'with Owen we reach the height of what may be termed strictly War-poetry.' Poems like 'Strange Meeting,' 'Anthem for Doomed Youth,' 'Exposure,' 'Futility' and 'Apologia Pro Poemate Meo' are some of the best of Mr. Owen's poems. In the 'Chances' with the sad ending—'Jim is mad'—a similar note persists. Some lines from 'Exposure' would show as in some of his Letters from the field the same anger, irony, and pity with a mature imaginative power for the dreadfulfulness of War:

Wearied we keep awake because the night is silent
* * * * *
Worried by silence, sentries whisper curious, nervous,
But nothing happens.
Watching, we hear the mad gnat tugging on the wire,
Like twitching agonies of men among its brambles.

Northwards, incessantly, the flickering gunnery
rumbles,
Far-off, like a dull rumour of some other war.
What are we doing? * * *

The poet in one of the poems tells us that he seems to have made friendship not like the 'happy lovers in old song' but as with the soldiers 'bound with the bandage of the arm that drips, knit in the webbing of the rifle-thongs.' To Owen the Latin lines of Horace have no meaning. Of the lives sacrificed in war he says:

What passing-bells for those who die as cattle?
Only the monstrous anger of the guns.
Only the stuttering rifles' rapid rattle
Can patter out their hasty orisons.

The shrill demented choirs of wailing shells;

Not in the hands of boys, but in their eyes
Shall shine the holy glimmer of good-byes.

In the 'Strange Meeting' there is a strange mixture of poetry and pity. Two soldiers (enemies) speak to each other. The waste of young life and their 'undone years'—these are the main points in the poem. The poem ends with a joint prayer of the two enemies—'Let us sleep now.....':

"Strange, friend," I said, "here is no cause to mourn."
"None," said the other, "save the undone years
The hopelessness. Whatever hope is yours,
Was my life also: * * * * *
I am the enemy you killed, my friend.
I knew you in this death: for so you frowned
Yesterday through me as you jabbed and killed.
I parried; but my hands were loath and cold.
Let us sleep now."

Such was the genius of Owen. In his 'Apologia Pro Poemate Meo,' he says:

These men are worth
Your tears. You are not worth their merriment.

He served throughout the Great War, being killed in action a week before the Armistice.

In the background of those black dreary days of the War (1914-1919) how the following must have affected the English:

We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, now we lie
In Flanders Fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from falling hands we throw
The Torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though Poppies grow
In Flanders Fields.

This is a poem written by a British officer Major Mac Crae and is of a little different note.

One class there was who felt like Rupert Brooke profound patriotism in war. Many of the war-poets were killed in action. Among them are Edward Thomas, Edward Tennyson, C. H. Sorley, Francis Ledwidge and Julian Grenfell. Grenfell is not so bitter or pessimistic. His poems breathe of 'joy of battle' and such-like note as:

And when the burning moment breaks,
And all things else are out of mind,
And only joy of battle takes
Him by the throat, and makes him blind—
Through joy and battle he shall know,
Not caring much to know, that still,
Nor lead nor steel shall reach him, so
That it be not the Destined Will.

'Home—what a perfect place'—thus ends one of the poems of Tennyson, who was killed in action and had written the poem in Belgium, thinking bitterly of far-away home. Mr. Sorley also would have nothing to write about the horrors and pity of war and would sing with the singers 'who are going to die perhaps':

Cast away regret and rue,
Think what you are marching to.
Little live, great pass.
Jesus Christ and Barabbas
Were found the same day.
This died, that went his way.
So sing with joyous breath.
For why, you are going to death.
Teeming earth will surely store
All the gladness that you pour.

Earth that never doubts nor fears,
Earth that knows of death, not tears,
Earth that bore with joyful ease
Hemlock for Socrates,
Earth that blossomed and was glad
'Neath the Cross that Christ had,
Shall rejoice and blossom too
When the bullet reaches you.

Here is the same tone of ultimate consolation as we find in Rupert Brooke. Die you may, but become famous as a martyr, as a hero, and generations after you would remember you.

Some others who were famous soldier-poets are Robert Nicholes, Robert Graves and Siegfried Sassoon. About the realism of some famous War-poets, Caziman says:

'Their realism is tempered with humour and tenderness; their love of life clings with desperate fondness to the serene aspects of nature; their patriotism cherishes the familiar images of the earth; their social and human pity combines itself with a great love and a great hope both insecure. . . . The main themes are resignation, suffering, bitterness and the impassioned return of the soul to dear memories.'

While Wilfred Owen saw the wastage and futility of war, Sassoon saw more vividly the horror and ghastliness of war. If not just after the War of 1914-1919, now in the midst of

another much bigger and more cruel war, we feel that the romantic and heroic notes so finely expressed by Rupert Brooke and his school has given place to a note of entire disillusionment. Truly Frank Swinnerton remarks that the 'joyous sacrifice and amazed sense of noise and movement gave way to insistence upon, not only death and loss. . . . but the less inspiring aspects of modern warfare.' So to-day again there seems to be a unity of time as well as of place for the bitter truths in beautiful music in poems by Sassoon and Owen. For war still is a cruel necessity, if not the cruellest of all our necessities.

Poems like 'In the Pink,' 'Dreamers,' 'Counter-Attack,' 'Death-Bed' are some of Sassoon's best poems. The first tells how a soldier in rest, after writing a few notes to his sweet-heart from the field-camp, dreams of the happy Sundays he had passed in England in contrast to his war-weary camp-life:

And then he thought: to-morrow night we trudge
Up to the trenches, and my boots are rotten.
Five miles of stodgy and freezing sludge,
And everything but wretchedness forgotten.
To-night he is in the pink; but soon he will die.
And still the war goes on; he don't know why.

A blinded and badly-wounded soldier is in his death-bed, suffering, in torments and failing slowly to whom the rains even 'is but a trickling peace, gently washing life away'; of him Sassoon writes:

Light many lamps and gather round his bed.
Lend him your eyes, warm blood, and will to live.
Speak to him; rouse him; you may save him yet.
He's young; he hated war; how should he die
When cruel old campaigners win safe through?
But Death replied: 'I choose him.' So he went,
And there was silence in the summer night;
Silence and safety; and the veils of sleep.
Then, far away, the thudding of the guns.

Robert Graves, another of the War-poets in contrast to the above notes brings back again the same note of Rupert Brooke, that of—fighting is our business, we know of nothing else.

It doesn't matter what's the cause,
What wrong they say we are righting,
A curse for treaties, bonds and laws,
When we are to do the fighting!
And since we lads are proud and true
What else remains to do?

He seems to say that a soldier's business is soldier's:

Let statesman bluster, bark and bray
And so decide who started
This bloody war, and who's to pay
But he must be stout-hearted,
Must sit and stake with quiet breath,
Playing at cards with death.

Take in its background some lines from the 'Counter-Attack' by Sassoon :

We held their line,
With bombers posted, Lewis guns well placed,
And clink of shovels deepening the shallow trench.
The place was rotten with the dead; green clumsy
legs
High-booted, sprawled and grovelled along the saps;
And trunks, face downwards, in the sucking mud,
Wallowed like trodden sand-bags loosely filled;
And naked sodden buttocks, mats of hair,
Bulged, clotted head slept in the plastering slime.
One soldier tired and weary knelt down and
saw the 'five-nines' burst :
Mute in the clamour of shells he watched them
burst,
Spouting dark earth and wire with gusts from hell,
While posturing giants dissolved in drifts of smoke.
He crouched and flinched, dizzy with galloping fear,
Sick for escape,—loathing the strangled horror
And butchered, frantic gestures of the dead.

And at last when the counter-attack had begun :

'O Christ, They are coming at us !' Bullets spat,
And he remembered his rifle . . . rapid fire . . .
And started blazing wildly. . . Then a bang
Crumpled and spun him sideways, knocked him out
To grunt and wriggle : none heeded him; he choked
And fought the flapping veils of smothering gloom,
Lost in a blurred confusion of yells and groans. . .

Down, and down, and down, he sank and drowned,
Bleeding to death. The counter-attack had failed.

Such is the bitter experience of the greatest of the soldier-poets. They fought war, they knew war and their poems remain as a judgment passed over the fate of modern war in the destiny of man. Sassoon, unlike Owen, was not killed in action. His war-poems convey with vividness as terrible as war itself the horror and waste which dominated the reaction of all sensitive men to war. He lives to see the peace after the war in which he was engaged. In the poem 'Dreamers' he portrays soldiers as dreamers—soldiers who in the midst of life are in Death :

Soldiers are citizens of death's grey land,
Drawing no dividend from time's to-morrows.

Soldiers are sworn to action : they must win
Some flaming, fatal climax with their lives.
Soldiers are dreamers; when the guns begin
They think of fire-lit homes, clean beds, and wives.
I see them in foul dug-outs, gnawed by rats,
And in the ruined trenches, lashed with rain,
Dreaming of things they did with balls and bats,
And mocked by hopeless longing to regain
Bank-holidays, and picture-shows and spats,
And going to the office in train.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

An Indian Academy

By PROF. J. H. COUSINS

While I am debarred by the circumstances of my life from taking any active part in the movement towards the creation of an Indian Academy of Arts and Letters, and am only connected with it through references to me as having given out the idea twenty years ago, I am as keenly interested in the matter as I then was. Observing the developments in the creative expression of the cultural areas of India in the past twenty years, I am even more impressed with the need for an organisation that would be an authoritative means of exchange of knowledge of the highest achievements in the creative arts and letters between the areas, and associated with which might arise a body of acknowledged genius in the arts and literature that would be a pride and inspiration to the country. I am therefore interested in Madame Sophia Wadia's criticism of the present movement in *The Modern Review* of January, and request space to indicate my grounds of disagreement with some of her points.

Apart from her unnecessary gibe at the enthusiasm of certain Indians for the founding of an Academy, there is, first, the misrepresentation of the movement in the title of her criticism, "No Indian Academy Now!" So far as I am aware, no Indian who is interested in the matter thinks of the creation of an Academy tomorrow or even next month. So large an undertaking, with so many considerations of detail, obviously needs

much enquiry, the formulation of proposals, their criticism and modification where necessary. As to when such preliminaries might be ready for presentation, that, I feel, is a matter that must rise out of Indian circumstances and the tradition and psychology of Indian artists and authors. To dictate the postponement of the consideration (even the creation if such were found possible) of an Indian Academy until India attains freedom in its legislative life is to make culture the lackey of politics; whereas there is much that could be said in support of the contention that the character of politics depends on the culture of politicians, and that a country is less eligible for freedom than it would be if it had an organised recognition of its cultural leaders.

There appears, also, to be in Madame Wadia's criticism a distinction between the Academy as she visualises it and an Academy as those concerned with the present movement do. Her models are the Academies of France and Britain. But the French Academy is concerned with the French language, and the British Academy with English; whereas an Indian Academy would, in the scope of its literary interests, be equivalent to a European Academy embracing a number of languages. It is this linguistic diversity within a cultural unity that, on the side of letters, necessitates the inclusion of all the cultural areas in an all-India scheme.

An Academy of Indian "immortals" could hardly be created without local authority. It is hardly conceivable that a group of, say, Gujarati writers could legislate on the academical status of the Malayalam poet, Vallathol Menon, to whom reference is made, by those who can read his poetry, in the highest terms. Nor could Kerala sit in literary judgment on Bengal. But a group of writers of acknowledged eminence in either area could give pride of place to an Academician of their own.

Madame Wadia regards such proposed inclusion of the linguistic areas in the organisation of an Indian Academy as a squandering of its "unifying course," a dissipation of its strength, and a cheapening of its prestige. To take the last assertion first : Just who, or what body, is to set the standard of such prestige is not ascertainable from her criticism, unless it be by inference "The Indian P. E. N." That body, she says, still holds (since 1936) "an Indian Academy of Arts and Letters on right lines as an ideal to be worked towards." If Madame Wadia, who heads it, would lay down the "right lines" for an Academy, she would contribute something more helpful than critical finalities. It would be useful, for example, to learn how a centre could exist without a circumference outside metaphysics, and how a circumference would weaken the strength of a centre. If there is such a law in nature and in human organisation, and if an Indian Academy would inevitably weaken itself on the literary side by having dealings with the literary areas of India, it looks as if the central English "P. E. N." should renounce the dissipation of its strength in its sub-centres in "forty different countries" (quoting its prospectus) not forgetting its Indian centre which includes a number of linguistic areas as large as some of the other countries in "P. E. N." Some clarification also is needed as to why it should be a merit in "P. E. N." to form "a real nucleus of a universal brotherhood of letters," and why an Indian Academy should not seek to do the same among the writers of India.

As to the special virtue of a "unifying course" in an Indian Academy of Arts and Letters, it is necessary to be clear as to the nature of the unification that Madame Wadia has in mind. I take it that the creation of a group of acknowledged "immortals" in the arts and letters would be a tribute to individual achievement in the matters with which such an Academy concerned itself and up to the standard that it set. A unification of sympathy and interest in work and ideas is a necessity that I felt when I began my peregrinations over India in 1918, and found that, as regards the arts and literature, Sind was ignorant as to what was taking place in Madras, and that the Andhra Desa was in the twilight as to the Tamil Nad, and vice versa. Hence the thought of what might be called the "unifying course" of a responsible body that would gather and disseminate a reliable demonstration of artistic and literary work. There the matter of unification ends. Individual, traditional, racial, even geographical and meteorological conditions and characteristics, are the media through which the universal impulse to creative expression fulfils itself in the fauna and flora of all the arts; and any interference with these conditions and characteristics is bound to result in frustration, deflection and debasement of

creative activity and its artistic results. I do not think that Madame Wadia favours such unification. Yet there is a danger of it in her holding up of her association as the possessor of the special virtue of forming "a real nucleus of a universal brotherhood of letters," a virtue that the proposed Indian Academy is apparently to avoid by handing itself over to the "P. E. N." and awaiting the signal of its head as to when such Academy (on "right lines") is to be instituted.

In this connection it has also to be said that the idea of an Indian Academy, either as a group of "immortals," or as an artistic and literary clearing-house, or as both, is a quite different matter from "a universal brotherhood of letters" such as the "P. E. N." aims at being. It is conceivable that an Indian Academy would establish relationships of friendly interest with such a "brotherhood"; but it seems obvious that such a "brotherhood," by its very nature could have no ability to deal with the concerns of an Indian Academy save as an interested spectator. As a spectator it might look across "literary frontiers" through the distorting haze of translation, and be content to miss the verbal nuances and indigenous decoration that are the essence of creative literature apart from its substance. But a denial of the "legitimacy of literary frontiers" (such as the "P. E. N." makes), if it goes deeper than mutual interest in literary creation and appreciation, is a denial of the inevitable condition of literature in different languages with which an Indian Academy would have to concern itself; a denial of "frontiers" between the Russian novelist Gorki and the American Sinclair Lewis. I dwell on these aspects of the matter with a view to indicating that the holding of an Indian Academy as an ideal to be worked towards on "right lines," and the gathering of two hundred Indian writers into the all-India Centre of a "universal brotherhood of letters," are irrelevant to the need of an Indian Academy and its method of procedure, particularly as the body referred to is limited to writers only, and neither it nor the criticism that I am criticising has any concern with the other arts in which academic level has been attained by masterly creators in painting, sculpture and the dance.

As a last word I would say that it is no more just to scoff at the proposed Indian Academy as visualised by its present apostles as a "super-literary agency or mutual benefit society" than it would be to call the British or French Academy "a mutual admiration society." Something more is needed by India than the conferring of laurel wreaths on acknowledged reputations and occasional meetings for the distribution of rhetorical garlands. India needs whole-time devoted labour in the cause of all the creative arts; and I trust that those who have taken the initiative at this time will not be deterred by aspersions on their *bona fides* from trying, or getting others to try, to induce a group of Indians by birth and lineage and creative affinity who have attained eminence in the arts and literature to come together and make an enquiry into the preliminaries of an Academy that would embody and announce the ideals and achievements of the creative genius of India.

[Editor's Note. This controversy is now closed.]



COTTON CULTIVATION IN BENGAL

Its Present Position

By ANATH GOPAL SEN

PERSONS interested in cotton cultivation are aware that for the last five years cotton cultivation is being tried in different places in Bengal under Government scheme, which will expire this year. We have come to learn that the scheme with some modifications is going to be extended for another three years. The Agricultural Department has selected a few varieties, specially Dacca No. 5 and Dacca No. 2, both American acclimatized ones, which appear to be congenial to the soil of Bengal. Their cultivation has been proved to be economically successful in many places both from quantitative and qualitative point of view. We had occasions to visit a few centres and felt convinced that the enterprise was a success. We have also come to learn that in Rungpur centre Kumar S. C. Roy of Bardhankuti collected 120 maunds of seed cotton up to February from 45 bighas of lands. Another few maunds may be had by the end of the cotton harvesting period which in Bengal extends up to May or later up to the beginning of the rainy season. His expenses had been about Rs. 700. The current price of cotton lint is Rs. 65 per maund for this quality. So even from the quantity he has collected, at least Rs. 2400 may be expected (seed cotton is sold at $\frac{1}{3}$ price of lint). Cotton grown under the Government scheme is generally sown in hurriedly-prepared soil, which has not been allowed to be weathered properly and thus proves in many cases discouraging. This year when cotton in many centres in West Bengal has suffered badly from the October cyclone, the plants in Badkulla farm grown by the Bengal Farms and Industries Ltd., did not suffer so heavily, as sowing there was done in well-prepared soil cultivated long before sowing.

We notice with great disappointment that this season the Dacca-Egyptian variety about which Bengal entertained such great hopes was not being grown, though other varieties are being tried. On enquiry we learn that due to a fungus attack, known as anthracnose, its cultivation had been discouraged. It might be remembered that it was the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills which first succeeded in growing this variety. It grew well for three successive years and the Government was good enough to make a special grant

of Rs. 2500 a year for three years for multiplication of seeds and its improvement. The Agricultural Department, however, could not manage to spend more than Rs. 300 of this grant in the first year and the balance had to be surrendered. In that very year, the plants showed symptoms of fungus attack which damaged the crop everywhere. The following year, when such grants were essential, and ought to have been increased for carrying on research for finding a remedy, the money was considered unnecessary by the Department! The Botanical Section of the Calcutta University and the Entomological Section of the Agricultural Department had been carrying on some research work for eradication of this pest. But for want of funds the work is suffering. The University authorities might be moved to carry on systematic research in the matter and to make adequate provision for the purpose, as this cotton has a great future in Bengal. We fully endorse the remark of the Secretary, Bengal Mill-owners Association that this quality of cotton is "unparalleled in the history of India" and may also add that "it is pregnant with immense possibilities."

We further find that in no place, even in centres where cotton has proved economically successful, cultivators are taking to it. Nor any grower under the Government scheme including even those who made some profit by its cultivation is continuing to produce the same, after the help provided under the scheme was withdrawn to other centres. The reason seems to be that sufficient publicity is not given to interest the mass and the influential officials of the locality do not take interest in these things. Further, constant shifting of centres, even from places where cotton grew well, fails to create any permanent impression on the cultivators of that locality. The District Agricultural Officers may help the movement to a considerable extent, if they wish. In the meeting in which the scheme was passed, the Director of Agriculture, Bengal, who was the Chairman, gave a distinct undertaking that he would see that such officers do their best to make it a success. But in practice, most of them generally take no interest in it, very seldom, visit cotton areas, in some cases even discourage growers from taking to

its cultivation. Government is generally very slow to recommend any new cultivation, until by experiments they have discovered best seed and sure method of cultivation; and from this point of view, there may be some justification for such apathy and discouragement, on their part. But they should also remember that in this age of lightning progress and revolutionary changes, the traditions and prejudices of the bullock-cart age should be somewhat relaxed and quick decision and new enterprises are also necessary. But unfortunately, so far as cotton growing in Bengal is concerned, nothing practically was done during the last 30 years by the Government, until 5 years ago. The Government could be persuaded to formulate a scheme and work in collaboration with the Mill-owners Association of Bengal, as a result of which quite a good progress has been possible during this short period. Under this scheme, the Government carry on research work as they had been doing and allow development works to be done by the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, Mohini Mills, etc., under their guidance. In view of very good results both in quality and quantity achieved by the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, the Government Agricultural Department and the few private growers of cotton in Bengal under the combined scheme, it is really surprising that the practically nothing is being done both by the Government and private organisations towards research work without which improvement in any line is not possible. The research so far carried on in Bengal falls far short of the requirement of the situation.

It may be mentioned here that the Indian Central Cotton Committee has not done anything appreciable for Bengal like other cotton growing provinces in India though large amount is contributed annually by this province for its maintenance.

In the Cossimbazar area, where the Mills

mentioned above have been growing cotton under Government scheme this season (1942-43), the cultivators, we noticed, are taking some interest in its cultivation. This is due to the above Mills' endeavour to grow cotton as mixed crop, along with 'Aus' paddy followed by a 'Rabi' crop. We have noticed that there picking was being done by children and ginning by their mothers. If this centre can work here for a few years more, we hope, the cultivators will take to its growing and will also be able to develop the side industries mentioned above. This system, if followed and persisted in other centres, where cotton has proved successful, is likely to make permanent impression on the people. The system now followed, is like "scratching at everything catching nothing." We believe that conference of all growers under the scheme, the demonstrators, cotton experts of the Government and others interested in cotton, may be occasionally held which will encourage the movement and also help to find ways and means for its improvement.

Before concluding this little survey I must refer to the fact that the interested public are anxious to know as to what is being done towards reviving Dacca-Egyptian cotton cultivation in Bengal. Its disappearance for want of solution of the problem of parasitic attack will be a calamity, as it is preventable.

We had occasion to see some Dacca-Egyptian cotton plants this month (March) grown by the Botanical Section of the Calcutta University in its compound. The plants looked very healthy. The Head of the Department Prof. S. P. Agharkar and the Mycologist Mr. S. N. Banerjee both are very hopeful about the prospect of their success in eradicating the fungus from which the Dacca cotton of the Egyptian variety suffers. In our opinion, their hands should be strengthened by the Government grant and public donations.

SONNET

To my father-in-law, the Late Pandit Lal Mohan Vidyavidhi

I bow before thy spirit, I embrace
With reverence the shadow of thy feet,
And touch them with a fragrant, fragile wreath
Of song. I'll follow thine inspiring trace—
Oh, father, the calm, holy resting place,
The shelter of thy memory, is sweet
And full of balm; thine influence I greet
Although I never saw thine earthly face.

What would we be, benighted, earth-bound souls,
Had we no bright examples, whose pure light
Fills us with courage, beckons and consoles?
Our lustre with their glory to unite
Unceasingly let be our highest aim,
A quenchless striving after stainless fame.

SERAPIA SAVITRY SPERA

ARE INDIANS A NATION ?

By SHREE DAYA SWARUP, B.COM., F.R.E.S.

THE argument is hurled against us by interested parties again and again that Indians are unfit for Swaraj or Self-government as they are not a nation. Mr. Jinnah after seeing that there is absolutely no chance of getting 50% representation in the Indian Federation for his community has turned on a new theory that Muslims are a separate nation. In these circumstances, it will be useful to examine the question, 'Are Indians a nation? and also if the Indian Muslims are a separate nation?'

We shall first examine the claim of Mr. Jinnah of a separate Muslim nation. Generally it is believed that it is essential for the members of a nation to have one religion, one race, one language. Oneness of food and dress is also considered to be essential by some.

If we leave religion aside, there is no difference between Hindus and Muslims in race, language, food and dress. The Bengali whether he is Hindu or Muslim is of the same race, speaks the same language, wears the same dress, Dhoti and Kurta, and eats the same food, mainly rice and fish. Take another example from the west of India. The Punjabi and the Frontier Hindu and Muslim are also of the same race, speak the same language, wear the same dress Salwar, shirt and Saffa, and take the same food mainly wheat and pulse and meat. If you like you can take a long journey of the Peninsula and go to the extreme south in Tamil land; there also you will not find any difference between Hindus, Muslims or Christians in race, language, food or dress. The difference is only in religion.

Is this difference in religion enough for the Muslims to be entitled to a separate nationhood? Contemporary history refutes this claim in its entirety. And when we talk of contemporary history we must not forget that the idea of a nation, as at present understood, is not an old one. In fact nationalism is the modern religion and wherever it has its devotees, religion has either been abolished or has occupied a subordinate position.

We have only to cross the Frontier of India to understand this. Look at Afghanistan, Russia, China and Japan. In Afghanistan Muslims and Hindus are living as a nation. We all know

that Russia and China have both got a considerable number of Muslims. In Russia the Russian Muslims are living in perfect peace with other Russians who are, as far as their religion is concerned, either Christians or atheists. Similarly in China the Chinese Muslims are fighting shoulder to shoulder for the independence and integrity of their mother country, in co-operation with their Buddhist—it will be better if we keep in mind that Buddhism is only a form of Hinduism—countrymen. In the same way in Japan, the Japanese Christians, some of whom are important cabinet ministers, are fighting with full vigour in co-operation with their Buddhist compeers, the Christian powers of the East and West. Muslims and Christians in these countries have never asked for a separate nationhood.

Then why this 'opposite wind' in India? To me the reason is as clear as daylight. This is due to the existence of a third party in India, which does not exist in Afghanistan, Russia, China and Japan.

It should now be clear that the Muslims in India are not a separate nation. Not on account of complexity but on account of its extreme simplicity, I have not touched the question of Pakistan. If Mr. Jinnah's claim of Muslim being a separate nation is accepted, even then, it is not in the best interest of Muslims of India to have two federations. In these days when there is loud talk of an Asiatic Federation, an European Federation and a World Federation, to talk of Pakistan is to be a laughing stock of the world. The Pakistan scheme is like the "opposite wind" and the same remarks apply to it.

Let us now plunge headlong into the question, "Are Indians a Nation?" As previously stated, religion, race, language, food and dress are considered to be those factors the sameness or oneness of which goes to prove the existence of a nation. I have already dealt with the factor 'Religion' in extenso. I would now take the factors, food and dress, race and language and prove that none of these is essential for the formation of a nation as some people think or the third party wants us to think. In a big country like India where food

products differ, seasons differ, is it reasonable to expect that we should have the same uniformity in food and in dress, which we might witness in a small country like Belgium or Switzerland, throughout the length and breadth of India? Is the dress of an English man or woman that he or she wears in a holiday mood on a hot and sunny day on the Brighton beach not different to the one that he or she wears on a cold, frosty wintry night in London? Some of us in U. P. wear Dhoti and Kurta in summer and Churidar Pajama and Sherwani in winter. Similarly some of us take omelettes in winter and stop same in summer and instead begin taking Thandai and Kulfi. Now does it mean that we are a separate nation in winter than what we are in summer?

It is common knowledge that generally Englishmen and Germans wear the same kind of dress and take the same kind of food. Are Englishmen and Germans one nation? It is conclusively proved that sameness of food and dress does not make a nation.

Next comes the factor, race and language. The U. S. A. is rightly considered to be a great nation and a great bulwark of democracy. Yet how little we realise that the population of the U. S. A. is composed of many races. Practically every European country is represented in the U. S. A., specially the English, the Irish, the French and the Germans. Then there are the negroes of South Africa. There is quite a considerable number of Japanese specially in the west of the U. S. A. and all these enjoy citizenship rights and they are as good Americans today as those who claim English descent. In Canada there are the English and the French and in South Africa there are the English and the Dutch. Still nobody points a finger of doubt towards Canada or South Africa that they are not nations.

We are one race according to our belief. But even if we accept the view of Western ethnographers that India has three races, the Aryans in the north and north-west, the Mongloids in the north-east, and the Dravidians in the south, I fail to understand how these ethnographic divisions can stand in the way of

our country being one country and our nation being one nation.

Last comes the factor of language. For this purpose, let us take that small island on the western coast of Europe called Britain. There are three languages spoken in Britain: English, Welsh, Scottish. India is more than thirty times larger than Britain. If British people are entitled to be a nation with three languages, size for size, Indians are entitled to be a nation with ninety or more languages. The U. S. S. R. is a great nation with about 100 languages. But we all know that there are nearly a dozen languages in India, namely, Sindhi, Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Uriya, Marathi, Gujrati, Telegu, Tamil, Kanerese and Malayalam. Is it fair, then, not to recognise our right of nationhood simply because we have a dozen languages.

Having proved that the factors of religion, race, language, food and dress, oneness of which is generally considered to be essential for the formation of a nation, are not at all essential factors, the question naturally arises, "Are there any factors which go to make or determine a nation?" To my mind there are two such factors and they are:—1. Sameness of that complex whole which we call 'community of interests.' 2. Sameness of political institutions.

It does not need any elaboration to prove that the sameness of interests leads to the sameness of political institutions. A nation may now be defined as a set of people inhabiting a certain territory, having common community of interests and common political institutions. This in my view is a fairly workable definition of a nation. And according to this definition, Indians are certainly entitled to full-fledged nationhood. Any other propaganda is false, dishonest, inspired and contrary to facts.

It may seem, *prima facie*, from my article as if I am preaching diversity of religion, race, language, food and dress. Far from it, it is and has always been my aim to consolidate these as far as possible. They are certainly contributory factors and the nation-builder can never lose sight of them. But there is a difference in the words contributory and essential.

—Intellectual Service League, Etawah



Book Reviews



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ENGLISH

RABINDRANATH THROUGH WESTERN EYES: By Dr. A. Aronson, M.A. (Cantab.). Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Price Rs. 4-8.

The author is a professor of Literature at the Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan and a great admirer of Dr. Tagore and his ideals. He had access to the valuable collection of press cuttings presented by the Poet's son Rathindranath Tagore to the Rabindra Museum. That collection never pretended to be exhaustive and to treat adequately the subject discussed in the volume. Dr. Aronson would have to wait for the termination of the war enabling him to counter-balance the immediate reactions of reviewers of the Poet's works as reflected in current periodicals, with the more stable judgments pronounced by thinkers and writers above the surface drifts of current politics. Where are the deeper undercurrents of the European soul? We cannot help asking this question at the end of each chapter of this book and being one who was privileged to travel with the Poet more than once, I feel inclined to agree with Dr. Amiya Chakrabarty who wrote in his significant Preface: "The author's selection of material has not always convinced me . . . on the basis of my experience of tours with the Poet, I could have selected other scripts and impressions to set up a different hypothesis. The Franco-German duel is the obtrusive factor in this otherwise sober narrative of the Poet's literary Periplus in the western world. The pathological aspects of the Latin and Teutonic cultures have been exaggerated to the detriment of their age-old literary traditions. The present tragedy of Europe might have been partially due to those pathological factors and Dr. Tagore fully realized their implications. But he even in his violent denunciations and prophetic challenge never ignored or minimized the grand contribution of the western soul in the realm of Truth and Beauty. He was ever responsive to significant appreciations and criticisms coming from his western friends and admirers. So we feel inclined to qualify the title of Dr. Aronson's book as "Rabindranath Through Western Press" rather than through Western Eyes. The reactions of Slavonic Europe as well as those of many minor (but not for that reason less significant) nationalities are missing in the present study. But we admire the industry and devotion of the author handicapped as he was in his documentation. He was the first to demonstrate the value of current periodicals in Tagore criticism and also to suggest the ways and means of making the Rabindra Museum adequately equipped that way for future research. The author has rendered signal service to us all by publishing in Appendix A, his valuable "Notes on a Rabindranath Bibliography in the West." Any conscientious scholar working after the war, in the archives and libraries of the west, would develop this Appendix into a volume for, in spite of

linguistic and political handicap, Dr. Tagore managed to storm the heart of the common men and women of the West unrepresented in their occasional literature and periodicals. We have lived with them and shared their genuine enthusiasm for the thoughts (alas the ineffable form of the Master Poet escaped them!) of Dr. Tagore. To do real justice (not mere poetic justice!) to our poet, the West should master and read the Bengali originals. There lies a tremendous possibility as I felt while collaborating with the French poet P. J. Jouve in bringing out the first direct translation from Bengali into French of the Poet's *Balaka*. I also induced my friend Dr. P. N. Roy, D.Litt. (Rome) to publish a similar translation into Italian of the Poet's *Lipika* (missed by Dr. Aronson in his Bibliography where we find another inaccurate statement: The first to publish Dr. Tagore's poems in English was not Harriet Monroe, Editor of *Poetry*, Chicago, but Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor of *The Modern Review*, vide Golden Book of Tagore—Introduction). We appreciated keenly the last chapter "The Test of Sensibility" in which Dr. Aronson comes out with his best as a literary critic far above the vagaries of current politics and periodicals. The original (not translated) Tagore has earned his permanent place in the poetic Olympus and the author sang a hymn to the poet in the correct key when he observed: "Rabindranath did not want monuments, he despised the cheap honour of publicity and common applause. He wanted the silence that comes with maturity, the stillness of mind that comes with the belief in the inherent goodness of all created things, the realisation of one's self in thought, in love and in action." That proves beyond doubt the profound sympathy and appreciation of Dr. Aronson for the life and works of the Poet and we gladly recommend his thoughtful book to all serious students of contemporary literature in general and of Tagore literature in particular. Literature may be defensive or offensive according to passing phases of history but the Eternal Muse of Poetry smiles evenly on all lovers of Beauty from the East no less than from the West. With that conviction and hope, we pray with our Master Poet for the aesthetic and spiritual redemption of Man above races and creeds, even amidst the tragic gloom of international war. The Spirit of Man is the perennial source of Poetry, as Tagore affirmed in his sublime war poem of the *Balaka* composed during the fateful days of the last world war.

KALIDAS NAG

1. **THE FALLING RUPEE: A STUDY IN WAR FINANCE AND INFLATION:** By C. N. Vakil. Published by the Author. Second Edition revised and enlarged. February, 1943. Pp. 38. Price Re. 1-4.
2. **WAR AND THE RUPEE: A STUDY IN WAR INFLATION:** By Ghosh, Baroda. Published by the Author. February, 1943. Pp. 36. Price Re. 1.

3. **CONQUEST OF PRICES: HEADLINES ON PRICE CONTROL:** By B. M. Sharma. Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow. Pp. 58. Price Re. 1.

Prof. Vakil's brochure was first published in January and the second edition in February. The volume has been so widely noticed all over the country that this cannot but be a review of reviews.

History repeats itself. In the 19th century, the Hyderabad Contingent was maintained by the British—"for the security of the Nizam's territories"—a security which the Nizam did not want, on a scale which was not sanctioned by the Nizam. And this culminated in the piling up of arrears due from the Nizam's Government and finally the "perpetual lease" of Berar followed in 1936 by the "retrocession" of Berar. We cannot go into more details here, but the root of the trouble is that Imperial defence measures are decided on in Britain and executed by the "Government of India," the latter making a small contribution which is deducted from the total expenditure. Thus, the trouble in India is not direct war expenditure by India for the defence of India, but India serving as the base for the defence of the Empire in the East. This has brought for us the mirage of the fast accumulating but hardly realisable sterling balances in payment of war supplies from India. These sterling balances have been the source of the inflation now afoot in the country.

It is indeed a tragedy that cost of living and price indices should soar higher in India than in European belligerent countries. The reason for this is that all capitalistic elements of *laissez faire* appear to have found shelter in India, having been banished from the land of their birth: the monetary authority here has done nothing positive in order to maintain the purchasing power of the rupee: in German phraseology, the purchasing power of the Reichsmark is part of German capital.

Prof. Vakil has very rightly pointed out that if only the rupee had been allowed to rise externally in view of the present favourable balance of payments, India should have paid off her external obligations at less cost, and the status of the rupee should have risen. And, after the war boom, there will come a reaction when sterling assets will have to be frittered away in order to maintain the exchange from falling. Such frittering of sterling will spell less in the reserve and therefore deflation and low prices and unemployment. It is rather an irony of fate that this country should pursue an unclosed economy policy for the benefit of the world while the big powers should strictly adhere to closed economies, or at any rate, the security of the bigger powers.

Prof. Vakil waited for the budget to test the sincerity of the British Government. The budget has been just the expected one.

The next two publications deal with the same subject, but particular aspects. Of course, experts do not agree. Prof. Ghosh says:

"Control measures succeed in proportion as they are thorough and comprehensive, and half measures are often worse than no measures."

Prof. Sharma is equally emphatic on the opposite view:

"Price control should not interfere with the volume and flow of commodities. . . . Control measures should involve the minimum of interference."

It is easy to see that price control in India failed because of the reason given by Prof. Ghosh.

Prof. Sharma also presumes that the reader understands what is meant by a "just" price. There are also many cases of wholesale recommendation of

European measures to Indian conditions. For instance, Prof. Ghosh says:

"In the case of small incomes, we should aim at postponement of present use rather than taxation. . . ."

Prof. Ghosh should have made himself clearer by drawing an exemption line, because in India by far a high majority of incomes are below the decent physical subsistence level, and does he seriously expect such underfed section of the population to "save"?

All the three publications are thought-provoking and thus serve very good purposes in helping to educate both public and Government views.

S. KESAVA IYENGAR

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY: By Jitendranath Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in the Departments of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Pali and Sanskrit, University of Calcutta. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1941. Pp. 459. With ten plates. Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 7.

The hieratic tradition in the plastic art of India has been remarkably strong—much more so than in the art of Babylon, Egypt and Greece, and it has been exceptionally complicated as well. As soon as sculpture and painting took up the service of religion in the Hindu world in the centuries immediately preceding Christ, images of the different deities began to be made according to the pictures of them evoked in the minds of their worshippers, and these images grew in number and variety with the growth of polytheistic Hinduism, with their poses, emblems or accoutrements, vehicles and other appurtenances rigidly fixed by tradition and formulated in treatises of a semi-religious character. In this matter the heterodox schools of Jainism and Buddhism (the latter particularly in its Northern or Mahayana form) vied with Brahmanical Hinduism, so that between them these three different forms of the Ancient Indian or Hindu religion—Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism—presented by the end of the first millennium A.D. the richest and most populous Pantheon or God-world ever imagined by man. A large part of Hindu or Ancient Indian art is religious, in that it concerns itself with the representation of the various divinities: and the study of these plastic figures of the gods and goddesses as we have them in the remains of Ancient Indian art and archaeology and their correlation with the texts forms a characteristic branch of Indology—the subject of Iconography or "Literature of the Images," which is a part equally of Indian Religion and Indian Art. So far as the study of Indian Art is concerned, Iconography which may be called the grammar of this art, has not been treated with the fullness it deserves, although we have a series of notable contributions on the subject, among which are to be mentioned Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography* in four volumes (1914-1916), H. Krishna Sastri's *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses* (1916), Brindaban Chandra Bhattacharya's *Indian Images*, Part I (1921) and *Jaina Iconography* (1939), Jouvean Dubreuil's *South Indian Iconography* (original French edition, 1914) and Nalini Kanta Bhattasali's *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* (1929), but these works take Iconography as something static, treating it as it stood developed at a particular epoch, its dynamic character as a set of ideas and their execution in practice which went on developing from generation to generation being generally lost sight of, except in Dubreuil's work where a historical survey of Brahmanical Iconography in the Tamil country has been made. The proper historical line of treatment taking the actual specimens from century to century and making the plastic remains and the hieratic and other texts

of ancient India explain each other stage by stage were first adopted with conspicuous success by A. K. Coomaraswamy in his papers and monographs on the origin of the Buddha image, on the Yakshas, and in Indra and Sri. And now we have the present work by Dr. Banerjee, which, as its title shows, traces the development of Hindu Iconography (with special relation to the figures of the Brahmanical deities) from its origins in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era as deducible from coins, images, inscriptions and texts still extant down to the era of a full-grown iconographic tradition with a literature on the subject about the middle of the first millennium A.D. Dr. Banerjee's book is thus one of fundamental importance in the study of Hindu Iconography; and as a contribution to our knowledge of art and religion in ancient India, it is of immense significance.

For the task in hand, Dr. Banerjee has exceptional qualifications. Born in the Hindu tradition, steeped in the history and culture of ancient and medieval India, and possessed of a good knowledge of Sanskrit, he has brought a sober enthusiasm for his subject which enabled him to maintain a sustained interest in it for all these years he has been teaching it to advanced students of Indology in the University post-graduate classes. He has moreover travelled widely in India, visiting ancient shrines and sites, studying artifacts and iconography in museums and taking photos of objects of interest in the study of Indian art and religion. The result of his work he has given in the present work, which is a systematised treatment of the subject of Hindu Iconography, the subject being viewed in its historical development. The various topics he has dealt with will indicate the scope of his work, chapter by chapter. He first discusses the study of Hindu Iconography in ancient India, and in this connexion gives the scope and importance of the known Sanskrit texts on the subject, indicating as far as possible their dates, authorship and provenance. Certain works which are not iconographic treatises strictly speaking but are ritualistic treatises giving *dhyanas* or descriptions of the deities as they are to be concentrated upon in meditation are also noted. At the end of his book, in Appendix B, Dr. Banerjee has given the texts with translation and notes of two well-known Sanskrit works on the subject, the *Pratimamanatakshanam* and a section of the chapter on Iconography in the *Brihatsamhita*, and has further given tables of measurements according to another Sanskrit treatise the *Dasatala*. The second and third chapters of Dr. Banerjee's book deal with the Antiquity of Image Worship in India and the Origin and Development of Image-Worship in India in later, i.e., post-Vedic times. The pre-Aryan religion of India—what has been aptly described as “pre-Vedic Hinduism”—judging from some of the seals discovered at Mohenjo-Daro, knew the worship through images; at least, figures of divinities showing a well-established iconie tradition have been found, i.e., the seated figure now identified as the pre-Aryan prototype of Siva Pasupati, and standing figures, besides other figures in the seated Buddha pose. Dr. Banerjee's exhaustive study of the question makes him come to the conclusion that the Vedic Aryan religion in the higher ranks of Indo-Aryan Society to start with was aniconic, although images of some of the Gods were known; and possibly in the lower ranks of Vedic Society, largely of indigenous non-Aryan origin, iconic worship was known, but we have no sure evidence in the matter. He has discussed our literary and other sources in detail relating to the gradual setting up of iconism as an important institution in Indian religion, Brahmanical, Buddhist or Jain. Throughout in his thrashing of all the evidence painstakingly collected by him from extant scriptures and

other works as well as inscriptions and art objects Dr. Banerjee has taken an objective attitude, which adds all the more to the value of his researches. The importance and significance of a great deal of evidence already known is made clear by him from the point of view of the subject in hand, and thus all this is underlined by him in its iconographic context. The fourth chapter on “Brahmanical Divinities and their Emblems on Early Indian Coins,” is a distinct and original contribution by our author, in which a close study of the symbols on old Indian punch-marked coins as well as later coinage of post-Greek times has revealed unexpected indications of iconism going back to several centuries before Christ. Plates I and II illustrate some of these iconic figures and symbols, and altogether a good bit of original and painstaking deductions which are perfectly reasonable have been elicited. The coin symbols and the texts have wherever possible been made to supplement each other. Early Indian seals in which figures of divinities worshipped in the early centuries after Christ have also been dealt with exhaustively for the first time. And in this matter, we have a link with the oldest period of iconography in India, that of Mohenjo-Daro in which seals played such an important role. Some of these seals given in Plates VII, VIII and X are a revelation, in the fine artistic quality of their exhibition and in their well-advanced iconographic tradition: e.g., the Vishnu image in Plate VII, the Siva image in Plate VIII and the figure of Siva seated on the bull which also is in a recumbent pose in Plate X. The coins of the Indo-Greeks, of the Indo-Scythians (Kushanas) and of the Gupta emperors naturally furnish the most valuable iconographic types on a small scale. The technique of “Iconoplastic” art in ancient India is described by Dr. Banerjee in Chapter VI, and much information is here culled from different sources for the first time. His findings as to “the contributory factors leading to the development of Iconoplastic art” in India are worth taking note of: they are the inevitable conclusions from the facts analysed. The next Chapter deals with the more technical side of “Iconographic Terminology”; this Chapter, and the next one, Chapter VIII on “Canons of Iconometry” indicate how the tradition gradually got stereotyped in India, with fixed sets of technical usages and terms and a fixed, sacro-sanct canon showing an ever-growing priestly organisation of this side of the plastic art in ancient India.

The work thus is a survey from both historical, religious and technical sides of the art of depicting the figures of the deities for purposes of worship or devotion in Hindu India. It is the first systematic work of its kind, and quite a successful work. Several appendices (one of which has been noted above) on connected topics add to the value of the work, and in the last appendix the author gives actual measurements of some typical ancient and medieval images in the museums, to show how far the sculptors followed the canon as laid down for this matter by the Sanskrit books. The useful Index concludes the volume, which it may be hoped will have due recognition in the scholarly world interested in the subject and will remain at least for some time to come a standard work, for which we have to express our gratefulness both to the author and to the University of Calcutta which gave it out to the world in its well-printed and well got-up format.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJEE

OXFORD PAMPHLETS ON WORLD AFFAIRS

No. 57. GREECE: By Stanley Casson.

No. 58. GREAT BRITAIN AND CHINA: By Sir John Pratt.

No. 59. WHO MUSSOLINI IS: By Ivor Thomas.

No. 60. WAR AT SEA TO-DAY: By Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond.

No. 61. AN ATLAS OF THE U. S. S. R.: By Jasper H. Stembbridge.

Pages 32 each. Price 4d. each.

Having been published in the year 1942, all these pamphlets bear the impact of changes that the war has brought about in the respective spheres covered by them. The distinguished authors of these pamphlets have not only relied on facts that were already in their possession but have also interpreted them in the light of latest events in world affairs. The pamphlets provide, therefore, considerable topical interest coupled with objective information.

Lt.-Col. Casson, whose knowledge of Greece is that of scholar and soldier combined, offers a readable history of modern Greece since the successful War of Independence a century ago. The traditions and character of the Greek people, as interpreted by the author, enable the reader to understand something of the spirit which gave the Greek Army some of their proudest achievements. The story ends with the hoisting of the German flag on the Acropolis of Athens on the 27th April, and the evacuation of Crete by British forces completed, on the 31st May, 1941. Sir John Pratt, whose intimate knowledge of the Far East is based on a long career in the Consular Service in China, describes in his pamphlet the principal episodes and guiding features of Sino-British relations since the establishments of the British factory at Canton in 1715 till to-day, particularly since the Revolution of 1911 and the creation of the Chinese Republic. These relations have been chequered. Suspicions, jealousies and animosities have now yielded place to an alliance of far-reaching consequence, more to the advantage of China than to that of her Imperial partner. The author confesses that there is some disappointment in nationalist China that although they have been fighting the battle of civilization and world order the assistance given by the great democracies has not been more substantial and more effective. Mr. Ivor Thomas, a reputed journalist and an M. P., analyses Mussolini's lineage which is proletarian, early life which was spent in freezing adversity, political career which is full of inconsistencies, journalistic conduct which was dishonest, leadership which has landed the Italians into untold sufferings and private life which is devoid of scruples. He does not say if Mussolini has any contribution to make to contemporary Italian life or culture. Mr. Thomas has attempted a caricature and he is successful at that. Admiral Richmond's pamphlet is extremely informative and instructive. Stembbridge's Atlas of Soviet Russia would be highly appreciated by all those who try to understand Russia's spectacular resistance against the German invasion. The author reveals an outstanding feature of the remarkable transformation of the Soviet Union from an agricultural country to a highly industrialized one, namely, the development of Soviet industry in the Urals and eastward, a factor which made it possible for the Red Armies to maintain their magnificent fight against the Germans, even after the mines, factories and power plants of the Ukraine had been overrun by the invaders. The enormous area of the Soviet Union is a great source of its strength. It has always been the policy of the Russians to fight with their land, and, while contesting every foot of it, they have been prepared to yield territory in order to keep their armies in being. They adopted this policy against Napoleon. They practised it in the First World War. They are following it today, and provided they are furnished with adequate supplies, the Red Armies

should not only be able to hold the invader but should also be able to drive him out of the land he has ravaged. This pamphlet is easily one of the very best in the series.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

JINNAH, THE GENTLEMAN: By G. D. Consul. Goyal and Goyal, Jaipur. Pp. 86. Price annas twelve.

Jinnah, *The Gentleman* is a collection of three essays intended to be a short life-sketch of Mr. Jinnah with criticism of his Pakistan scheme by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, written in a loose journalistic style.

JINNAH SAHIB, PLEASE—“A HINDOSTHAN HAMARA” PUBLICATION. Pp. 104+zix. Price annas eight.

This small volume is a collection of speeches, articles and resolutions on the question of Hindu-Muslim unity, very useful and handy for all students of current Indian politics. The price is cheap, and get-up good.

FLASHLIGHTS ON ISLAM: By Allama Dr. S. N. A. Jafri, LL.D., Bar-at-Law. Pp. xxviii+73.

In this small book the learned author has thrown flashlights on Islam, which are of special benefit to the non-Muhammadans. In these days of communal strife and bickerings, every Hindu should try to understand Islam by reading such books, and we are tempted to say every Muhammadan should follow such books in preference to Maulavis and Mullahs. But few of us mortals possess the stamina to challenge the evils of our times; and most of us are carried off on the crest of circumstances like broken twigs and branches in a stormy sea. According to the author, toleration in religion is the essence of Islam. The Quran says:—There is no compulsion in religion (2: 256); For you your faith and for me mine (109: 6). It is worth here repeating the story of Masjid-i-Zarar. The people of Quba, a suburb of Madina, built a mosque in opposition to a very popular mosque, and requested the Prophet (Muhammad) to formally open it. He declined to open the mosque and sent some of his followers to demolish it since it was meant to cause disunion. But what do we find here in India? Mr. Justice Suhrawardy was constrained to notice judiciously that “a Mosque—[is] generally a source of sanguinary religious and communal conflict”; to say nothing on the question of its demolition.

J. M. DATTA

A TALE OF MRS. GOOSE: By Robbie Barcroft. Published by Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

With plenty of fine illustrations the story of Mother Mongoose at the farm-house and her son, who was called More because he always ate more than he could swallow, proceeds apace. Little children will find in this little book something very entertaining in the adventure of Master More who went plop in the bucket full of green paint and came out green and could only be cleaned with a flit gun filled with turpentine.

S.

SARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJEE: By Humayun Kabir. Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay. Price Re. 1-4.

This monograph is an excellent introduction to the life and work of the celebrated novelist. Prof. Kabir has competently dealt with his subject. He has indicated the main tendencies in the writings of Sarat Chandra, and tried to estimate the influence of social environment on his creation. “In spite of his revolutionary ardour, there is in Chatterjee an element of conservatism that has often surprised people.” This

apparent contradiction is, after all, a natural phenomenon of life and the writer has explained it in that light. The treatise, though small, is instructive as well as interesting.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

WARDHA—THE NON-OFFICIAL CAPITAL OF INDIA : By Mr. R. Visweswar Rao, M.A., B.T. Published by the Sunday Times Bookshop, Madras. Pp. 26. Price annas five.

In this brochure, the author describes the various organisations and institutions that are located in Sevagram—Mahatma's Ashram near Wardha. As the name implies the Ashram was established for 'Seva' or service and this has taken various shapes and forms. We have here the realization of India's cultural idealism of plain living and high thinking. The Ashram Dugdhalaya (Dairy), the Commerce College, the All-India Industries Association and the Magan Sangrahalaya (Museum) are institutions which demonstrate that Mahatma Gandhi and his disciples are not visionaries but realists in the full sense of the term and as such are alive to the economic needs and reforms of the people.

Much stress has been given to practical education and for that the Hindusthani Talimi Sangh has been established to reform the present elementary education which is purely literary in character.

The Mahila Ashram is an institution for all-round education of women without any tuition fee whatsoever. The Gandhi Seva Sangh is doing great good to the country by training and supplying workers for Khadi and other national works. Last but not the least mention must be made of the Gram Seva Mandal—the institution for the uplift of the village not in the moral sense but in the economic sense as well. It has developed Village Leather Industry by introducing tanning of skins of dead animals (not slaughtered) which were formerly neglected. It has started Go-salas, Work-shops for the manufacture of Charkas, Taklis, etc., successfully and these are supplied all over India from this centre. In its Swaraj Bhawan, Khadi yarn is being used as a currency and a medium of exchange. This must be wonderful but it has been possible.

The name of the late Seth Jamnalal Bajaj will go down to posterity as a maker of this Ashram who by his gift of land, money and service has made it what it is today.

The book should be read by all who desire to know and understand Mahatma Gandhi and his mission.

A. B. DUTTA

SCIENTIFIC CURIOSITIES OF SEX LIFE : By Dr. R. J. Mehta. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Second Edition. Price Rs. 3/12.

The book presents in one small volume not only many of the strange sex beliefs and customs prevalent in all ages and in all climes but also the various biological and psychological deviations, curiosities and abnormalities of sex life which have been scientifically treated in greater details by specialists in other countries. We would have appreciated very much greater references to work done on this line in our own country. Though there is hardly anything original in the book, as the author himself admits, it will prove useful to research workers who are unable to go direct to the original sources.

S. C. MITRA

BY THE CANDLE LIGHT (TALES OF MYSTICAL FANCY) : By R. S. Fontes. Published by the New Book Co., 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Re. 1-12.

Prof. K. G. Keni introducing the author to the reading public has stressed upon the latter's striking personality as a psychological observer, his analytical power as a writer and his literary elegance. However, Mr. Fontes admits that he has no originality for the first idea on such dream-tales as he writes. He has modelled his stories after James Joyce and Lord Dunsay, the two masters of mystical tales, and he has also received inspiring appreciations from Walter de la Mare, W. Somerset Maugham, Dr. James H. Cousins, and D. Henry Heap, F.R.G.S.

'The Devil's Den' (dedicated to the memory of James Joyce) possesses all the characteristics of a dream-story. Its fleeting movement is further accelerated by various effects from sights and sounds—the reflex actions of the two senses which operate many times more than others in a wide-awake brain. 'A Dreamer's Tale' is gruesomely imaginative. 'A Vision' refers to the general nature of a dream; it brings in the rapture of bliss, love and happiness, and dissolves into disappointment, silence and sadness. 'The Nightly Phantoms' are figures made of radiance and shadow; they murmur strange words into the living ears of human beings.

In such dream-stories, all the elements of interest bear a close resemblance with the theosophical interpretations of the ethereal dreams, the material ones being the results of physical disorders. During an ethereal dream the soul of a man leaves the body and soars up to heaven. As soon as there is disturbance to the medium (body), it returns to the physical world within the twinkling of an eye.

SANTOSH CHATTERJI

THE YOGA OF KATHOPANISHAD : By Sri Krishna Prem. Published by the Ananda Publishing House, 3A, Lowther Road, Allahabad. Price Rs. 6 only.

The concluding Mantra of the Kathopanishad says that Nachiketa received from Yama a whole course of Yoga as well as the instruction which leads to immortality. This Yoga is not the union of two separate entities; to put briefly, it is the revelation in one's self of the "Central Light of Everything"—of the Sakshin, by all "each becomes all and all become each." The author has given a brilliant exposition of this Yoga in the pages of the book; he has mainly followed Samkara in his interpretation of the texts of the Upanishad, though he has sometimes differed also from the Acharya. If, in spite of brilliance, the exposition should seem to the readers to be cumbrous at times, it is because the author has drawn frequently from the esoteric works of all countries for the elucidation of his points; in doing so he has been actuated by the belief that "All true Yoga is one in all the separate conditions." The reader can, however, be assured of his reward, if he will go through the pages with patience and devotion.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

LIFE ENDURING : By Dr. V. V. Athalye, A.P., M.D. (Hom.). With a foreword by Prof. N. G. Damle of the Fergusson College at Poona, a bibliography and an index. Published by Satpravritti Vardhak Mandal, Satara, Bombay. Pp. 238+ix. Price Rs. 3.

Dr. Athalye is a veteran Homœopath and his book on the philosophy of Homœopathy was well received in India and other countries. He is a man of wide experience, deep reading and profound thinking. He records in this book the sincere longings of his soul and the evolution of his philosophy of life. The thesis of this book, in the words of the author, is understanding, integration and consequent achievement of an enduring

life—a life that will attain to lasting peace and happiness. He writes convincingly from his personal experience that spiritual connectedness and mutualism are two fundamental factors of a true philosophy of life. With them life endures, but without them it gives way. Man should, he exhorts, understand this and act accordingly in every day life if he wants to be peaceful and successful. He assures that mystical experiences, which make life worth living, are quite accessible to every man; not a monopoly of unusually gifted persons alone. Some doubts that generally assail an aspiring mind have been nicely solved in the light of modern thought in a chapter of this brilliant book.

This book, which is divided into twelve chapters, is very well thought out and very well written in clear and excellent English and is immensely interesting. It deserves a perusal by those who are struggling to understand the meaning of life. The book reveals pages of the Book of his Life and will amply repay a perusal.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE BIBLE EXAMINED BY A HINDU: Published by the Book Company Limited, Calcutta. Price annas eight only.

In this book, the author has examined some of the main topics of Christianity in a critical spirit with the utmost fairness and sound judgment. The book affords a very clear view of the real character of the religion of the Bible.

The book will serve to remove many misconceptions which have arisen through the persuasive teachings of the missionaries who are engaged in presenting to the Indian Students and Indian people with the brighter aspects of Christianity only and who sometimes forget that the Indians were taught thousands of years ago by their own Rishis whose precepts were as noble as that of Christ's.

The book will furnish the reader with a direct and first-hand knowledge of the religion of the Bible as based upon the Old and New Testaments and has also exposed many contradictions contained therein.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

HINDUSTAN YEAR-BOOK, 1943: Edited by S. C. Sarkar. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd., 14, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

The eleventh annual issue of the Hindustan Year-Book has fully maintained its past reputation. The Editor has pointed out in his preface that amidst greatest conceivable difficulty due to the scarcity of paper, which has become not only dear but rare, he has at last succeeded in bringing out the book. By mechanical means of economy, the bulk of the book has been slightly reduced but its quality and quantity remain the same. Some new sections have been added this year, viz., Cripps Mission in India, Political and Historical Documents, War Time Services, Post-War Reconstruction in India, etc. We agree with the Editor that the Hindustan Year-Book still remains the cheapest and the most informative Year-Book in India.

D. B.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SANSKRIT POETESSES WITH A SUPPLEMENT ON PRAKRIT POETESSES: Edited with Critical Notes, etc., by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhury and English Introduction and Translation by Dr. Roma Chaudhury, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Professor, Lady Brabourne College and Lecturer, Calcutta University. Published by the author from 3, Federation Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.

The work is a revised edition and registers a distinct improvement upon the first edition. The translation has been made more faithful. The work is enriched with a foreword by the great orientalist, Dr. L. D. Barnett. It is an anthology of verses of no less than thirty poetesses of India. All the available data about each poetess have been put together in the introduction, which is an intellectual treat by itself for its excellent language, critical outlook and sympathetic evaluation. The work is the product of the co-operation of a meritorious couple, of whom all lovers of Indian cultural revival have every reason to be proud. The English translation is a charming execution. It is a lucky coincidence that the poetesses of India have found a worthy scholar of their own sex to interpret their poetry in a modern language to the modern minds. The poems were scattered in different anthologies; many of them were not sufficiently known and none explained in a modern language; and not a few were shrouded in obscurity being embedded in unpublished manuscripts. In the words of Vyasa-tirtha, the author of the *Nyayamrta*, the editor can claim that his labours are not abortive:

“विश्वस्यसंग्रहात् क्वापि क्वाप्युक्तस्योपपादनात् ।

अनुक्तकथनात् क्वापि सफलोऽयं श्रमो मम ॥”

The work is a decent contribution and amply demonstrates the historical truth that India did not neglect the education of her women-folk in the times of her glory and the cultured daughters of India were not unworthy partners of her heroes. It is a matter of congratulation that the book has not been slow in receiving encouragement and a second edition has been necessary. We trust that the second edition will receive wider patronage and reach broader circles of appreciators of India's culture.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE

SANSKRIT

KASYAPASAMHITA (OR VRIDDHAJIVAKIYATANTRA): By Vriddhajivaka and revised by Vatsya. With an Introduction by Nepal Rajguru Pandit Hemraj Sarma. Edited by Vaidya Jadavaji Trikamaji Acharya and Somnath Sarma of Nepal. Nepal Sanskrit Series No. 1. Published by Jadavaji Trikamaji Acharya, Kalbadevi Rd., Bombay.

We have here a handsome edition of a medical work in Sanskrit which is supposed to be as old and is of the same type as the famous works of Charaka and Susruta. The edition is based on a single incomplete palm-leaf manuscript and as such it abounds with occasional obscurities and numerous lacuna. In a long introduction in Sanskrit covering 240 thinly printed pages, Pandit Hemrajji deals with the history of the medical science and literature of ancient India and discusses at length the authorship and contents of the present work. The intrinsic merit of the work may be judged only by medical men. But students of Indology will feel grateful to the Panditji for bringing to light an old text and it may be hoped the Nepal Sanskrit Series will continue to publish similar other works, gradually bringing within the easy access of the world of scholars the rich treasure of rare and old manuscripts which Nepal is proud to possess. It is really a matter for regret that Nepal, perhaps the richest repository of old manuscripts, had not so long a series of oriental publications of her own while other custodians of manuscripts like the States of Baroda, Kashmir and Travancore have already won reputation among Indologists all the world over through their laudable work in this line.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

MANISHI MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD : By Mr. Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L. Published by Noor Library, 12/1, Serang Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 130. Price Re. 1.

The book is based on the biography of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, written in English by the late Mr. Mahadeb Desai. As President of the Indian National Congress, Maulana Azad holds a most prominent place in the public life of India, particularly at this political juncture when the country is passing through a crisis. His is a life of devotion and sacrifice for the cause of Hindu-Muslim Unity and Indian Independence. He is versed in many languages including English and French. Even educated people of this country have misconceptions about the Maulana's knowledge of English as the recent debates by some Fellows of the Calcutta University have shown while the Maulana was being appointed Kamala Lecturer of the University.

The Bengali-knowing public will find the book informative, interesting and useful.

A. B. DUTTA

SAHITYER SWARUP : By Sri Sasibhusan Das Gupta. Sri Guru Library, 204, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

Dr. Das Gupta has earned reputation for his researches in Old Bengali Literature. Fortunately enough, grey old manuscripts have not dimmed his vision for poetry, nor have philosophical studies made his mind lose its sensibility. The treatise under review consists of four carefully written essays: (1) The Vital Power and the Philosophical Aspect of Literature, (2) The Purpose and the Purposelessness of Art, (3) The Correct View of Literature, (4) Idealism and Realism in Literature. The discussions evince aesthetic sense and balanced judgment. The style is tender and elegant.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

MERI HIMAQAT : By Viyogi Hari. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Connaught Circus, New Delhi. Pp. 119. Price annas eight.

Here is a brilliant literary achievement in the exercise of irony—that most difficult, because delicate, weapon to wield in an author's armoury. The very title of the book, which means "My Folly," is a veneer under which Viyogiji hides his earnestness of purpose in attacking the fads and fancies of all such persons who work the wheels of human society, like the poet and the politician, the pedagogue and the potentate, the preacher and the pupil and their allies.

These pivotal personalities have strayed away from the path of simple truth, whether in life, literature or art. Further, they have developed a sort of a superiority complex, so far as the man in the street is concerned. They assume that the latter is too ignorant to understand their high-vaulting argument. And it is this uncalled-for assumption which unconsciously or consciously lands them into complexities and confusions of cleverness. To them the author's advice is: Hitch your star to the wagon instead of hitching your wagon to the star. *Meri Himaqat* is a strong dose the taking of which is sure to shake the mental system of the modernist, compounded as it is of shibboleths and superficialities.

BHAJANAVALI : Compiled by Viyogi Hari. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Connaught Circus, New Delhi. Pp. 192. Price annas three only.

This is a collection of songs and scriptural selections, patterned after the well-known *Asrama Bhajnavali* of

Sabarmati with a greater variety, albeit, of the psalms of the medieval mystic-singers. The book could be used with advantage also for the purposes of congregational worship. It will act like tonic to the instinct in man for adoration of the Author of all life.

G. M.

TAMIL

MALAI KALLAN—TAMIL PANNAI No. 2 : By V. Ramalingam Pillai, Namakkal. Published by Tamil Pannai, Pallathur-Devakottah. 1942. Pp. 433. Price Rs. 2-8.

A very interesting detective novel. This can be successfully adapted also to film.

MADHAVAN

GUJARATI

FIRST, SECOND, FIFTH AND SEVENTH READING BOOKS : Published by the Navjivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1941-42. Paper cover. Pp. 80:104:70:200. Price As. 2, 2-6, 5 and 7.

The Vidyapitha at Ahmedabad has projected this series of reading books for students in primary schools, and it must be said that they are well-written and graduated and represent a considerable advance on the Text-books used for the same purpose in Government and other schools. All poetry lessons are printed in Devnagri type and the Fifth and Seventh books have got a glossary of difficult words with their simple equivalents. It is commendable work on the whole.

MOTIBHAI ARUN, JIVAN ANE KARYA : By P. C. Shah, M.A. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1942. Cloth bound. Pp. 664. Price Rs. 2-8.

Motibhai Arun who died a short time ago was known all throughout Gujarat as a sincere social worker. In his own words, the task he had set to himself was "to bring light where there was darkness, to become a guide and do something in that behalf where there was nothing doing, wake up the sleepers, making those who are awake to sit up, make those who were sitting to stand up, those who were standing up to walk, and those who were walking to run." He fulfilled every item of the Programme. Though he is known for his valuable work in connection with the setting up of village libraries in H. H. the Gaekwar's territory, he has contributed important work in village uplift and this substantial volume describes in detail his various beneficent activities. It was desirable to have a permanent record of his lifelong devotion to self-imposed duties and we have got one in the shape of this book.

DASHAM SKANDH, ADHYAYAS 1 TO 25 : By Professor M. M. Jhaveri, M.A., of the Dharmendra Singh College, Rajkot. Printed at the Shingala Press, Rajkot. Thick card board. Pp. 168+99+28. Price Rs. 3.

The Dasham (10th) skandha poem written in Gujarati by the well-known poet Premanand is very popular in Gujarat, and of outstanding merit. It has long since been prescribed as a text-book by the Bombay University. The present is an annotated edition of the same, published after full research. The introduction is written after a thorough study of the subject, and as befits sound criticism, points out both the excellences and deficiencies of the poet. The notes are what they should be.

K. M. J.

AMERICAN OPINION AND THE WAR

The Rede Lecture, Cambridge University

By ARCHIBALD MACLEISH,
U. S. Librarian of Congress

UNTIL the time the Japanese attacked the United States, talk of war in America was talk, not of affirmative purpose, but defense. Our only question was the question whether we should fight at all. The debate among us was debate upon the issue whether it was true we also were in danger—whether we too would be attacked and must prepare. That the United States should make a war affirmatively and of its own motion to accomplish some end or purpose of its own was in no one's mind. Even those who saw most clearly what fascism was, and who hated it bitterly, and were most determined to destroy it, had nothing to say in those months of any choice or purpose we might offer to ourselves. The only choice we were called on then to make was the choice our enemies presented to us—the choice to fight.

If there were some who saw at that time—who had seen indeed from the beginning of the fascist invasion of Spain and the Japanese invasion of China—that fascism was actually no more than a belated rear-guard gathering of the forces free men had always attacked before and must now attack again, and that the true offensive in this war was therefore ours, they were not heard. No one of responsibility in our country called upon his fellow-citizens to attack the fascists first and to carry through, against the old reaction, the democratic revolution which the reaction once again had challenged. The only hope, even of the most belligerent democrats, was the hope that their fellow-citizens might resist in time. We were the peaceful powers and these others were the aggressors. We were those who stood and they were those who struck.

PURPOSE BELATED

They were the attackers, we were the attacked. The attacked do not consider for what purpose they propose to fight. They consider only how and where and when they will defend themselves.

So it was not possible for us to consider as a nation through those months the purposes

for which we ought to fight. It was not possible for us to propose to ourselves the ends or objects which our military effort as a people should attain. Had any American suggested to his fellow-citizens in 1938 or 1939 or even 1940 that we of our own motion should attack the declared enemies of democracy and freedom in order to destroy them and to establish once and for all a free and decent world in which democracy could live and thrive and ripen, he would have found no listeners. We had no stomach then for the establishment of new worlds.

But all this was in no way peculiar to us. No other democratic nation would have turned to war of its own volition in those years, or attempted any alteration of the world which only violence could accomplish. The great body of the people desired only peace and the one question in their minds was the question whether peace must be secured by fighting or could be had without. With us no more than with any other democratic nation did the people will the war. Indeed, with us, the fighting of the war was even less of our election, for even at the moment when we found ourselves at war we had not willed it. The choice was made against us by our enemies. We were attacked while still at peace and our determination to resist was fixed and hardened after our resistance had been made.

Other democratic nations so far shaped their purpose to make war as to declare their purpose when they had no choice but to fight. With us the declaration followed on a war already made. Certain determinations there had been—determinations requiring the great courage of a great leader—the determination to make our factories and goods available to those who had already been attacked and were resisting—the determination to assist by every method short of war those who like ourselves believed in human decency and freedom—the determination to take action for our own defense in spite of threats abroad and menaces at home. But though our position was clear both to our friends and to our enemies, it was not we, at

the final moment, who determined on our action nor did we consider then or for many months thereafter where our action ought to lead.

PEOPLE UNANIMOUS

Our first response to the attack upon us was the natural response of angry and indignant men. I may be excused perhaps for saying that it was the response of men of courage also. In the face of a considerable defeatist propaganda in sections of the press and the open demand of at least one politician that the fleet should be returned for the defense of their own shores, the American people were almost unanimous in their demand for an offensive war—a war carried to their enemies. They are still unanimous in that opinion. But though the temper of the country changed from defensive to offensive within a few days—perhaps even within a few hours—the attitude of the country toward the war itself did not change. It was still the enemy's war—the fascist's war—a war made by them upon us. We were determined to win that war. We were determined to chastise those who had made the war against us: to defeat them so effectively and so finally that they would regret what they had done to the end of their history—if any history were left them. We were determined, in short, to turn their war against its authors. But we were not yet ready to take it for ourselves—to turn it into an instrument of our own purpose for the accomplishment of our own ends as freedom-loving men and women.

It was understandable that we were not ready. For one thing the mere shock of the actual encounter itself engrossed us at the beginning: there was too much to be done too quickly to give us time for anything but what lay just ahead. For another, we had our newfound unity to think of. On December 7th we were all of one mind about the war and so long as the war remained a war against the Japanese who had tricked us and the Nazis who had set them to it—so long as it was merely a war against our enemies and not a war for some positive purpose of our own—we would continue to think of it with one mind.

All men will agree upon resistance to a common danger but all men will not agree—and it is the tragedy of human history that they will not—upon the winning of a common hope. Unity, in the months immediately following the attack on the U. S. seemed to most Americans the most important thing the country could attain. The divisions of the year before had been acrimonious and bitter and though

they were for the most part personal divisions—divisions created by a handful of men and women who put their personal beliefs above their duty to their country—everyone in every party wished to see them healed.

There was therefore a truce of several months' duration to all discussions of the causes and the meaning of the war—a truce adopted by common consent and resting upon a common appreciation of the seriousness of the country's situation. Those who had foreseen the inevitability of American resistance held their tongues, and those who had believed and said that the war was a European war which need never touch the American people accepted the final verdict of events.

SERVED USEFUL PURPOSE

That this undeclared truce served a useful and creative purpose most Americans will, I think, admit. Those who had not agreed before, and could scarcely be expected to agree explicitly now, were able to reach each other in a common necessity for action, and the greater part of the pre-war minority were joined again with the vast majority of the people who had supported the President's policy long before history had made the wisdom of his policy irrefutably clear. But though the truce upon discussion of the meaning and the purpose of the war served useful ends, it had also its increasingly apparent disadvantages. It silenced questions which could not be silenced. Not the partisans of the old dispute, but people everywhere throughout the country were beginning to think what no one wished to say.

For what actually were we fighting? Were we fighting a war to accomplish something or only a war to prevent something? Were we fighting a war to prevent defeat or a war to accomplish victory; and if the latter what kind of victory? What would the world be like when the war ended? Would it be a world like the world at the end of the last war or a different world and, if so, in what way different and how did we propose to bring about the difference?

The questions asked themselves and were not answered. And gradually, as the pressure of the asking grew, men in the government like men outside it, came to understand that unity of the nation could not be secured by silencing these questions but by answering them—that they must be answered—that the people had a right to have them answered.

It is this that constitutes the change in American opinion. The visible evidence of

change is the response of leaders of the American government to the questioning and searching of the people. It is evidence which has come to the notice of other countries. A number of members of the government in Washington have spoken, as though with one mind and by preconceived plan, of the purposes for which the war is fought. Not only the Vice-President but our Ambassador to England and the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Welles, and the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Acheson, and Mr. Milo Parkins of the Board of Economic Warfare, have spoken in one way or another of the world we mean to establish when the war is done—the world we, with our allies of the democratic powers, mean to build—the century, as Mr. Wallace puts it, of the common man. These speeches moreover have not only been given: they have been received. They have been read and listened to and discussed. And they have been discussed for the most part with an enthusiasm and an excitement which is quite astonishing.

OPINION POWERFUL

That the American people have expressed, in their reaction to these speeches and in other ways, an altered and a far more positive attitude toward the war, seems to me unarguable. It is difficult to measure popular opinion in any quantitative sense. Certainly the so-called "opinion polls" now employed on both sides of the Atlantic are not instruments of precision, nor is the space given by the press to the discussion of any particular issue an infallible measure of public interest. Newspaper publishers have been known in our country to consult their private preferences in arriving at their estimates of public interest and even, it is said, to attempt to excite a public interest where no interest had been shown before—or else to starve with silence an interest they regret. Nevertheless both press coverage and opinion polls are indicative to some extent, and in so far as they are indicative their testimony is all to one effect. Mr. Wallace's Free World Dinner speech, ignored at first by principal papers by the sheer weight of private concern—an unusual phenomenon in any country—and Mr. Sumner Welles' speech on the same subject was reported promptly in an unusually emphatic manner. As for the polls, obvious as the limitations of the method are, the evidence thus supplied is even more impressive. A very large majority of the American people—perhaps as many as three quarters or four-fifths—were apparently willing, a little while ago, to answer Yes to the proposition that their country should undertake

to establish the Four Freedoms of the President "everywhere in the world." A more searching question as to ways and means would doubtless have discouraged some of those who answered Yes so readily, but the heavy majority in support of the general proposition is proof at least of the extent of active interest.

These moreover are not the only evidences of the public interest nor are they indeed the most convincing. It is, after all, by the talk of individuals and by the activities of small groups, that the attitudes of populations are really judged, and judgments of this character in America today correspond closely to the evidence of the papers and the polls. It would be misleading to present the American people as wholly given over to discussion of the problems of the post-war world. But it would be even more misleading to suppose that the American interest in these matters is superficial or sporadic—the consequence of Henry Wallace's fine speech or Sumner Welles' convincing presentation or the moving words of Mr. Winant, Ambassador to Britain. On the contrary, the public concern came first and the speeches followed. It was the profound and creative interest of the people which produced these declarations and others like them; not the declarations which produced the public interest. This series of official statements was not planned. It was not projected in advance either by the government or by those who spoke. These men spoke—as they did because the things of which they spoke were in their hearts as well as in their minds. Which is another way of saying that they spoke as they did because the things of which they spoke were in the hearts also of their listeners.

EXPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE

The speeches which shape opinion in a democratic country are never the novel and unexpected speeches which break new ground and present new ideas. They are the speeches for which the people have prepared—the speeches the people have made possible—the speeches indeed, which the people, through the mouths of their leaders, have uttered to themselves.

What has truly happened to American opinion of the war and of the world may be judged, I think, with considerable accuracy by the simple fact that these several speeches were delivered and received. I should not wish, however, to leave you with the impression that these speeches have been accepted with a unanimity of agreement in the United States. On the contrary, they have been attacked with passion by minorities in the  and in the

country. But the attack itself bears testimony to the extent and meaning of the changes which are taking place, for those who make it are the remnants of the old isolationist minority. Isolationism in America is dead, as all the polls agree. But old isolationists never really die: they merely dig their toes in a new position. And the new position, whatever name is given it, is isolation still. Where the old isolationism opposed the country's determination to face the war, the new isolationism opposes the country's determination to face the peace. The drawing of the lines along that issue shows the issue for what it is.

Prior to the attack upon us, when the American people were beginning to say to themselves that America existed in the common world, and that anything that touched the rest touched her, American isolationism was geographical—a sort of geo-physics in reverse. We were surrounded by great quantities of water: therefore we were immune to history. Now that the Japanese attack and the Atlantic U-boats have exploded that geographical immunity, and now that the American people are beginning to say to each other that America is at war and that wars occur not on battlefields only but in men's lives and must have consequences in men's lives, American isolationism has dropped geography and turned to military science. Where the isolationists argued once that the country need not face the choice of war or peace because the waters were too wide, they argue now that the country need not face the choice of peace or chaos because the battles are too hard. It is a military error, they tell us, if not indeed a moral fault, to discuss the purpose of a war you have not won. It is a military irrelevancy, if not an evidence of moral decay, to plan for the consequences of a war in which your armies still retreat and your cities still surrender and your ships still sink.

ISOLATIONIST AIMS

The isolationists, in other words, are still isolationists and their isolationism still has for object the insulation of their country—by which they mean, of course, the insulation of the *status quo* within their country—from the history of the time. Driven from a policy of isolationist peace they have taken refuge in a policy of isolationist war. If they must have war they will have a war which shall alter nothing and accomplish nothing. A war which shall have neither social effects nor political implications—a purely military war—a military exercise in which the dead may be dead and the cities may

be destroyed but the manoeuvres shall otherwise be manoeuvres only and shall have no meaning. They have appropriated the war as before they sought to appropriate the American continent when they insisted that with *them* America came first. They hate the enemy with a public hatred rarely surpassed in any vocabulary.

But the war they support with so much noise and fury is not the war the world is fighting but a very different war. It is not the people's war to which the United Nations have committed themselves—the war fought, as the President has put it, by the massed, angered forces of common humanity—but another war, a soldier's war, a war of military purpose only, a war which they hope will end, as their original policy of peaceful isolation was intended to end, with all the rights and prerequisites intact, and everything put back the way it was before.

The significance of all this lies, not in any possible effect the isolationist attack may have upon American opinion, but in the fact that the isolationist attack has taken place. Isolationism itself, whether geographical or military, is a bankrupt movement. Time and history—the forces it attempted to resist—have exposed its empty hand. The isolationist leaders have been driven into indirection and apologetics and the isolationist press has been forced back upon a mean-spirited and vindictive propaganda of personal vilification which destroys itself. But the fact that the isolationist leaders and the isolationist press have elected to reform their broken lines upon the front of preparation for the peace, is proof that they too see the weight and movement of the people's minds. And as to that they are not wrong.

HISTORIC MOVEMENT

The American people have recaptured the current of history and they propose to move with it: they do not mean to be denied. They are no longer willing merely to fight the fascists' war—to accept the war forced upon them by the enemies and to fight back in that war and eventually to win it. They propose with the help of their friends Britain and Russia and China and in other countries, to fight their own war—a free man's war having free man's purposes. They are no longer satisfied, in other words, to fight a war merely to prevent something—to prevent defeat at the hands of the Nazis and their allies. They are determined to fight a war to accomplish something and they propose to consider, and to consider very carefully, what it is they should accomplish—what kind of victory they and you and the rest, the

free peoples of many countries, should conceive and so create. They are determined, briefly, to fight a war which shall have consequences rather than a war insulated from consequences, and they wish to consider with each other and with the rest what consequences are desirable and are to be obtained. They believe—they believe quite literally—that this is a people's war and not a soldier's war alone, for they see that it is a war in which the soldiers are the people and the people are the soldiers, and they have very little patience with those who speak of it, or think of it, solely in terms of maneuver and weapons and campaigns, vital as these things are.

The truth is—and it is a truth we will do well to recognize—that there is a stirring in our world: a gathering of human power—of the power of humanity: a forward thrusting and overflowing of human hope and human will which must be given channel or it will dig a channel for itself. The truth is that the people have come to recognize in the mirror of this dreadful war that they *are* the people and that the light is theirs. They have not talked to each other back and forth across the boundaries yet but they can hear each other talking: they know that there is someone there—some who can hear and speak and is the people also. There is a new sense of the people in the world—a sense which became palpable in the magnificent and yet heart-breaking and yet inexpressibly noble resistance of the people of London and the English towns; a sense which becomes from day to day more explicit as the people of Russia, under arms, fight inch by inch across their never-to-be-conquered country; a sense which the millions dead in China have made tragic and remembered.

PEOPLE DID NOT MAKE WAR

The people know they did not make this war. They know it was not of their choosing; that it was forced upon them; that they undertook to fight not for some purpose of their own but in order to defend; to survive; to go on living. They were troubled for a time by the feeling that this war was not theirs—that it was a thing done to them and not by them. They were troubled too by the propaganda of their enemies which told them that they had no cause, that they were fighting for nothing.

that the real cause was the cause of the Nazis and the Fascists who had had the will to make the war and to attack—who knew what they wanted and how to secure what they wanted. The people were ashamed that it was necessary for them to fight a defensive war, to fight only to survive and they were puzzled by the propaganda, but they knew also that it was propaganda and that it was not true.

They knew always, whether their leaders were willing to say it for them or not, that they had a cause—that they had indeed the one cause for which a war could possibly be fought and won. The name of that cause—the words for that cause—they could not immediately find. They turned back to the old words—to Abraham Lincoln talking of the people—to Lincoln addressing the U. S. Congress in the blackest year of the Civil War and telling his countrymen they would nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth. They turned back to the old words and the old words came alive in their mouths and found new meaning. But even the greatest words can serve the course of history only once. There was something new in the world, something forward in time, and the people felt it. They recognized it in each other's faces, in each other's courage, in the newspaper accounts of the resistance of the people elsewhere, in the radio stories from the many fronts. They knew that President Roosevelt was right when he told them that the people would end it. They propose to end it, and to end it, not by defeating the purpose of the enemies of the people only but by realizing a purpose of their own—a clear and forming purpose—a purpose to live like men, to live with dignity and in freedom.

It is this that has happened. It is a small thing perhaps—the welling up in the words of their leaders of the people's purpose—of the people's will. It is a small thing but it will have consequences and it will not be denied. The free peoples by their actions will create the hope and meaning of their time and they will speak of it. They will speak of it now; not later. They will speak of it as they fight this war and as a means to fight this war. For they know now that when they have found the words in which their purpose can be stated, they will have found as well the weapon by which the war will have been won.

Courtesy: U. S. Office of War Information

SHOULD MARRIED WOMEN BELONG TO ANY PROFESSION?

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

At the present moment, all over the world, women are clamouring for equal rights with men, and are fighting for their birth-right of education and freedom. So they naturally claim to be economically independent too. In Bengal the number of professional women is going up from year to year, and there are a good many married women among them. Now-a-days, in the majority of cases, women do not like to give up their profession, even after they get married, marriage being considered to be no bar to the continuance of the career for which they have carefully equipped themselves. Neither does it seem to be desirable that some of these talented women should cease to cultivate their parts, only because of their marriage, which should, by no means, mean the end of a career. In our country marriage is still looked upon as the ultimate destiny of women, and the home is considered to be their true and natural sphere of action. Freedom and independence being the order of the day, the professional women who ultimately get married probably prize their economic independence too highly to sacrifice it for the sake of a domestic life. Once they have tasted of this sort of independence they are loth to forgo it.

The economic independence of women—a watchword of the present-day women's rights movement—has become a matter of absolute necessity in a good many cases at the present time. In these hard days, the unemployment question seems to be getting keener everyday among the upper and lower middle classes of Bengal. The number of the unemployed educated youths of the province is of late alarmingly big, inspite of all the organised efforts that have been set on foot by the Government of Bengal and the Calcutta University to tackle and solve the problem. Now-a-days, educated youths are hard put to it to find out suitable jobs after they have finished their University education. Up till now the competition in the matter of employments is not so keen among the educated women of Bengal as among her educated men. Of course, there is no knowing what will happen in a few years to come, as our Universities are turning out women graduates by the hundred every year. Thus, at the present time, circumstances sometimes render it absolutely necessary, even, for married women to act as the breadwinners of their families, there being no other solution of their bread-and-butter problem. If the wives possess the requisite

qualifications, so much the better. If not, they have to prepare and qualify themselves for a calling with a view to supporting their husbands and children. This sort of thing may appear unchivalrous to many, who may contend that men who have no decent income of their own, and who are not in a position to maintain their families should remain unmarried. To-day many marriageable young men of Bengal are really unwilling to take up the responsibilities of a married life, only because they do not earn enough to support a family. But this self-imposed celibacy on the part of the youths of the country does not seem to be desirable and healthy from more than one point of view. Neither does this seem to be conducive to the moral well-being of a nation. All men cannot be expected to be saints. None can deny the inherent weaknesses of human nature. So ultimately this sort of thing cannot but have an adverse effect on the morals of the country. Besides, if a big number of healthy young men thus choose to remain celibate, the birth-rate of the country is sure to go down considerably.

Now that the cost as well as the standard of living has gone up a good deal, a great majority of the lower middle class people live from hand to mouth and can seldom put by any money to fall back upon in cases of emergencies. The meagre earnings of the husbands very often prove barely sufficient to keep their body and soul together. So, whenever something out of the ordinary, such as the celebration of a daughter's marriage, the performance of a Sradh ceremony and the like, puts a strain on their purse, they do not know how to meet the extra expenditure entailed thereby. They have to pawn their valuables, or for that matter, their household furniture of everyday use—to sell or mortgage their landed property even—so as to secure money for the purpose. The problem is perhaps partially solved if in those cases the wives can earn something and can thus supplement the incomes of their husbands. In the event of both the husbands and wives working, they can be much more comfortably off. Their joint earnings will probably enable them to give a more decent education to their children—to save some money, so as to provide against bad times, as well as to afford a few luxuries, which they would have to deny themselves otherwise.

Sometimes, even, the wives of well-to-do husbands, who do not need to earn their own livelihood, take up some work, the jobs be-

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only a means of occupying their time. Probably they have very little to do at home, having plenty of servants to look after their household affairs and to take care of their children. They thus get fed up with their leisure, and seek some outside employment by way of relief and diversion from the ennui and boredom of their daily routine. Of course, some of these women may be endowed with genuine talents and parts which they do not like to waste. Some are probably prompted by a real love of the work to take to some calling. At the same time they perhaps prefer to have an independent income of their own.

Whatever may be the motives or circumstances which usually induce married women to work and earn their living, now the question is, if they are in a position to do ample justice to their twofold duties and responsibilities—the duties which they owe to their homes as wives and mothers as well as those which they owe to their professions. Sometimes married women, encumbered with too many children—especially those who are rather badly off and cannot afford a sufficient number of efficient servants to run their homes—do neglect both their professional and domestic duties. Naturally they are much too preoccupied with their domestic worries to pay undivided attention to the outside work that they have taken up. It is a very common complaint against the married school-mistresses that they fail to discharge their duties whole-heartedly. To my mind the accusation is at least partially true in a good many cases. After all, our physical and mental resources are only limited. Of course, there may be many conscientious workers among the married school-mistresses. But very often the enormous physical strain that their twofold duties call for cannot but tell upon their health. As a rule, the school teachers are very much over-worked. So if they have to perform most of the household duties for themselves, in addition to their school work, the strain is sure to prove too much for many of them. Besides, in the case of some of these married women, their domestic worries, which must of necessity claim and divert their attention to some extent, are very likely to impair their efficiency too.

But should efficiency be sacrificed to charity? Or should marriage constitute a disqualification in the matter of selection for appointments? Married working women are not rare even in Eastern countries. We know, among the hill tribes in India, it is women who turn out to be more efficient workers than men. The Nepalese and Khasia women prove much more hardworking than men, who are often inclined to be rather indolent and ease-loving. The Santali and Hindustani women are also capable of hard physical labour. Such is the case with the Burmese women too. The Assamese, Chinese and Japanese women also render a good deal of help to their men in carrying on the industrial pursuits of their countries. Now the question is how to secure the maximum of efficient work from the married women of Bengal, who belong to some profession or other. First of all, if these women have to undertake some outside employments, they must be relieved of their domestic duties and responsibilities, as much as possible. Their household affairs must be entrusted to some responsible persons—servants or relatives—and their children must be well looked after. To my mind, married women ought to refrain from taking up outside jobs until their children are sufficiently grown up to do without their care and attention. It seems to be very cruel to deprive children of their mothers' care and attention early in their babyhood. Perhaps it is equally hard for the mothers to leave their children uncared for and go out for work. Hence the necessity and importance of setting up a sufficient number of good nursery schools throughout the Province. In case it is absolutely necessary for some married women with children to take up some outside work, some responsible persons—nurses or near relatives—should be placed in charge of their children, who should by no means be left entirely to themselves. If the husbands happen to be unemployed, there seems to be no reason why they should not take care of the children, as much as they can. What harm can there be in thus exchanging their duties with their wives under these special circumstances? There should be give-and-take between the husband and the wife. There can be no domestic peace and happiness without mutual co-operation and sympathetic understanding among the married couples. I do not think that it is derogatory to the dignity of a husband in any way to help his wife in running the home. If possible, the children of the working women should be put in some suitable boarding schools, as soon as the former are old

enough to live away from their mothers. In my opinion, even if the children are taken good care of, the married women who are compelled to earn their living should not have too many children; in the interests of their own health, as well as of their profession. It is not, at all, desirable that women should be allowed to take part in any active or strenuous work until sufficient time has elapsed after the birth of a child. But very often circumstances hardly permit of the prolonged absence of professional women from their duties. Due to their frequent absence from duties, the interests of the professions they belong to are also likely to suffer. So working women are seldom allowed sufficient rest after child-birth. Very often they have to resume duties almost immediately after their confinement—before they are physically fit to do so. This sort of thing cannot but undermine their health, sooner or later. However strong and robust their physical constitution may be, it is sure to give way in the long run. To my mind, in case married women with babies in arms have to work at all, they had better do some light indoor work, which does not involve too much physical strain. In that event they will be in a position to look after their children too, who are often neglected when their mothers have to go out for work. But there are several married women without any encumbrances, whatsoever,—those who have no children or those whose children are grown up. There can be no objection to these women working. Especially those, whose husbands are quite well off, and who can entrust their domestic duties to efficient servants, can easily undertake some outside duties. Probably some of them are really talented, and work for work's sake. There seems to be no reason why these women should idle away their time and thus let their talents get rusty. "An idle brain is the devil's workshop." A healthy mind does need some occupation. But the other side of the question cannot also be overlooked. The unemployment problem is already getting very keen, even, among the educated women of Bengal. Probably, a few years hence, the competition for employment will be as hard among them as among men at present. So if those married women, who happen to be the wives of well-to-do husbands and do not need to earn their own living, take to some profession, partly to keep themselves occupied and partly to have an independent income of their own—perhaps they will be depriving some other deserving women, who really need to work for the sake of their living, of the chances of their employment. From this point of view the

wives of well-to-do husbands should not work for wages or salary and thus take the bread out of the mouths of those who are really in need of some employment. It is high time that in Bengal the problem as to what sort of work should be taken up by married women should seriously claim the attention of all who have the well-being of the country at heart. Care should be taken that in the event of married women working, neither their professional nor their domestic duties suffer in any way. To my mind some indoor work is more suitable for married women than any outdoor occupation which necessitates their prolonged absence from their homes. Sometimes it is really difficult for them to stay away from their homes for hours on end for the purpose of attending to some outside duties. Besides, it is no good scrambling for situations, and overcrowding the few professions that are open to women. The possibilities of training women in some vocational and technical courses should also be explored with a view to opening up new avenues of employment. Some women may possess special tastes and aptitudes for some fine arts, such as drawing, painting, music, sculpture, needle-work and the like. They will do well to develop and cultivate their parts and specialise in some particular art or arts which will enable them to make a living also if necessary. Those who are gifted with special literary talents may take to writing and go in for a literary career. The number of women artists, musicians, and writers is still very small in our country. At the present time the need of giving a new orientation to some important cottage industries and carrying them on on a much bigger scale is being felt by many. Attempts are also being made to preserve and rehabilitate some of the ancient arts and crafts of the country that are dying out for want of proper encouragement. The services of married women may well be utilised for the purpose of this sort of work, for which probably they will need to be given some technical training. Even those married women who can ill afford to leave their homes for long can fill their leisure by doing some odd jobs at spare moments. In the new Matriculation Regulations of the Calcutta University provision has been made for the teaching of a handicraft at every high English school. To my mind, it is a move in the right direction. It is a pity that the average person in our country is averse to leave off the beaten track and strike out a line for himself or herself. But nothing great can be achieved without running the risk of a failure. "Nothing venture, nothing have."



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Crisis in Food

There can be no doubt whatsoever that the question of food-supply for the civil population has not been tackled with efficiency. Dr. B. C. Guha, Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry, Calcutta University, writes in *Science and Culture*:

The price of rice in Calcutta in the open market has gone up to Rs. 25 per maund at the moment of writing. Its pre-war price in Bengal was about Rs. 4-8 per maund. The rise in price of this staple food is therefore of the order of 500 per cent. What this would mean for the average Indian whose income is about Rs. 5 per month does not require to be told. Besides rice, the prices of most other common food-stuffs and of essential commodities like fuel and textiles have also gone up to levels which were unheard-of during the last war.

As it is, even in normal times, probably 90 per cent of our people are undernourished.

Now, when ordinary cereals like rice and wheat have also gone up in price to an unprecedented extent, the injury which the situation is causing particularly to growing children and young people is incalculable. We have ourselves seen cases of break-down in young people owing to physical and mental fatigue brought on by partial inanition. The effect of the present situation on the health of the present generation as well as the next is bound to be deleterious. The crisis is causing the deepest anxiety bordering almost on alarm. Re-assuring statements from the Central Government and from Mr. Amery regarding a satisfactory food-supply do not fill hungry stomachs nor remove gloomy apprehensions.

The heads under which measures should be taken immediately are indicated below:

(a) Co-ordination between the food-supplies for the forces and for the civil population.

The Army has not gone short of food-supplies. The Army has also its food-stocks. Has the same attention been paid to the food-supplies for the civilian population? Have the food-supplies for the Army been protected with due regard to the needs for food of the local population? Some months back, it was reported in the press that in some parts of Lyallpore district, the largest wheat-producing unit in India, wheat was not at all available for the civil people for love or for money. This obviously shows lack of co-ordination between the food-policy for the Army and the food-policy for the people.

(b) Central direction, supervision and co-ordination relating to the needs of different provinces or regions.

(c) Provision of more transport for importing major food-stuffs into the deficit provinces.

At one time lack of sufficient transport caused dislocation not only in the provision of food-stuffs in Bengal but also of coal.

(d) Cessation of export of staple cereals from India and of rice from Bengal.

It is known that such exports have taken place to the Near East, the Middle East as well as to Ceylon.

(e) Abolition of the "denial policy" at least for the time being.

The "denial policy" entailing large-scale removal of food-stuffs from particular areas for fear of their falling into Japanese hands in case of an invasion has caused hardship, as the name itself implies. This policy has perhaps been stopped at least for the time being.

(f) Rationing of the staple food-stuffs.

When a supply is limited, rationing is essential unless the rich are to be favoured against the poor.

(g) Fixing of universal controlled prices for staple food-stuffs.

At present there are controlled prices for certain commodities. It is also well-known that in the open market the same foods sell at far higher prices.

(h) Prevention of the accumulation of undue stocks by the military, by the employers of labour of the war industries and by the profiteering and hoarding businessmen.

Processing of Grass and Green Leaves for Human Food

In the course of the same article Dr. B. C. Guha observes:

Some researches have been carried out quite recently in Europe and America regarding the processing of grass and green leaves for food which normally grow in greater abundance than the subsidiary crops used by us. These materials contain a large quantity of fibre indigestible by man, but the proteins which may be extracted from them have been found to be of high biological value, comparable, in fact, with that of milk proteins. This can be done by maceration of the disintegrated green leaves with water and coagulating the proteins from the aqueous extract by heating. As prepared by us, the grass protein has just a grassy flavour and has hardly any taste. It is associated with some chlorophyll, which does no harm.

These proteins may be eaten by man, while the bulky residue of fibre with which a fair amount of insoluble protein is bound would provide excellent fodder for cattle.

The salts extracted with water may also be used for cattle feeding. Nothing would be wasted. Apparently nearly all kinds of green leaves may be used, avoiding, of course, poisonous plants. This might mean human competition with cattle for green leaves but since the bulk of the material would come back to cattle it should not matter very much. The fibre itself could be chemically broken down into edible sugar but the technical process is relatively difficult and there would be no fibre residue left for the cattle.

This processing can be done by two ways: (a) processing on a large scale at places where grasses and green

leaves are abundant whereby the proteins may be extracted and then dried and transported to the towns and cities and (b) processing on a domestic basis—each family in the villages may procure a certain quantity of grass and green leaves and extract the proteins, which as indicated above, is a relatively simple procedure, no more difficult than cooking and requiring the use of only domestic appliances.

Proteins have the same order of energy value as carbohydrate materials like rice or potato and therefore, from the energy standpoint, they can replace an equal quantity of rice in the diet.

It is not expected, of course, that the grass proteins would replace the whole of the rice in the diet; in that case it would be too high a protein food, which may not be good. But replacement of about one-third or half the rice by an equal amount of the grass proteins would do no harm but, on the contrary, would perhaps improve the quality of the food for our chronically protein-starved people whose health is adversely affected by a diet normally too high in carbohydrate.

The feasibility of the above propositions should be examined.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar

(4th May 1887—21st January 1943)

On the 21st January 1943 there passed away at Poona a world-renowned scholar, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. General Editor since 1925 of the Critical Edition of the *Mahabharata*, work on which was undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in 1919. P. K. Gode writes in *The Indian P. E. N.* :

He brought it international recognition by his critical scholarship and unrivalled mastery of scientific method in dealing with the complicated manuscript material of the Great Epic. He may be regarded as the "Father of Indian Textual Criticism," as one scholar observed on hearing the news of his sudden demise, which has caused a great void in philological circles. His work on the *Mahabharata* brought recognition from the British Academy and the American Oriental Society, of which he was made an Honorary Member.

Dr. Sukthankar received his earlier education in Bombay.

He received the M.A. degree of Cambridge University in Mathematics but took to philological studies under Prof. H. Luders of the University of Berlin, from whom he learnt his thoroughness of scientific method and his scholarly precision. After Professor Luders' visit in 1927 he wrote to Dr. Sukthankar : "Your work seems to me to merit the highest possible praise both as regards the constitution of the text and the clarity of succinctness with which the MSS evidence has been recorded. . . . The edition will be a monumental work of which all India will be justly proud." The work so far amply bears this out. No doubt the Institute will make adequate arrangements for the completion of this epochal undertaking on the lines evolved by Dr. Sukthankar.

Dr. Sukthankar also helped most willingly individual scholars and learned bodies with advice and co-operation.

He was a corresponding Member of the Oriental Institute of Prague, a Fellow of the Bombay University, a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay Branch), a Founder-Member of the Boards of Studies in Sanskrit, History and Archaeology and a recognized Teacher of the Post-graduate Department of the Bombay University. Before he joined the Bhandarkar Institute he was Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, for some time. He was Honorary Secretary of the Bhandarkar Institute from 1933-1939 and Editor of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for many years. Dr. Sukthankar has besides published innumerable papers in journals and commemorative volumes, of which his series of "Epic Studies" is most important.

Dr. Sukthankar has not failed in the mission entrusted to him by his compatriots. Down the reverberating corridors of Time Indian scholars will continue to hear his clarion call to Duty.

The Function of the Social Novel Today and Tomorrow

The social novel stands half-way between psychological narrative and sociological tract, the former being interested in the behaviour and the peculiarities of a certain individual, the latter in those of a social type. Dr. E. Kohn-Bramstedt writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The novelist should analyse but, different from the psychologist, also "synthesize"; that means, describe a small totality of life rounded in itself with a beginning and an end. Only the greatest artist can draw a vast social panorama with real characters, real background and moral depth as Tolstoy did in his immortal *War and Peace*, where the convulsions of a war-ridden society are as truly depicted as are the weaknesses and idiosyncrasies of the generals or the weird incomprehensibility of sudden death.

The social novel undertakes to portray people as both types and individuals, and to combine the freshness of the concrete with the significance of the typical. It wants to inform and to entertain at the same time. It may or may not have a message but it must in any case illustrate the impact of the milieu on the individual, the connections between individual and group, the antagonism and the co-operation between various groups, generations, classes or nations. In other words, it brings social atmospheres and social attitudes to life.

What subjects do we expect the future novelist to tackle?

In any case there will be no shortage of them, for life, however terrible and depressing its events may be, is always full of variety and interest for the born artist. But I should think that the following focus-points will deserve preferential treatment :

(1) Man, beast and hero in war time. Man facing danger unflinchingly.

A life-like portrait of the deeds of the pilot, of the men of the Merchant Navy and of the men and women in the street facing destruction. Such a novel should show most graphically how the few saved the many; but also how bravery could sometimes go hand in hand with antisocial behaviour in other fields. Man can be human, but he cannot be superhuman for long. Only some years after the war will a true picture of the attitudes and the reactions of people in it be possible.

Then the pitfalls of either romantic glorification or pacifist debunking should be avoided. War, as Tolstoy has so clearly demonstrated, is sometimes an unavoidable evil; but whilst man has to bow before the iron law of necessity, he can win his inner freedom by rising to the higher possibilities in him. He can mature as well as degenerate in war, and he is actually doing both.

(2) The transition from war to peace; the problems of adjustment and maladjustment in the political, economic and psychological spheres.

This transition after the last war has been aptly described in the novels of Remarque, Robert Graves and others. Let us hope that this time the transition will be better planned and will work itself out more smoothly than twenty-five years ago; but there will be many social problems as the result of the emerging of a Brave (or otherwise) New World.

(3) The epic of the suppressed nations and their fight for liberation.

Many pathetic stories will be told of events in Poland, in Holland and in France, etc., of ruthless persecutions, of torture and death, of unheard-of resistance and heroism, of inventive genius hatched by the grim necessity of underground struggle. The social novel of the future must give us a clear impression of the shades and shadows in the life of the suppressed, of famine and exploitation, of sabotage and inspiration, of despair and of unceasing courage.

(4) International co-operation.

This war was started by the madness of perverted nationalism. Our aim must be to replace the sinister fire of nationalism by the broader light of an international order and co-operation. At present there exists an international of foreign slave labourers in Germany, and, very different from it, the friendly international of the United Nations. Today in London Englishmen fraternise with Americans, and both mix with the exiled Poles, the Free French and many others. This collaboration in the common cause should widen our horizon and keep away any narrow nationalism. The observant mind of the novelist is, for instance, attracted by the intermingling of Polish soldiers and Scottish girls. To him social and national mixing opens new vistas and problems.

(5) The relationship between the sexes.

This is an eternal subject for realistic prose and idealistic poetry alike. Yet it has received a new significance through the changed sociological function of women in our society. As in the last war, the prestige of women in the democratic countries is growing. Women share the many burdens of this war equally with men; they suffer from raids and other enemy action; they serve in the armed forces; they fill many and often important posts now vacated by men; in the occupied countries they pay with their lives for their will to resistance, as do the men. War with its brutality but also with its heroism makes for equality between the sexes. For many reasons women are never more indispensable from an economic, political and human point of view than in war time.

But apart from this new balance between the sexes, war has even a more far-reaching influence on their relationship. As it changes many accustomed aspects, so it both loosens and deepens the love ties between man and woman. The vicissitudes of war remove many love and marriage partners from their peace-time surroundings. The man is called up or evacuated and so

may be the woman; new ties are formed and old ones gradually fade out.

On the other side, the uncertainty of life, the omnipresence of danger, have deepened many ties. The tenderness and the profundity of genuine love become all the more radiant against the background of destruction and the fleetingness of our existence.

(6) This leads us to our last point: the role of faith and religion today and in the future.

The insecurity of life has produced the snatch-pleasure-while-you-may attitude, but it has also brought about a deeper religious feeling in many. It would be too much to speak of a religious revival but it is a fact that today there are more people who wonder about the meaning of life and of death than before the war. Some return to the belief in the essential Christian doctrines, trusting that they can thus find a path to a higher and purer life. Others prove through their actions that they have acquired a new kind of stoicism as an attitude of accepting what fate has in store, not with indifference but with equanimity.

Russia

The New Review observes :

The battle on the eastern front of Europe is approaching a decisive phase with both armies rapidly nearing temporary exhaustion. In the centre and the north, the Soviet army is on the offensive; it captured the Rzhev stronghold, made a swing for Orel through Vyazma and started pushing ahead in the direction of Smolensk; the going is good with better winter equipment giving the Russians a decided advantage. On the south, the Russians failed to reach the Dnieper, and were thrown back by a Nazi counter-attack; they had outrun their supplies; once more transport difficulties explain their failure; with their rear area destroyed by the past offensive and counter-offensive, they had no time to rebuild their roads and railways and had to rely on their sledges which had proved so serviceable on the frozen ground and water.

The early thaw, which the Russians had hoped to anticipate with a headlong rush, caught them in the open plains beyond Kharkov and they were badly handicapped in slush and mud.

This was a unique opportunity for the Germans who depend mainly on a railway system of transport; the Nazi command was not slow in delivering its counter-blow with the lightning forcefulness it displayed in North-Africa in November last. Some twenty-five divisions were thrown into the melee and pushed back the line beyond Kharkov to the Donetz bank.

Both sides are full of surprises and tricks, take advantage of every kind of cover and camouflage, and display staying powers beyond normal endurance. Tanks figure prominently, though they have lost much of their past glamour; as was already demonstrated in the Battle of the Somme in 1917, tanks can do little without the support of infantry. The campaign of Poland, the Low Countries and France gave a false impression; tanks achieved break-throughs but had to rely on motorised infantry to secure permanent results. The Nazis owed their lightning victories not so much to the massive use of tanks as to the massive recourse to motorised transport to bring the infantry into line. With the experience of the present war, anti-tank weapons have been developed to a surprising degree,

and tanks cannot effect a breach in the front as easily as in the early months of the war; time after time, they have to take cover from anti-tank fire and wait till artillery work has smashed the anti-tank defence and permitted a further advance; often the bigger tanks play the part of mobile artillery to open the way for smaller types. But in all cases, infantry keeps to its final role of occupying the conquered territory.

China—The Rebirth of a Nation

In the course of an address delivered by Mr. C. H. Lowe, India Representative of the Chinese Ministry of Information, at the annual meeting of the Madras Y. M. C. A. and published in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*, he says:

Dr. Hu Shih, former Chinese Ambassador to the United States and one of China's noted scholars, once remarked that he believed China's greatest enemies (during the period of civil war) were poverty, disease and illiteracy. When Dr. Hu wrote this article urging his fellow-countrymen to do something to obliterate these evils from the face of China, not a few of our ultra-nationalists felt hurt and displeased. But subsequent years have shown that, whether we like it or not, unpleasant facts must be faced if a nation is to be rebuilt. As Booker T. Washington said: "No man can keep another man in the ditch without remaining down there with him"; so, too, have we found that to rebuild a country we can neglect no section of our people whatever.

No nation can become strong, prosperous or happy if it allows itself to be virtually eaten up by disease, poverty and ignorance.

I would not be true to myself nor to you if I tried to conceal my sincere distress and anxiety over the appalling extent of poverty, disease and illiteracy in the places I have visited in India, and may I not hope to be counted as a friend if I emphasize, at this forward-looking gathering, the urgent need of organized and large-scale efforts against the same evils which have caused so much misery and suffering in China and which are obviously making their effects equally horrid in India?

In old China we used to give greater attention to arts, literature, poetry and culture than to the practical problems of life. We have even been accused of having looked down on people who have had to earn their living with their hands.

To-day in new China manual labour is being encouraged everywhere, and students are required not only to exert their minds but also their bodies.

We have learned that to survive in a scientific age we must spread scientific knowledge and technical education among all the people. We have learned that, especially in wartime, men and women who can do things with their hands are equally useful and important, if not more so. As a result, an increasing number of young men and women are going into technical and vocational education instead of pursuing the liberal arts. It is interesting to note that in his latest book called *China's Destiny*, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has urged the youth of China to take up various scientific professions instead of seeking personal advancement. He has advised our youth to become fliers, engineers,

administrative officers, school teachers and frontier workers—for these are the types of men who have to bear the chief burden of national reconstruction.

Technological Revolution

Science in its relation to human society is concerned with giving man mastery over things which will enable him to translate his wishes and aspirations into fact and to overcome the obstacles which prevent the full development of his personality. *Science and Culture* observes:

Let us see what are these wishes and aspirations. Every man as an individual would like to have a good training for a profession while young, and when grown-up would like to be provided with some employment suited to his mental and physical make-up: he would like to have a hearth and home, would like to have adequate food, clothing and other necessities of life, freedom from want and disease for himself and for his family members throughout life, a certain surplus which will enable him to have some leisure from drudgery and opportunities for cultural development. Such a state of society has been the dream of founders of religion, saints and philosophers. But the "Kingdom of Heaven" as portrayed above has never been realised in human history. The superficial reason was the innate wickedness of man, but probably the real cause was that with the tools and methods of production at his disposal, the ancient and the medieval man found it physically impossible to produce commodities essential for a full life in sufficient quantities, so that it was impossible to reach the standard set forth above for every member of the society. Malnutrition was rife and the causes and remedies of diseases were mostly unknown. Famines, epidemics and floods which were numerous had to be explained by the priests as punishments by an angry deity. The strong could reach the aforesaid standard of living only by robbing the weak of the fruits of their labour in one way or the other, so that society consisted of masters and serfs and human communities were divided into predatory and subject nations.

Then came science nearly three hundred years ago, and caused a silent and extremely potent revolution in the methods of production, distribution and transport, and improved, at least in Western Europe and the U. S. A., conditions of living beyond recognition.

In spite of temporary setbacks that were caused by large-scale wars, progress in this direction has been spectacular; and as everybody knows now, science has placed such potent methods of production and distribution in the hands of man that there is no reason, why people of every country should not enjoy a fuller and more satisfying life provided the country possesses sufficient natural resources and the people have the genius to explore and exploit them. India is a country of such resources, but apart from other causes her people have not unfortunately yet developed or been allowed to develop the genius for exploiting them.

To illustrate, let us take the case of North America which would provide an object lesson.

The few millions of Red Indians, who lived in North America barely three centuries ago and were divided into innumerable tribes none of whom could

understand each other's language, had no idea that their problems of food and living could be satisfactorily solved by any other method except by continuous wars between the tribes for the possession of small fields of maize and potato. Yet, today, thanks to the introduction of civilised modes of living, and later to Technological Revolution, the same country maintains 130 million human beings with food in such excess that to keep prices up to the level desired by the merchants, maize has sometimes been burnt and milk run down the rivers. The standard of living is so high that there was a motor car for every five persons up to the time when the United States joined the war. Sanitary and prophylactic measures have been so greatly improved that the average expectation of life is more than 55 years, an increase of 100 per cent. in 50 years and twice that of present-day India.

All this has been due to the ability of the people in harnessing the power that modern science has placed at their disposal.

In the United States of America and in Western Europe, a very high standard of living has been attained by technological progress both in industries and agriculture. The stimulus came mainly from science though there have been other factors. Continuous effort is being made to learn the secrets of healthy living, to gain mastery over the forces of nature, to make new materials having desirable qualities, to increase the productivity of the soil, and to improve the quality of crops and livestock by selective breeding and scientific management.

Before this Revolution started men worked with tools in cottages, and production was confined to artisans and peasants (Paleotechnic Age of L. Mumford). But as a consequence of the Revolution, tools and cottages gave way to machinery and factories (Neotechnic Age).

The Aetiology of Communal Wrangles

In the course of an article in *Prabuddha Bharata* the Editor observes:

For the present let us see how far in actual practice the main religions of India recognize the spiritual dignity of man in all their vociferous propaganda, clash of ideas, and breaking of heads.

Both Mohammedanism and Christianity were ushered into India under the aegis of secular Powers whose main purpose was economic and political aggrandizement. In many cases the natives were made to bend down before the sword, the bayonet, political pressure, and economic allurements. But fanatics claimed that it was because of the spiritual inferiority of the Hindus that they had to yield ground. True, there were quite a good number of Mohammedan and Christian saints who through their piety won the hearts of the Hindus, who through their piety won conversions that followed. But on the whole the mass conversions that followed were not always the result of inner conviction. Inner conflicts were not resolved despite these changes of faith; and these have been gathering momentum for centuries in the unconscious of the different sects.

Our fights are not really for removing spiritual obstacles or improving the spiritual standards of others. It is the ignorant mass

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mind in all its horridness, the product of centuries, that is at large.

We do not mean that the Hindus are wholly free from their share of responsibility. A continuous process of social inroads has put them on the defensive and engendered in them a hopeless inferiority complex. The least encroachment from others sets the mass mind working for self-protection. They have neither the time nor the tendency to question the propriety of any social or economic form for which the fight ensues. "It is a Hindu custom, and the opponents are non-Hindus"—that is enough to call them to action.

The fact is that all the parties in such conflicts are on an equal footing in so far as their estimations of true religious values go: their difference lying only in the degrees of their aggressiveness. He who can raise the first hue and cry and can brandish the heavy stick is supposed by all to be the aggrieved party. There is an utter lack of clear thinking here.

This much should be apparent to all that the real issues involved in such conflicts are not religious, but social or political.

The question of questions with the communalists is, which community can sooner monopolize the national power. It becomes also equally clear that once religion disclaims responsibility for such clashes, the problems can be studied against their proper natural backgrounds. But evidently no community will dare take such a step alone. The leaders of all communities must take concerted action. But, unfortunately, our heads are muddy.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Germany and Japan

There is little evidence of a common strategic purpose shared by Germany and Japan. *The Month* observes :

The Japanese have not attempted to invade Siberia and, whatever grand strategy may have been in reserve, no common measures have been set going to reach India from both sides. The importance attached to the one Japanese U-boat which did appear in the Atlantic showed how little else there was to stress. The Japanese are concerned with strengthening their hold on the vast territories they have occupied and in retrieving their position in the Solomons and New Guinea. They hope, naturally, that Germany will not be defeated for this would, in the long run, mean their own defeat; but, when German prospects seemed brightest, they never wanted a full German victory; they were suspicious of possible consequences, and they are certainly not anxious to oust Anglo-American influence from the Far East only to have to tolerate that of the Germans. Besides, the Germans have shown themselves more interested in China than Japan, and German military instructors have, in the past, played some part in the training of Chinese armies. The racial theories of the Nazis scarcely appeal to the Japanese, who have a quite different racial doctrine. In spite of the fact that they have been made "honorary Aryans," they are aware of the Nazi dislike and distrust of them. Incidentally, this dislike of Far Easterners was very marked in the last German Kaiser. In 1900 his imagination was haunted by the nightmare of the Yellow Peril. He objected strongly to the Japanese as a people, and even let this general sentiment influence his dealings with Japanese diplomats. He was equally averse to the Chinese. When German troops embarked at Bremerhaven for China at the time of the Boxer revolt, he gave them his famous *Hunnenrede*. "Pardon will not be granted, prisoners will not be made. As a thousand years ago the Huns of Attila made themselves a name which lives in story and legend, so let the German name be impressed on China by you in such a way that no Chinaman ever again dares to look askance at a German." Granted that this speech worried his ministers, does it not epitomise what we have since come to know as German frightfulness? The comparison between the modern Germans and the ancient Huns is no trick of Allied journalism: it is the solemn statement of His Imperial Majesty of Potsdam.

China and Japan

Under the above caption *The Month* draws a parallel between progressive China and aggressive Japan :

Ignorance of the Far East among average people in this country is profound and unconscious, and lack of knowledge has as usual produced a superiority complex. The West has claimed a monopoly of action and progress, and in the past has criticised the eastern peoples for their fatalism, their passivity, their lack of interest in the restless humanitarian activity which many people

in this country and in America regard as the only form of good. Yet we are surprised and sometimes resentful when the Far Eastern races learn western methods and beat us at our own game. The Anglo-Saxon races are inclined to assume a moral as well as material ascendancy over Japan and China. In the case of Japan this assumption, one hopes, may be justified. In the case of China, there is little excuse for it, for we have a great deal to learn from the Chinese. Napoleon described China as a giant asleep, who on awakening would wake the world. The contribution which China could make to western civilization is incalculable, since China, where two cultures, the old and the new, are being welded together, is now one of the most dynamic nations in the world.

The long seclusion of China from the outside world can be partly explained by the size of the country and also by the homogeneity of Chinese culture. China was more of a world, self-sufficing and self-contained, than a nation. Her civilization was so unified by the teaching and tradition of Confucius that it never broke up, as Europe did, into separate and warring units. Twice in its history the whole of China was conquered by foreign invaders from the Nomad frontier, but Chinese culture, like Greek culture, was strong enough to absorb its conquerors.

Three thousand years before Christ, the Chinese were studying astronomy, writing records on bamboo and wood, and founding the silk industry. During the earliest stage of Greek history, when the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were being written, the Chinese dynasty of Chou drew up a plan of government which lasted three thousand years. Before Plato and Aristotle had worked out the relationships between man and society, and the values which should determine them, Confucius had drawn up a code of ethics laying down standards of behaviour for civilised man. Like the Greek philosophers, he defined the duties of rulers and emphasized the obligation not to do to others what they would not have done to themselves. It is not generally realised how the social life of China has been moulded by Confucian moral teaching and by the influence of Confucian learning. It has permeated society until it has become second nature to the Chinese people.

A Battle for the Mediterranean

The Month observes in an article 'Enter North Africa' :

For the past few weeks our eyes have been on North Africa. The frontal attack upon Rommel's army and the rout of Germans and Italians was followed up by the Anglo-American descent upon French North Africa. This has been described as the greatest land-and-water expedition of all history, with its more than 500 transports and 350 ships of war. Further, it appears to have taken the Germans fairly by surprise. It is a heartening sign of the gathering strength of the United Nations and of the passing to them of the strategic initiative. If the Allies can hold the entire North African coastline, they will gain gradual control of the Mediterranean; they will be in a position to deal heavy blows to Italy and to loosen the Axis grip on the

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Balkans. What threatened at one time to develop into a battle for the Near East is fast becoming a battle for the Mediterranean.

Barbary—Modern French North Africa

In the same article, the above paper links the present theatre of war in French North Africa with historical associations :

French North Africa—the three countries of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia—geographically, are really one country, a long strip of coastal land, stretching from the Atlantic along the Mediterranean as far as the Gulf of Tunis.

This is Barbary, Mr. Alan Brodrick reminds us in a recent addition to the series "The World To-day," (Oxford University Press). It is "a piece of Mediterranean Europe backing on to the Sahara. It belongs to the so-called 'White Africa' that anthropologists deny is 'Africa' at all, since between little White Africa and the immensity of Black Africa lies the barrier of the Sahara. . . . The Barbary that men can live in is, for the most part, a ribbon of land, two thousand miles long and never save in the west of Morocco, more than 100 miles wide."

The history of these countries Mr. Brodrick epitomises in a short paragraph :

Throughout its history this region has nearly always been a provincial outpost and never the seat of any considerable native culture. At times, Barbary has been prosperous enough but generally in terms of close dependence upon foreign connexions. It was a vague hinterland for the sea-borne commercial empire of the Carthaginians. It was a Roman province whose pene-

tration by Roman civilization was slight and patchy. It was a causeway between the two great centres of Arab empire, Cordova and Baghdad, the capitals of the Western and Eastern Caliphates. When one capital collapsed the corridor became a blind alley and so remained until our time.

For all that, this portion of North Africa has a certain history even if it be largely the story of the foreigners from East and North who have come to it. Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, Turks and, in the nineteenth century, the French—these were the major elements from abroad that lived side by side with the native Berbers.

Tunisia

The same paper continues :

The Carthaginians have left little trace of that mysterious empire which once had so far-flung an influence, which challenged for so long the advance of Rome and then so suddenly collapsed and vanished. Carthage was situated in our modern Tunisia.

It was to Tunisia, and to Tunisia only, that the Romans applied the term "Africa." This is presumably a latinizing of the Berber word "Iriqqa" (*Ifriqiyah* in Arabic). Tunisia has the ruins of many a Roman monument to remind the traveller of this once Imperial connection.

Tunisia came into direct contact with Rome during the third of the Punic wars between Rome and Carthage. It was from this classical "Africa" that the Roman general Scipio took his title of "Africanus."

Pakistan

In some recent meetings held in Durban, South African Indians' two voices are heard, Hindus opposing and Muslims supporting Pakistan. Commenting on the danger of communalism, the Editor of *The Leader* of Durban, the newspaper for the quarter million Indians of South Africa, writes:

It would, indeed, be a sorry Indian community which is torn asunder by communalism. The Mussulmans and Hindus in South Africa have an imposing record of harmony which spreads over eighty years in the history of S. A. and it would be a tragedy if this proud achievement were to go up like so much tissue paper in a bonfire. We should jealously guard this heritage of ours in a country which is consistent in denying us the full rights of citizenship. We should be proud of this unity which we have been able to build up through all the turbulence of an insecure status in the national life of S. A. instead of retarding our own development by the importation of communalism. There is much good in India that we can emulate to our advantage. Let us, however, never divide on Pakistan or Hindustan.

AMERICAN NEWSFILE

The following items of news are reproduced here from the *American Newsfile* issued by the U. S. Office of War Information:

Pan Americanism Hailed as Foremost Example of International Co-operation

"The United States is proud to be working shoulder to shoulder with its sister republics to achieve a world-wide concert of free nations," President Roosevelt declared in his message to the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union on the occasion of Pan-America Day, which was widely celebrated here.

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, called Pan-Americanism "the most successful example of co-operation between sovereign nations in modern history."

Vice-President Wallace, who is currently touring the South American Republics, broadcast from Lima, Peru, in honour of the day.—Washington, April 15.

President of U. S. Negro University Reports "Definite Improvement" in Condition of Negroes

"I am happy that I can report definite improvement in the condition of Negroes, with fuller utilization of Negro manpower," F. D. Patterson, President of the Tuskegee Institute, outstanding American Negro University, declared today in his annual report. "Many defense industries are offering opportunities on skilled levels to Negro artisans. Negro Army officers are being trained on an increasingly large scale, the standing number being 1,200 at present."

"The Air Corps has not only opened flying to Negro youth, but also has made available a number of technical fields in connection with auxiliary activities, such as aviation mechanics, Signal Corps work, radio engineering and interceptor commands. . . . The opportunities already afforded them have given new impetus and hope to the training efforts of Negro youth."—Tuskegee, Alabama, April 13.

New York Reviewers Praise Indian Cinema "Gyandev"

One of the first Indian moving pictures ever shown in the United States, "Gyandev," is being screened at the Little Carnegie Theatre, which adjoins New York's famed Carnegie Hall. The picture was extensively reviewed in the New York press. The following are some of the newspaper comments:

New York *World-Telegram*: "American theatres have paid small attention to the films of India, so it is startling to find this one right in step with Hollywood standards. The sound and photography are excellent, perhaps a cut above the usual Hollywood standard. . . . In 1938, the last pre-war year for which statistics are available, India ranked third among all nations in the number of feature pictures produced."

New York *Times*: "With piety and a love for camera tricks, an Indian studio sent the Little Carnegie the history of 'Gyandev of India,' a holy man of centuries ago whose life followed a pattern similar to that of most prophets. . . ."

The newspaper *PM*, running a three-column still photograph from the movie, states that it is "the first film ever generally shown in this country from India's little-known but brisk film industry."—New York, April 13.

Importance of Air Power to War and Peace Stressed on Birthday of Wilbur Wright

The Seventy-sixth birthday of Wilbur Wright, the Dayton, Ohio, bicycle mechanic who with his brother Orville invented the first practicable airplane, was the occasion of comment stressing the importance of air power to the ultimate victory of the United Nations.

James P. Murray, President of the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America and Vice-President of the Boeing Aircraft Company, stated: "On every battle front, in every war plane category, the air power of the United Nations is rising in ever-increasing superiority over the enemy. . . . The Wright brothers envisioned the airplane as an instrument of peace and commerce among all nations. . . . The aircraft industry today would much rather be doing the thing they envisioned—producing airplanes for commerce, travel, sport and other peacetime pursuits. But when called upon, the industry proved its capacity to turn to the grim pursuit of making war planes and producing them in numbers which skeptics said a few short years ago were impossible. We are producing them at a rate approaching 6,000 a month."

"The great bombers and fighters in the air today, and the greater bombers and fighters on the way, are only the forerunners of great air commerce in the days to come, when war planes will be replaced by the planes of peace."—Washington, April 17.

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NOTES

Man Made Famine in India

The New Statesman and Nation writes :

Rice, the staple food, is said to cost about 1sh. a pound in Bombay instead of the usual 1d. or 1½, while potatoes are quoted at 9d. a pound. These are prices which would break us; they mean death by hunger to the Indian masses. Not even in India will men meet starvation with the passive tactics of non-violent resistance. Food riots are becoming common. At Nasik in the Bombay Presidency, the other day, the angry crowds were so formidable that the armed police had to call in the troops. The policy seems to be to rely on ruthless severity, for a general order has been given to the troops to fire without warning. That is an impolitic cruelty which Mr. Amery will have to justify to Parliament, if it fulfils its duty.

Prof. Laski had, some time ago, analysed the membership list of the present Parliament and had shown how the present ruling class had vital stakes in the Empire. He had fully explained why the Parliament cannot fulfil its duty to the cause of democracy and freedom particularly with reference to India. Knowing this, there is no difficulty for Churchill, Amery and Linlithgow to rely on a policy of ruthless severity.

Bureaucracy has no Achievement

The bungling with the food situation by the bureaucrats of India and the worthlessness of their arguments have been ably summed up by *The New Statesman and Nation* in the following words :

The Bureaucracy, until the other day, did nothing, though the shortage has been growing for at least six

months. It has a reputation for ability, because its members pass a stiff competitive examination. Like the rest of mankind it does very well what it believes in doing. It seldom fails in the policeman's job; it can preserve law and order. But when it comes to the welfare of the people, it has a stern and unbending faith in *laissez faire* which is in the realm of theory the perfect expression of the indifference of the rich to the welfare of the poor. There have been and are today among the small body of British Civil Servants in India individuals who toil devotedly. It is also true that railways and roads and in a few places water-power have prevented the frequent famines of the past. But this is no great achievement for the bureaucracy that has lived through a century and half among this half-starved, short-lived, impoverished and illiterate population. Sometimes it would have been better if it had done nothing. In one fit of activity it imposed land-lords on these peasants to rack-rent them. In the present instance its plea was that it had no powers; present instance its plea was that it had no powers; present instance its plea was that it had no powers. Six food was a provincial question. That is rubbish. Six of the 11 provinces are under direct bureaucratic rule. The Viceroy can always over-rule a provincial governor and today he is armed with emergency powers, which authorize him to do what seems good to him. That his excuse was an evasion is evident from the fact that in the last week or two quite a lot has been done. Exports has been stopped; wheat is being imported and provinces with a surplus have been ordered to let it go to their neighbours.

Only a National Government Can Solve Food Problem

The New Statesman and Nation concludes :

Our first suggestion is that coercion be applied not to the starving masses, but to the profiteers. If shooting there must be, why not start on a few usurers? The first thing to do is obviously to commandeer all stocks of food and put them on the market at a reasonable price—even below cost price. The peasant remains to be dealt with, who hoards because he is afraid. If

IN EXPECTATION

By Debiprasad Roy Choudhury

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

in this island the people were suffering from lack of confidence, a wireless talk by Mr. Churchill would put heart into them. That will not work in India. Few of her villages boast even one wireless set and her Churchills are in prison. A wireless talk by Lord Linlithgow would chill even loyal hearts. The only way to deal with the food problem in the village would be to appeal to its public opinion as a unit. When an Indian village does make up its mind about anything it thinks and acts with astonishing unanimity. It would, if it really meant business, deal with a hoarder by out-casting him. But first of all, it has to be persuaded, re-assured, and taught how to act. Bullets will not do that. That official machine is useless, for the police—with good reason—are hated. No white man could do it, and still less could a tame Indian. Only an Indian National Government could do it.

But even these lashes fail to rouse the conscience of the rulers of India!

Link India not by Might, but by Spirit of Christ

Dr. Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham, gave an address attended by Sikhs, Hindus, Moslems and Christians, Indian and British, in March last. It has been reported in the *Birmingham Post*. The Bishop said:

We are met today to pray for the welfare of India and for a closer union of mind and spirit between the British and Indian peoples. We need to replace enmity by friendliness, unhappy memories by the spirit of co-operation, suspicion and jealousy by confidence and trust on both sides.

The time seems to me to be ripe for a new attempt at mutual understanding. The whole world situation has changed since the black days of the Mutiny or even of Amritsar. India now takes its place among the countries of the world as a group of peoples with a distinctive civilization spreading through a vast population. By sheer weight of numbers combined with intellectual ability of her leaders, India must inevitably in the future play an important part in shaping the destiny of the world.

I personally am convinced that, as regards India, such a slogan as "What we have we hold" is out of date. The mental attitude that it suggests is that of our early 19th century nabobs. To regard Indians as subject races held down by force of arms is wholly incompatible with the outlook of a modern Christian democracy. When England and India meet on equal terms, with friendly respect on both sides, then a new era can begin.

Dr. Barnes reminded the Christians that

We need to remember that Christianity came from the East and that instinctively Mr. Gandhi appreciates certain of its fundamentals better than any European. Let us never forget that while we can show to India the Nordic virtues inherent in Christianity, India can in return give us a deeper understanding of the mystical content of our faith. We pray, then, today, for an enlarged sympathy, a new unity, a turning back from repeated mistakes to a true fellowship in the future. We must link India to our Empire not by might, nor by power, but by the spirit of Christ.

Dr. Barnes believes that a profound misunderstanding has been created between the

East and the West by the slogan "East is East and West is West, the twain shall never meet." He said:

For this reason there has been in England profound misunderstanding of Mahatma Gandhi's fast. That he has survived his fast leaves us thankful: we feel that, in God's goodness, we have been spared an outcome that might have evoked great bitterness. I myself cannot believe that the fast was of the nature of blackmail. It may seem so to many among us because they do not understand Gandhi's religious outlook. Though the doctrine of atonement lies deeply embedded in Christianity, though we express our faith in the efficacy of prayer and fasting and in the spiritual power of suffering, our trust in force is so complete and our outlook so materialistic that Christian essentials, profoundly real to Mr. Gandhi, mean little to some among us. A Christian theologian may stress "the redemptive power of innocent suffering" but when our politicians see it used with simple trust, they cannot understand it; they suspect madness or profound duplicity.

Britain's Profits from India

Mr. Herbert Morrison delivered a speech at New Delhi Castle in which he made a survey of the British Empire. Commenting on this speech, *The New Statesman and Nation* writes, "In contemplating the dependent Empire as a whole he feels a flow of satisfaction which we wish we could share, but he is aware of some rather extensive patches of shadow." It then goes on, to say:

Mr. Morrison then went on to India. The report we have before us cannot be verbatim. We know that he is concerned about its immeasurable, its sub-human poverty. Probably he recalled the fact which horrified even Lord Curzon, that in his day the yearly income of its inhabitants was £2 a head. It has risen considerably since then, but so have prices. Mr. Morrison's ministerial colleague, Tom Johnston, has again certified that over a long series of years, doubtless prosperous years, for every £12 which the British jute mills of Calcutta paid to their Indian workers they sent home some length on the fact that for the best part of two centuries a steady annual tribute, measured by the dependency to this country. In the first three decades of this century it averaged £23 millions a year. That, over two centuries, year by year, helped to build up our capital equipment—steel mills, electric girds, workmen's dwellings. India, deprived of this surplus, did without these things. Her workers consequently inhabit pigsties, and her industrial development has only just begun.

The New Statesman has learnt by this time that a new rule has been added to the already voluminous D.I.R. the net effect of which will be a stoppage of whatever little industrial advancement there was going to be. The Jute Mills of Calcutta are under British management but they are not British Mills, 60% of their shareholders are Indians. In spite of this fact, they were sending home in profits £100 for every £12

paid to their Indian workers. This, however, picture of British trusteeship in India painted is not complimentary to the Indian shareholders. by the Tories.

"Greater Part of India in Revolt"

The New Statesman adds,

Mr. Morrison, conscious of the fact that the greater part of India is in revolt against us, went on to say that India can have self-government after the war for the asking. We hope, however, that he added that what all her parties without exception demand is not merely self-government, but independence. We hope, too, that he fully explained to his audience that the future self-determination of India depends on the Princes. These gorgeous autocrats, who rule without civil rights and appropriate for their privy purses what they please of their Budgets—one-third is a moderate share—are to nominate their delegations as they please to the Constituent Assembly. Their people will have no say. These Princes are our puppets, our tenants at will, whose thrones rest on our troops. They—or the Power behind them—will control a third of the votes in any Indian Constituent Assembly. The Princes have the whip hand, and not merely by their swollen vote of nominees. Their States interlock with the provinces like the pieces of a child's jig-saw puzzle. They cut across rivers, railways, electric girds. Without these States India could not live; with them she cannot be free.

The British Government's sympathy with the native states is always expressed in terms of their autocrat Princes. The aspirations and legitimate demands for freedom of the States' people are ignored because the needs of Imperialism are greater than their rights.

India, the Microbe's Paradise under British Rule

Mr. Beverley Nichols, the celebrated Journalist, telegraphing to the *Sunday Chronicle* from one of the principal hospitals in Peshawar, where he was a patient, said:

In India—in the India of today—there is only one trained nurse to every 60,000 inhabitants; indeed, in some provinces, there is only one to every 100,000. India, compared to Britain, is the microbe's paradise—the continent abounds in diseases—diseases due to climate, to appalling sanitation, to centuries of ignorance and superstition. Her need, even on the strict basis of population, must always be greater than ours. Is it any wonder that the Indians' expectation of life at birth is barely half that of the average European? And is it any wonder that these facts are seized upon by the agitator who cries, 'You British have ruled India for nearly 300 years—can you pretend to be satisfied with what you had done for her?'

Well, can we? I think the completely honest answer to that question is a 'no.' We can be no more satisfied with what we have done for India than what we have done, say, for Wales. The cost of a day's war expended in the distressed areas of Wales would have saved endless misery and hardship. The cost of a day's war expended in India might initiate the beginning of a new era.

Microbes thriving in this country under the protection of the British, give a new touch to the

Lift the Ban

Holding that the book entitled "A Phase of the Indian Struggle" by Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, an ex-Minister of Bengal, is not a 'prejudicial report,' the City Magistrate of Allahabad, sitting as Special Magistrate under the Special Criminal Court Ordinance, acquitted yesterday the Manager and another employee of a local bookshop of the charge under Rule 39 of the Defence of India Rules of being in possession of seven copies of the book in question to be a prejudicial report.

During the course of his judgment, the Magistrate observed: "This book has been studied by me from cover to cover. It contains a series of letters addressed by the author to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and H. E. the Viceroy. Besides these letters, it contains a short criticism of the Cripps' Proposals and contains a short criticism of the Cripps' Proposals and contains a short criticism of the Cripps' Proposals. There is the record of a speech made by the author. There is nothing in any of the contents except the letter of resignation of the author from the Ministry which can even be remotely construed as passages which come within the definition of prejudicial report. Attention is thus fixed on his letter of resignation and in respect of this I have before me a certified copy of the judgment of the Bombay High Court in respect of this very letter of resignation in which it is clearly held that there is of resignation in the letter of resignation which can be construed as 'prejudicial report.' In the absence of any view contrary to this held by the Hon. Allahabad High Court, I am bound by the findings of the Bombay High Court and accordingly I hold that since the book—"A Phase of Indian Struggle" is not a prejudicial report no offence has been committed by the accused."

It would have been graceful for the Government of Bengal to lift the ban on the book instead of brooding over the potential danger of getting a rebuff from the Calcutta High Court as well.

Price of Cloth

The average annual consumption of cloth in India in normal times has been about 6500 to 7000 million yards. Of this demand, the Indian cotton mills supplied about 4000 million yards, the handloom about 2000 million yards and imports from U. K. and Japan about 700 million yards. Imports have stopped, but the mills and handlooms are still in a position to supply 6000 out of the normal requirement of 7000 million yards. The handloom supply could be largely expanded provided yarn was supplied to them, which, however, was difficult under the present conditions. According to the *Bombay Commerce*, about 30 per cent of the mill production had been earmarked for military consumption. Some quantity was being exported, but that was not much. After allowing for military consumption and exports, the Indian mills and handlooms are still in a position to meet more than half of the present-day civilian requirements. There is

therefore no earthly reason for 500 to 600 per cent rise in piecegoods prices. There has been some rise in cost of production, but that is not so steep as to warrant a 500 per cent rise in the prices of cloth. Mr. M. L. Shah, presiding over a meeting of the Bengal Mill-owners' Association, stated the other day that the quantity of cloth available for consumption in 1943 was expected to be at least double the quantity available in 1942. Sir Jeremy Raisman's drive against the cotton traders has brought about a decline in cotton prices, thus reducing a big item in production costs. But in spite of all these reassuring factors, price of piecegoods does not show any sign of a falling tendency.

It is now essentially necessary that cloth prices should be controlled by the fixation of a maximum price. Hoarding and greed for excess profits are the two real reasons for the present normal rise in the price of cloth.

Stalin's Charter

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Red Army Stalin outlined "the programme of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition" as follows:

1. Abolition of racial exclusiveness;
2. Equality of nations and integrity of their territories;
3. Liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of their sovereign rights;
4. The right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes;
5. Economic aid to nations which have suffered and assistance to them in attaining their material welfare;
6. Restoration of democratic liberties; and
7. Destruction of the Hitlerite regime.

Atlantic Charter was signed by Mr. Churchill, but Article III of it, viz., the right of self-determination of the enslaved nations, had not been accepted by him. Has Stalin been able to secure his concurrence to clause 4 of his Red Charter? The whole world in the meantime had witnessed how clause 1 of this charter had been violated in South Africa with the concurrence of Churchill and Amery.

Issue Not Trivial

The *Manchester Guardian*, in an editorial, discussed the ruling of the Federal Court of India declaring D.I.R. 26 invalid and the subsequent amending Ordinance. The newspaper writes:

"There is one consoling feature in what is otherwise most unsatisfactory. That is that in India we have courts (in each of these cases presided over by an Englishman) which are independent, impartial and ready to condemn the action of the Executive when it conflicts with their interpretation of the law. But the Executive itself does not come out well.

"It would be a mistake to say that the issue is trivial, that it only concerns 'technicality' or that it is a mere matter of words. All law is a matter of words. The argument is that the Indian Government had powers to detain these 9,000 prisoners, that it had only to put these powers into right words but that unfortunately through carelessness it chose wrong words; now it will choose right words and what does it matter? It matters because the Indian Government is not an arbitrary despotic body but acts under the control of the Secretary of State for India who is responsible to the British Parliament for his actions and subject to the laws which it passes. From top to bottom the rule of law is supposed to prevail. It is true that some of the fundamental peace-time laws which safeguard the liberties of the subject are suspended in war and emergency rules may supersede *Habeas Corpus* for the day. But that does not in the least diminish the obligation on the Indian Government to ensure that its acts are done according to the forms of law that exist. Most of all does such obligation bind a Government which is at odds with a large part of those whom it governs and is therefore liable to be suspected by them, even if unjustly, of the worst motives when it is found in error."

Guardian's comment reminds one of what Lord Moira said about British justice. He said, "In the infancy of the British administration in this country, it was perhaps a matter of necessity to confine our legislation to the primary principle of justice, not that nice and delicate justice, the offspring of a refined humanity, but that coarse though useful virtue, the guardian of contracts and promises, whose guide is the square and the rule, and whose support is the gallows." Lord Linlithgow has done little beyond proving that India has not passed the stage of infancy even after two centuries of "beneficial" rule by the British.

Economic Aggression by Britain

More than three centuries ago, Britain started her economic aggression throughout the world which is going unabated down to this day. Countries which grew wiser, have shaken off this new type of yoke but India and Africa still remain its victim. Mr. Sumner Welles, addressing the Toledo Forum of Peace in Ohio, revealed the true character of British economic policy in the following words:

It was important to distinguish between economic aggression actuated by "ignorant selfishness" and economic aggression actuated by "the evil ambition of international domination." "We and Britain and nearly every other country have been guilty of an economic aggression of a selfish and unlightened kind. But the effects of such policies have been realised and their trend been reversed in the direction of economic co-

operation. The whole history of the British Empire's preferences is a history of economic aggression in the sense in which I am now using the term.

Industrial expansion of the East, particularly that of India, was never looked upon with favour by the British commercial interests who share Britain's economic policy. In spite of this, Indian industries did some amount of spade-work during the last war. During the present war, the British vested interests seem to have become more alert and Indian industrial advancement this time has been checked from the very beginning. Government's step-motherly treatment to Indian national industries is too well-known to recapitulate. Seth Walchand Hirachand and Sir M. Visvesvaraya's statement still remain fresh in the public memory.

In spite of Governmental apathy and opposition, Indian industry was thriving to some extent. The Defence of India Rule 94 recently promulgated by the Viceroy, will now put an end to whatever little expansion that was being made. Licenses will now be required for the floatation of new industries and the expansion of the old ones. Discrimination between "(India) Ltd." Companies and the purely Indian ones may now become easier and more effective. Mr. Sumner Welles was perfectly right when he said that the whole history of the British Empire's preferences was a history of economic aggression actuated by the evil ambition of international domination. Mr. Phillips had had an opportunity to tell his countrymen that no change in the British economic policy was yet perceptible.

Australian Industrial Policy

It may not be out of place here to have a glimpse into the industrial policy pursued by Australia during the present war. The Australian Tariff Board, immediately after the war, recommended that the import difficulties and export possibilities brought about by the war might be expected to lead to the starting of new and expansion of existing industries highly desirable. Prevalent uncertainty as to tariff protection after the war was a deterrent in both cases. To prevent setting up of industries which should not be started, and to remove existing barriers to expansion, the report suggested that the Tariff Board should examine proposed new industries and classify them as (a) desirable for permanent establishment, which should be assured for protection after the war; (b) undesirable for permanent establishment but desirable to meet temporary exigencies, of whom

Government might consider giving reasonable assistance in liquidation after the war if justified; (c) industries not coming within (a) or (b) should receive no assistance.

To give a concrete example, during the 5 months ended November 1940, Australian Government spent £47,260,000 of loan moneys, in addition to £42,230,000 provided out of revenue for industrial expansion of the country. The latter was only some £2,600,000 ahead of the comparable amount for the previous year, but the expenditure of loan moneys showed an increase of nearly £38,000,000. The distribution of these large amounts had given a pronounced stimulus to secondary industries and through them to trade in general as well as to other sections of commercial activities, including transport and entertainment. As a result employment was at an exceedingly high level and large numbers of wage-earners were receiving substantial sums for overtime in top wages at the higher rates in force in most classes of industry. During the last two years their prosperity has further increased.

But what about India? Industry and trade have been fettered in thousand and odd ways under the D.I.R. Railway transport has been virtually denied to make way for military traffic and motor lorries have been knocked off the roads for shortage of petrol. To crown them all, D.I.R. 94 has now made its appearance.

A Move in the Right Direction

The amount of Excess Profits Tax has been further raised, but the interests of the consumers would have been better served if it were raised to 100%. Every one of the industries is now making very good normal profits. The greedier of them have not been content with their normal profits, and have continually raised the prices of their commodities higher and higher in order to snatch out a share of the Excess Profits. In their eagerness to earn revenue through an easy source the Government of India have so far encouraged this dangerous practice and have placed the 400 million consumers of the country at the mercy of a handful of greedy merchants. Matters have now come to such a pass, that the Linlithgow Government have begun to feel shy. The tax has been raised and Sir Jeremy Raisman has warned that it would be collected. This measure, however, has not brought about any decline in the price-level. Raising of the E.P.T. to 100% together with the fixation of maximum prices on the basis of production costs, would have relieved the consumers.

Sir Hasan's Formula for Pakistan

At a joint meeting of the East India Association and the Royal Central Asian Society held in London, Sir Hasan Suhrawardy read a paper entitled "The Indian Crisis: Muslim Viewpoints." This paper has been published in the *Asiatic Review*, January 1943 and the writer has been designated as Professor Sir Hasan Suhrawardy. How and when Sir Hasan became a Professor we do not presume to know. This much only is public knowledge that in the Anderson Government's quest for a Muslim Vice-Chancellor for the Calcutta University, Sir Hasan, then Lt.-Col. was picked up from the E. B. R. and installed in that *gaddi*. He was a high official in the Railway Medical Department and is at present an Adviser to the Secretary of State for India drawing a fat salary from the Government. He had no link with the public life of the country, either in general or Muslim in particular.

There is nothing new in his paper besides the barren and oft-repeated arguments of Mr. Jinnah. For example, he says:

"The Congress organisation long ago ceased to be national. It is dominated by a highly educated caste Hindu oligarchy, many of whom are militant, and others are Fascist totalitarians who want to grasp governing power in their own hands. These tendencies were clearly demonstrated when after April 1, 1937, for the best part of two and a half years, seven of the eleven provinces of British India were under Congress rule as autonomous Provinces."

Sir Hasan then went on to describe in the usual manner that India was already divided, Pakistan meant only a *de jure* recognition for a *de facto* division; that the Muslims were mortally afraid of the Congress and the Hindus; that the Pakistan meant autonomous Muslim States enjoying Dominion Status within the British Empire; that the Congress had no influence over the Muslims and finally put forward a special claim on the British Government, for the acceptance of the principle of separate Muslim States, as having replaced the Muslim Empire of India.

Mr. St. John Philby was the only person present in the meeting who appeared to have had some knowledge of the Indian situation. He said:

"The Pakistan proposal was new, it would not have arisen if India had been made independent twenty years ago. . . . Discovery of Pakistan was not yet ten years old. . . . Whether India was to have independence or not was settled, but *let them not be tempted to say that the inability of the Hindus and Muslims to agree on the Pakistan issue absolved the British from the obligation to keep the promise to give independence to India.*" (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.J.)

He also said:

"They had to be very careful indeed in discussing this Indian question to be fair all round and realise that Congress had played a greater part and a more successful part in bringing about the situation in which the British Government had come forward with an offer of independence to India than any other party whatsoever. In its demand for independence Congress had the united sympathy of all the other parties, and it was very important to realise that all the political parties and all bodies or individuals who could be taken as representing Indian political opinion had been demanding independence for India. Therefore they should be very careful not to say too much against Congress. . . . The Congress leaders were no longer in a position to represent their case for the world's judgment, they were in prison, and Mr. Churchill had said what His Majesty's Government thought about Congress. What he said was that it was a political party centring round a machine supported by manufacturing and financial interests. Was that a very grave condemnation of any political party? Would not the same definition fit the Conservative Party, of which Mr. Churchill was the leader, or any other of the great political parties?"

Mr. Jinnah's Statement

An Associated Press message from Bombay, dated the 28th May, states that Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has just made a statement on the *communiqué* issued by the Government of India with reference to Mr. Gandhi's letter to Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah says that this letter of Mr. Gandhi can only be considered as a move to embroil the Muslim League to come into clash with the British Government. "There is no change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi and no genuine desire to meet the suggestions made by me at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi. Though I have always been glad to meet Mr. Gandhi or other Hindu leaders, yet, merely expressing the desire to meet me is not the sort of letter I have suggested. I have received a communication from the Secretary to the Government of India that Mr. Gandhi's letter merely expresses the wish to meet me, and this letter, the Government have decided, cannot be forwarded to me. There is no real evidence of any change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi or Hindu leaders."

Mr. Jinnah says that his speech was directed to meet an appeal that was made to him that the Muslim League should do something towards the solution of the deadlock, and his suggestion of the kind of letter Mr. Gandhi should write to him was in response to this appeal, although he could see no change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi or Hindu leadership, as the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy showed.

Nevertheless some of the responsible Hindu leaders pressed upon him that Mr. Gandhi had now realized that he had made a mistake and that he was prepared to change his attitude and was willing to come to a settlement on the basis of Pakistan and that the British Government was preventing a Hindu-Muslim settlement by refusing people of standing and position to establish contact with him.

"I therefore suggested," says Mr. Jinnah, "that if Mr. Gandhi were to write me a letter, indicating that

he is prepared to retrace his steps and is even now willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan, we will be willing to bury the past. I still believe that the Government would not dare to stop such a letter from Mr. Gandhi."

That Gandhiji made a sincere and straight forward attempt at a settlement of the Hindu-Mahomedan problem will be acknowledged by all unprejudiced minds. Mr. Jinnah's statement makes it clear, that no reliance can be placed on his words, as he changes his position with such frequency and quickness. Mr. Jinnah and his supporters are completely mistaken if they think that by such dubious tactics they would be able to break the opposition to the project of Pakistan.

S. K. L.

New Appointments to the Viceroy's Executive Council

A communique issued from New Delhi on the 2nd May states :

His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of Sir Muhammad Azizul Haque, C.I.E., Dr. N. B. Khare, M.L.A., and Sir Asoke Kumar Roy, Advocate-General, Bengal, to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

PORTFOLIOS

The following appointments to portfolios have been made by the Governor-General :

To be Member for Supply.—The Hon. Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, K.C.S.I., at present a representative of India at the War Cabinet.

To be Commerce Member.—Sir Muhammad Azizul Haque, C.I.E., at present High Commissioner for India in London.

To be Member-in-charge of Information and Broadcasting.—The Hon. Sir Sultan Ahmed.

To be Law Member in succession to the Hon. Sir Sultan Ahmed.—Sir Asoke Kumar Roy.

To be Member-in-charge of the Department of Indians Overseas.—Dr. N. B. Khare.

It is extraordinary that the British Government should take such a long time to fill up the vacancies caused by the resignation of Mr. Aney, Sir Homi Mody and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker as a protest against the policy pursued by the Government with reference to the present political impasse.

S. K. L.

Hemlata Sarkar

It is with deep regret that we record the passing away in Calcutta on the 12th May last of Mrs. Hemlata Sarkar at the age of 75. Mrs. of Mrs. Hemlata Sarkar at the age of 75. Mrs. Sarkar was the eldest daughter of the late Pandit Sivanath Sastri and widow of the late Dr. Bipin Behari Sarkar of Kidderpore. She made her mark as a talented authoress, an impressive speaker, and an earnest social worker. Her works, *Bharatbarsher Itihas*, and *Nepale Banganari*, as also her biography of her distinguished

father, brought her well-merited recognition as a writer of graceful, lucid and concise Bengali. The well-known Maharani Girls' School, at Darjeeling, established 35 years ago, owed its inception to her enthusiasm for the education of women. She was its first Secretary and became subsequently its Lady Principal. She was also Secretary of the Darjeeling Brahma Samaj and she often preached from the pulpits of the Brahma Samaj in Darjeeling and Calcutta. Her varied public activities carried on for a long span of years won her the sincerest esteem of people among whom she lived and worked. She leaves behind her two sons and three daughters, all married and well-placed in life.

S. K. L.

Mr. Bernard Shaw Demands Gandhiji's Release

The Hindu now publishes a fuller version of Bernard Shaw's indictment of the British Government in imprisoning Gandhiji. He writes :

"You may quote me as declaring that the imprisonment of Gandhi is the stupidest blunder the Government has let itself to be landed in by its right owing to the incurable diehards * * * * The King should release Gandhi unconditionally as an act of grace, unconnected with the policy, and apologise to him for the mental defectiveness of his Cabinet. That would do what is possible to save the Indian situation."

S. K. L.

The Food Muddle

The food situation in the Province shows no sign of improvement. The inter-district and inter-provincial controls have at last been removed but the mischief had already been done. We had repeatedly drawn the attention of the Government to the danger of such control which would help the speculators to divide the market among themselves. A district market is easier to control than a provincial one.

The de-control policy must now be associated with a declaration of fixed maximum price to expect any result. We fully agree with the Publicity Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, S. Janananjan Neogy, when he says, "The withdrawal of 'Control' on an inter-related regional basis could have been helpful in January last. It is too late now. All stocks in these areas have already been either booked or earmarked. Abolition of 'control policy' unpursued by a 'fixed price' policy cannot be at all effective on market rates."

The average annual yield of rice in Bengal is, according to Government figures, about 260

or 270 million maunds. Of this quantity, it can be reasonably estimated that not more than 50 million maunds come to the open market, the rest being retained by the cultivators for their annual consumption or for purely local village transactions. 50 million maunds come to the market for the consumption of the non-agricultural population. This quantity is controlled by two classes mainly, the well-to-do ryot who holds his surplus for sale and the merchant, the share of the former being much larger than the latter. When a Government split up the provincial market into 27 isolated units, independent of each other, it was easy for the speculative merchants, in command of large amounts of the inflated money, to control the market.

The normal price of rice should have been somewhere between Rs. 12 and 15, taking into consideration the increased employment created by the war. Any price in excess of that is manipulated and must at all costs be checked. The merchants who have by this time made millions will have no reason to grumble, if the price of rice is fixed at Rs. 15/- and a ruthless drive is launched against all speculators and hoarders. Any price over Rs. 15/- is purely speculative and artificial. It will come down as soon as the Government translate their warnings against hoarders into action. The consumer hoarders can be left out because such hoarding does not disturb the market except for a short period, that quantity of demand being off the market. All attention of the Government ought to be directed against hoarding for profit.

The new Ministry have been repeatedly telling the people that there is sufficient rice in the Province, but their actions are being construed to convey the opposite meaning. The reduction of working hours by half in the controlled shops on a poor plea together with a reduction in supply to every individual by half, may reasonably be interpreted as the Government's inability to supply more than one-fourth of what they had so long been supplying to the handful of controlled shops. The Chambers of Commerce have at the same time, drastically cut down their supply to the industry. What the Huq Government told the people in so many words, the present ministry is proving by their action. If Mr. Suhrawardy is really sincere to make the people believe his figures for sufficiency, he must take these criticisms into consideration and keep up the supply to the controlled shops and the industry intact.

Mr. Suhrawardy will render a real service to his country if he can muster courage to face the really powerful hoarders and break the evil combination of Hindu-Muslim-Christian *cum* Indian-European vested interests backed by a set of corrupt Government Officials.

"Can England Defend Herself Single-handed?"

Louis Fischer was present in a party given by Lord Linlithgow to celebrate America's Independence from the British Empire. His reply to the stock arguments against India's independence will be found illuminating. He said in his San Francisco speech:

On July 4 while I was in India the British Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, gave a party in his great marble palace in New Delhi to celebrate America's independence from the British Empire. (Laughter). At that party I heard all the arguments against India's independence from the British Empire. A British General who had been in Burma said to me, "But could a free India after the war defend itself?" I said to him, "Could England?" What country nowadays can defend itself single-handedly? Not England, not France, not Italy, probably not the United States and Russia. If only those countries which can defend themselves are to be independent after this war then there will be very few independent States, and the General's question only means that after this war there will have to be an international organisation which will defend all countries against all aggressors. At the same party I was asked to sit down next to Lady Linlithgow, a handsome, regal lady, the wife of the Viceroy. She tried to talk to me about the weather which is a ubiquitous subject of conversation in India, it being 110 degrees usually from morning until late in the afternoon, but I soon got her off on to the subject of politics and India's independence, and she said, "But are these people capable of ruling themselves?" Sometimes I'm blunt in conversation. I said, "Lady Linlithgow, you know that's a very queer question to ask on a night like this. That's exactly what the British Tories said about the thirteen colonies in 1776."

The question is not whether India is ripe for freedom. The question is whether we are ripe for Indian freedom. If there were a new England emergency out of this war, if there were a new England to supplant the old England of Chamberlain and Churchill, it would not wish to hold India. That is really the issue.

During the last War, as also during the present one, particularly after the victory of Tunisia, it has been demonstrated that Indian troops are in no way inferior to any other fighting race in the world, provided they are given the right opportunity. Her potential resources are so great, in men and wealth, that she can very reasonably aspire to command an adequate army, navy and air force. A Free India can rank as the third country in the world who might claim to defend herself independently after this war.

"India was Never as Anti-British as It is To-day"—Linlithgow

Louis Fischer, the eminent American Journalist, delivered a speech on the failure of British statesmanship in India before a packed house at San Francisco in February last. Extracts from his speech are available now. It has appeared in *The Hindu*. Louis Fischer had spent a lot of time in India and came into close contact with Mahatma Gandhi. He fully utilised this opportunity of understanding the mind of nationalist India. He had also occasions to study General Wavell and Lord Linlithgow. The following extracts from his speech will throw a flood of light on the inner side of the Indian problem. He said:

The key problem in India is rarely mentioned because its solution cannot even be undertaken until India is free. The key problem in India is economic. The population of India is increasing five million each year. When I came back from India I spoke to Pearl Buck who was, as you know, a missionary and a missionary's daughter in China, and also knows India well. She said to me, in words which she subsequently used in a *New York Times* magazine article: "The Chinese peasant lives infinitely better than the Indian peasant. You can imagine how poorly the Indian peasant lives. I went into Indian villages; I asked the peasants how they felt about the war. They never answered. They said: 'We're hungry.' I asked about their attitude toward the British. They never gave a direct answer. They said: 'We're hungry.' India's politics are made in the stomach. This is the report of every person who goes to India. The last statement I have seen along the line was made by Sonia Tomara, who is the *Herald Tribune's* experienced correspondent in India and she finished a recent article in that paper, saying: 'The more one stays here (in India) the more one is oppressed by the surrounding air of discontent, misery and frustration.' As we know from our own experiences, if something goes wrong, we blame the Government and in India to an increasing extent, the Indian people blame British rule for their privation and their physical misery—so much so that the British Viceroy of India himself, Lord Linlithgow, said to me: 'India was never as anti-British as it is to-day.'

"Do not Drive all Asia into Axis Arms"—Chiang

Louis Fischer, in the same speech, revealed that Marshall Chiang Kai-shek had warned Churchill and Roosevelt that the attempt to suppress the Indian freedom movement in the midst of the war may drive all of Asia into the arms of the Axis. Fischer said:

All this did not have to be. Gandhi, when I saw him in June and subsequently, was in a conciliatory mood. He had publicly whittled down his demands. He was not asking for what the British could not give. There did not have to be a civil disobedience movement. There did not have to be all the killings (the accusation by the British levelled against Gandhi that he has pro-

voked violence sounds fantastic in the mouth of a regime which is based on violence). The killings did not have to take place, nor did the fast have to take place. Gandhi begged twice this summer to see the Viceroy, but the Viceroy refused. Gandhi wanted a conciliatory agreement—the Viceroy wouldn't have it. The reason is simple; Winston Churchill said when he was fifty-five, and he hasn't changed since then: "The truth is that Gandhism and all it stands for will sooner or later have to be grappled with and finally crushed." And this is Churchill's first opportunity in high office to grapple with Gandhi. The British have definitely thrown a challenge to the Indian national movement. The British have definitely decided to try to break Gandhi, to try to break the Indian movement for freedom. Chiang Kai-shek has warned Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt that this attempt to suppress a great movement for freedom in the midst of a great war for freedom, may drive all of Asia into the arms of the Axis.

Gandhiji Not Pro-Japanese

Fischer explained the real cause of spreading a canard about Gandhiji's pro-Jap mentality. In the following words, he has proved that this charge is entirely false:

This summer I spent a week with Gandhi, I walked with him every morning from a quarter to six to a quarter after six. I took a solid hour's interview with him every afternoon and had lunch and dinner with him each day. I'd gone down expecting to encounter an austere, forbidding cold saint. Actually he's very warm and human, with a delicate sense of humour and plays with the kiddies, but he has one extremely embarrassing characteristic—he says everything he thinks. We each of us carry a blue pencil in our minds. We exercise an internal censorship. But among the very few things that Gandhi carries on his person you will find no blue pencil. I was walking with him across the fields one day and asked him how he had come to introduce his weekly day of silence—on Monday, as you know he doesn't speak—which might be recommended to others. He explained that it happened years ago. He said: "I used to travel morning, noon and night in hot trains, and on open bullock carts through hot India, and thousands of people would come to me to ask questions, make pleas and beg that I pray with them and I used to get tired; so I introduced the weekly day of silence. Since then I have clothed this weekly day of silence in all kinds of moral virtues and given it a philosophical content, but actually it was only because I wanted to take a day off." Now, he didn't have to put it that way, but Gandhi has a devotion to the truth and an uninhibited tongue which makes him tell the whole story; it gets him into all kinds of difficulties.

He said to me, for instance, and he has said subsequently in writing: "I would go to Japan and sign a treaty of peace with the Japanese." Now he immediately added in the conversation to me, "I know the British will never let me go to Japan and I know that if I ever got to Japan the Japanese wouldn't sign a treaty of peace with me." Then why talk about it? Because the idea had occurred to him and for Gandhi the fact that an idea isn't practicable doesn't mean that he mustn't talk about it. However, this statement has enabled persons, who for very ulterior motives wish to smear Gandhi, to say that Gandhi is pro-Japanese. Now there are many Americans and many English whose word as to who is pro-Japanese I would not accept, because many of those Americans and Englishmen were themselves pro-Japanese.

and appeased the Japanese and sent Japan the scrap and oil which our boys are now getting back in uglier form. Chiang Kai-shek knows that Gandhi is anti-Japanese, pro-Chinese and Anti-Axis, and Gandhi has proved it. But it's simply Gandhi's manner of speech that exposes him to these false charges.

Stalin Shoots His Rivals, Churchill Digests His

The real inner meaning of the Cripps mission remains a mystery even to this day. Louis Fischer, in his San Francisco speech, has thrown some more light on it and has shown how Churchill killed two birds at one stroke. The following extract will speak for itself.

Gandhi did the same thing in the current political crisis. Against the background of India's eternal misery and the mounting resentment and bitterness there occurred the British military reverses in the Far East—Hong Kong, Malay, Singapore and Burma—British prestige in Asia dropped to zero. There was panic in India. The Indians were afraid that the British would run from India as they had so recently from Burma. There was no confidence among Indians in England's ability to defend India. The British Government in London realized that an emergency had arisen in India, but it was only after a very healthy prod from President Roosevelt that the British War Cabinet rushed one of its members, Sir Stafford Cripps, out to India to repair the damage. Churchill needed Cripps' popular support and took him into the War Cabinet; and Cripps was dismissed from that Cabinet three days after Rommel's defeat in Egypt and after we landed in North Africa; in that perspective it becomes clear that Cripps' mission to India was only part of the destruction of Cripps. Stalin shoots his rivals and Churchill digests his. Cripps tried to succeed, but he failed because certain reactionary British imperialists did not want him to succeed—did not want him to become a greater figure in England than he was, but whatever the causes of Cripps' failure, the fact is that he failed to repair the damage. The damage, therefore, grew worse. It was as an intuitive spontaneous reaction to that deterioration of the Indian situation that Gandhi said, "I'm sick of this, the British must go." Then he thought; friends talked to him, and he said, "That was wrong. I have no right to say that." Gandhi is one of the few big men in the world who is big enough to admit his errors in public. And Gandhi said, "I cannot ask the British to quit India during the war. That would mean making a present of India to the Axis." Gandhi has said from that day to this "The British and Americans can stay in India. They can reinforce their armed services in India. They can use India as a base for military operations against the Axis Powers." Neither Gandhi nor any other Indian leader is asking the British to get out of India during the war. Neither Gandhi nor any Indian leader expects complete independence during the war. All that Gandhi or the Indian leaders are asking for is an Indian National Government which Gandhi said to me in so many words, which were subsequently published, "an Indian National Government which would not interfere with military operations, but which would immediately sign a treaty of alliance with the United Nations to help us win the war." The Indian leaders contend that it is only by giving India some such concession, some such instalment during the war on complete independence after the

war, it is only in this way that you can arouse the Indian people to support the war for freedom.

Louis Fischer has made it clear to the American people that neither Gandhiji nor the Congress had demanded complete Independence during the war. Gandhiji never asked the British to get out of India during the war. Gandhiji and the Congress had demanded only a National Government in India for the duration of the war and a declaration that India would get her freedom within a specified time after the war.

"No Sir"—Churchill

The two words, "No Sir," spoken by Churchill in the British Parliament have decided the fate of India. Louis Fischer heard these two words when they were uttered, realised the full meaning of the words and has now told the whole world all about it. He said:

I sat in the gallery of the House of Commons in September, 1941, when Churchill, after his rendezvous with President Roosevelt in the Atlantic where they drew up the Atlantic Charter, came to the House of Commons. A member of Parliament arose and said, "Mr. Prime Minister, does Article III of the Atlantic Charter, (which gives every country the right to choose its own form of Government) does the Atlantic Charter apply to India?" Churchill stood up and said, "No sir," and sat down. Nothing which Smuts or Halifax or Herbert Morrison or Cripps or any British spokesman has said since that day at all mitigates or diminishes the validity of those two words, "No sir." Indeed, Churchill himself reinforced them on November 10, when speaking in London, he said, "England will hold her own. I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire." And by calling the British Empire a British Commonwealth you don't change its spots. Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia are free dominions, but India is an oppressed and unhappy colony. If we are to use India as a base for the defeat of Japan we will have a sorry time if there is turmoil and bitterness and discontent among the hundreds of millions.

Death of Mr. Allah Buksh

The tragic news of the sudden death of Mr. Muhammad Umar Allah Buksh, ex-Premier of Sind, at the hands of assassins, has been received all over the country with feelings of the profoundest sorrow. According to statements appearing in the press, on the morning of Friday, the 14th May last, somebody called on Mr. Allah Buksh at his residence in Shikarpur, with the request to inspect a garden site in the neighbourhood. Mr. Allah Buksh proceeded to the spot in a tonga with two companions, and when he was returning from the inspection, at about 9 A.M., he was shot dead by some unknown assailants. He was immediately

carried to the Civil Hospital but he succumbed to the wound before any medical assistance could be rendered. Prior to the inauguration of Sind as a separate province, Mr. Allah Buksh was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. When Sind was separated from the Presidency of Bombay, he became a member of the temporary Advisory Council set up in 1936. Subsequently he became a member of the Sind Legislative Assembly when it was constituted. He held the office of Chief Minister twice. As a result of his letter to the Viceroy relinquishing the titles of Khan Bahadur and O.B.E. as a protest against the policy of the British Government "to continue their Imperialist hold on India and persist in keeping her under subjection, use political and communal differences for propaganda purposes and crush the national forces to serve their own Imperialistic aims and intentions," he was dismissed from his office of Chief Minister in October, 1942. This was regarded as quite unconstitutional and exposed the utter hollowness of the plea that the provinces in India enjoyed provincial autonomy under the present constitution. Mr. Allah Buksh was the President of the First Conference of independent Mahomedans held in April, 1940, at Delhi, in opposition to the separatist policy of the Muslim League. He was also associated with the work of the Leaders' Conference, held under the presidency of the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, which urged that the British Government should release Gandhiji and thereby pave the way to the settlement of the Indian problem. He was a believer in Hindu-Muslim unity and he worked wholeheartedly with a view to paving the way for the establishment of communal harmony and peace. It is a matter of the deepest regret that the life of such a noble and valuable worker for the uplift of the country should be cut short so prematurely at the age of 42. We offer our heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family of the deceased.

S. K. L.

Serious Menace to Peace and Life in Sind

Mr. Allah Buksh was the third Member of the Legislative Assembly in Sind to be shot in recent years. It was extremely unfortunate that though a police party happened to be near the scene of the tragedy, the assailants escaped and up to the time of writing nothing had been heard of the results of the enquiry set up for the purpose of tracing the culprits. Mr. H. A. Alavi

writing to the press from Karachi, in this connection says:

He is the third member of the Sindh Assembly to have been murdered. Murderers of Mr. Pannal, M.L.A. and Mr. Sitaldas, M.L.A. have gone scotfree. So have the murderers of Sind's greatest poet-singer, Bhal Kanwal and of many other citizens besides. It is significant that our dear departed leader and friend was shot at and killed a few steps away from the police chowkey and the desperadoes all of whom were on foot got away in broad daylight. Only a fortnight ago, one notorious character willing to be hired for any desperate work openly threatened to kill a well-known man in public life of the province. This was brought to the notice of a District Superintendent of Police by a responsible person and yet nothing has been done to take any action against this goonda who has previous criminal convictions to his credit.

This is an extremely perilous situation. It is a matter of very great regret that those responsible for the administration of the Province, headed by the Governor, Sir Hugh Dow, should so far have failed to deal in a proper manner with this continued menace to peace and life in Sind.

S. K. L.

Anti-Indian Legislation in South Africa

According to the provisions of the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Bill, as passed by the South African Union Legislature, Indians can neither acquire any property nor occupy any premises (which includes any room or apartment in any building) in the areas reserved for Europeans. A company of which Asiatics are promoters cannot hold any shares or debentures or property in European areas. Indians cannot carry on any business or trade in such areas. "Asiatic" includes for the purposes of the measure an interest which is held on behalf of or for the benefit of an Asiatic. The measure thus precludes an Indian carrying on any business or trade through a European in such areas. These provisions are in contravention of the well-known agreement called the Cape Town Agreement which came into effect in 1927. The agreement lays down in a quite unequivocal manner, that such of the Indians as have adopted the European mode of life can live in European areas and the Union Government of South Africa and the Government of India were parties to it. The number of such Indians living in European areas is so infinitesimally small, that even the Broome Enquiry set up to ascertain the actual nature of Indian penetration of European areas has been constrained to characterise it as "a trickle." The provisions of the measure are humiliating in the extreme to Indians and are besides in

contravention of previous assurances and agreements. It has been adopted in the face of the strenuous opposition of Indians in South Africa and in this country as also against the wishes of the Government of India. The Indians in South Africa are naturally anxious in this circumstance to continue the agitation against the measure until it is revoked. They call upon their compatriots in this country to render all possible support and help to them in the matter. We commend to the notice of the Government of India the example of a previous Viceroy and Government of India who in a more acute situation in South Africa in 1913 did not hesitate to take a firmer and more courageous stand than the former have chosen to take now. The pronouncement then made on the policy of the Government of India in such a matter by the then Viceroy bears repetition. In the course of a public address Lord Hardinge said :

"Recently our compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they considered invidious and unjust. This is an opinion which we, who watch their struggles from far, cannot but share. They violated, as they intended to violate, those laws with full knowledge of the penalties involved and ready with all courage and patience to endure these penalties. In all this they have the sympathy of India but also of those like myself, who, without being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country. But the most recent developments have taken a very serious turn and we have seen the widest publicity given to allegations that this movement of passive resistance has been dealt with by measures which would not for a moment be tolerated in any country that calls itself civilized.

"These allegations have been met by a categorical denial from the responsible Government of South Africa, though even their denial contains admissions that do not seem to me to indicate that the Union Government have exercised very wise discretion in some of the steps which they have adopted. That is the position at this moment. And I do feel that if South Africans desire to justify this in the eyes of India and the whole world, only one course is open to them, and that is to appoint a strong impartial committee upon which Indian interests shall be fully represented, to conduct a thorough and searching enquiry into the truth of these allegations and as the note that has appeared in this morning's paper will show you, I have no hesitation to press that view upon the Secretary of State."

The Government of India should at this juncture take a bold stand and act in a way which would uphold the dignity and honour of this country and its Government. May it be hoped that the Hon. Dr. Khare, the new Member of the Viceroy's Council in charge of the Department of the Indians Overseas, will take up the question and induce the Government of India to move in the matter. Any solution of the

problem, short of providing the same facilities for Indians to visit, emigrate to and trade and settle in all parts of the British Empire as white men enjoy in India, cannot be recognised as just, satisfactory and lasting.

S. K. L.

U. K. K. C.'s Activities and their Repercussion on India

A summary of the very comprehensive activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, in respect of mobilisation of India's varied resources, with a view to their utilisation for the benefit of a number of foreign countries, engaged in the war against the Axis Powers, as supplied by a *Reuter* message from London, dated the 26th May, throws a flood of light on the causes of the very abnormal rise in prices of India's industrial, agricultural and mining products and of the present unexampled scarcity of even the barest requirements of the Indian people in matters of food and clothing as also on various complicated problems arising out of these. The summary runs thus :

Mobilisation of India's industries, agriculture and mining resources to meet the vast supply needs of Russia and the Middle East countries was described by Sir Francis Joseph, Chairman of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, at a luncheon given by the Corporation in honour of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, India's representative in the War Cabinet, and to congratulate him on his new post.

Sir Francis, recalling that the Corporation began to operate in India in June, 1940, and it was necessary to get a great variety of goods quickly to the Near and Middle East, said that India was now one of the major supply bases of the United Nations.

With the help of the Government of India, the Corporation had lost no time in drawing on this source for the supplies urgently required. Prompt shipment of Indian wheat had spared Persia the rigours of famine in the spring and early summer of 1941.

Persia had received from India foodstuffs such as sugar and tea, and manufactures such as cotton piece-goods. Shipments ranged in bulk from several thousand ton lots of cement to small parcels of pharmaceuticals.

Syria and Palestine were the other Middle East countries which have drawn on India for supplies. Turkey received iron and steel, cotton yarns, hessian cloth, jute bags, rope and hides.

Soon after the Corporation began to work in India, the Germans invaded Russia. It was clear that part of Russia's needs could be met from India. Orders were at once placed through the usual trade channels for a long list of commodities, all for prompt delivery and in very large quantities. The list covered such articles as hessian, gunny sacks, jute rope, cotton, canvas, hides, shellac, *atta* and groundnuts, pepper, tobacco and graphite.

It is not possible to give details of actual tonnages, but the scope of business done in India for Russia was indicated by the fact that one recent order was for eleven million gunny bags.

The matter should engage the prompt and energetic attention of our public men.

S. K. L.

Another Effort to End the Indian Deadlock

A weighty statement has been just issued over the signatures of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. M. A. Jayakar, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Sir Chunilal B. Mehta, Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth and Kunwar Sir Jagadish Prasad as another effort towards ending the Indian deadlock. The distinguished signatories of the statement urge that the Government of India should set up an independent and impartial tribunal to deal with the charges made against Congress leaders now under detention. But if, for any reason, the Government are not prepared to adopt such a course of action now, as an alternative, they should be set at liberty to enable them to reconsider the whole situation in consultation with other parties. In such a circumstance, "justice no less than expediency demands that," the statement points out, "Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues should be set at liberty, so that they may apply themselves as freemen, as we expect that they will, to a review of the situation and to the solution of the present deadlock in consultation and co-operation with other important parties."

The signatories state at the outset that they themselves have already expressed their regret that the Congress should have passed the Resolution of the 8th August, 1942, that they have condemned the acts of violence and sabotage that followed the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, and that they do not themselves believe in Civil Disobedience, either on principle or as a matter of expediency. They also state that they do not seek for any concessions for Mahatma Gandhi and his chief associates. "We are not," they further add, "petitioners on their behalf for clemency or tenderness. Our demand is for justice and no more and no less."

The charges against the Congress leaders are mainly that, first, they are responsible for the disturbances that followed their arrest, and, secondly, that they are pro-Japanese and pro-Axis in their views. With reference to the first charge the signatories state that they feel that Mr. Gandhi has already repudiated the acts of violence and it is their conviction that so far as he is concerned his adherence to the doctrine of non-violence is as strong to-day as it ever was. With reference to the charge that the

Congress leaders are pro-Japanese they state : "To the best of our knowledge and belief there is no truth in the allegation." They very naturally consider it extremely unfair and improper that such grave allegations should be made and that at the same time those who could meet them should be denied all opportunities of rebutting them. In this circumstance they urge :

Taking the situation as it is we urge that the *ipse dixit* of the executive Government should not be regarded as sufficient to justify the prolonged detention of imprisoned leaders without impartial investigation. Let those *ex parte* accusations be investigated by a tribunal of unchallengeable status and impartiality—a tribunal so constituted as to satisfy all reasonable men that it will carry on its investigation without fear or favour, and that its decisions will in no way be influenced by the published views of the executive Government. We consider that the setting up of such a tribunal is in the highest interests of the Government itself.

Mr. Gandhi himself had urged the urgency of prompt action in this connection in the following words in his letter to the Viceroy dated the 7th February, 1943 :

"You say that the time is not yet ripe to publish the charges against the Congress. Have you ever thought of the possibility of their being found baseless when they are put before an impartial tribunal? For that some of the condemned persons might have died in the meanwhile or that some of the evidence that the living can produce might become unavailable?"

The statement further points out how the authoritative decision of the highest judicial authority in India that the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders was invalid, the subsequent action by the Government to legalise their illegal action by a validating ordinance, and Mr. Amery's "tauntingly provocative" description of their detention as "innocuous" have increased public resentment.

S. K. L.

Attitude of the British Government

The attitude of the British Government with reference to the effort now made by the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other distinguished leaders to end the Indian deadlock is indicated in the statement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons as contained in the following telegraphic message by *Reuter* dated the 27th May from London :

The Secretary for India, Mr. Amery, stated in the House of Commons today that the Government of India have no intention of staging a trial of Mr. Gandhi and other detained Congress leaders.

Mr. Amery was replying to the Labour member Mr. Sorensen, who asked whether any response had been made to the recent plea of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other non-Congress leaders that Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues should appear before a judicial tribunal to

enable them to refute the allegations of pro-Japanese sympathy and other charges contained in a White Paper. Mr. Amery added that the Government of India's statement republished in a White Paper made no charges of pro-Japanese sympathy.

The Delhi Correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard* throws further light on the subject in the following words:

The fact, however, that Mr. Phillips is returning to India is taken here as an index that during the Washington talks the Indian problem had been seriously considered and some move (what none can say) should be anticipated to resolve the deadlock. While it is recognised that British diehards and officialdom in India would not want a change, the logic of events would compel them to revise their attitude. But nothing should be expected, according to observers here, as long as the present Viceroy holds the reins of office.

It has taken such a long time for the British Government to realise that they were wrong in making the allegation of pro-Japanese and pro-Axis sympathies against Gandhiji and his Congress associates. What even a short visit to this country made plain and simple to persons like General Chiang Kai-shek, Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Louis Fischer and Mr. James Gunther, and many others, could not be realised by the highest British executive and the permanent officialdom in India. Similarly they will be unable at the end to sustain the charge that they have so lightly brought against the imprisoned Congress leaders, that they are responsible for the disturbances that took place after their arrest. Is the allegation made by Mr. Louis Fischer then correct? In the course of a remarkably outspoken speech on the Indian situation at San Francisco, at the end of February last, the distinguished American writer is reported to have said, that all this was an attempt on the part of the British Government, "to try to break Gandhi, to try to break the Indian movement for freedom." He threw further light on the subject and said: "The reason is simple: Winston Churchill said when he was fifty-five and he hasn't changed since then: 'The truth is that Gandhism and all it stands for will sooner or later have to be grappled with and finally crushed.' And this is Churchill's first opportunity in high office to grapple with Gandhi. The British have definitely thrown a challenge to the Indian National movement." And then he remarks that "the British controvert their own statements of Gandhi's waning influence by the tremendous energy and money they spend in trying to prove that Gandhi's influence is waning."

S. K. L.

Gandhiji's Letter to Mr. Jinnah and After

It may be remembered that in the course of his Presidential Address at the last session of the All-India Muslim League, held at New Delhi, in April, Mr. Jinnah was reported to have thrown out a hint to the effect that Mr. Gandhi ought to write to him with a view to a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem. Mr. Jinnah then said:

Nobody will welcome it more than myself if Mr. Gandhi is now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League. Let me tell you that will be the brightest day both for Hindus and Muslims. If that is Mr. Gandhi's desire what is there to prevent him from writing direct to me? Who is there that can prevent him from doing so? What is the use of going to Viceroy? Strong as this Government may be in this country, I cannot believe that they will be daring to stop such a letter if it were sent to me. It will be a very serious thing if such a letter was stopped.

Mr. Gandhi actually appears to have addressed a letter evidently in response to Mr. Jinnah's suggestion. A *communique* issued by the Government of India from Delhi states that they received a request from Mr. Gandhi to forward a short letter from himself to Mr. Jinnah, expressing a wish to meet him. In accordance with their known policy in regard to correspondence or interviews with Mr. Gandhi, the Government of India have decided that this letter cannot be forwarded and have so informed Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. The *communique* goes on to state:

"They are not prepared to give facilities for political correspondence or contact to a person detained for promoting an illegal mass movement, which he has not disavowed and thus gravely embarrassing India's war effort at a critical time."

"It rests with Mr. Gandhi to satisfy the Government of India that he can safely be allowed once more to participate in the public affairs of the country, and until he does so the disabilities from which he suffers are of his own choice."

The New Delhi correspondent of a local contemporary throws further light on the subject. It appears that the matter was not raised at the Viceroy's Executive Council. It is said that the members of the Council were simply informed of Gandhiji's letter and the Government's decision, which was presumably the decision of the Viceroy and Sir Reginald Maxwell. The correspondent adds:

Political quarters do not take a tragic view of the Government of India's refusal to forward Gandhiji's letter to Mr. Jinnah. "It is another proof positive that so long as Linlithgow, Maxwell and Churchill-Amery combination continues, no change in Whitehall or Delhi's policy is expected," said a prominent member of the Assembly, who is here in connection with the Railway Convention Committee.

S. K. L.

"Melancholy Episode"

The comments of the British Press, as published in a telegraphic message by *Reuter* from London, show the nature of reaction of this episode on both official and non-official minds. The message runs thus:

Commenting on India Government's refusal to forward the letter from Mr. Gandhi to the head of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, the *Manchester Guardian* says: "This may be consistent, but consistency is not the final virtue in governing, and the Indian Government, to do it justice, has often been inconsistent in the past."

"Does it propose to pursue its seclusion policy indefinitely? Mr. Jinnah can now say that he has appealed to Mr. Gandhi to establish Indian unity—as the British and Indian Governments are always telling them both to do—and that he has had the door which might have led to it shut by the Indian Government. Mr. Gandhi will say that when for his part he was anxious to respond the Indian Government kept the door shut. 'Is it wise to antagonise everyone? Why should not the Indian Government allow other leaders to see Mr. Gandhi and find out what comes of it.'"

The refusal of the Government of India to allow Mr. Gandhi to write to Mr. Jinnah unless Mr. Gandhi withdraws his summons to civil disobedience "illustrates painfully the nature of the deadlock in which the constitutional issue is at present gripped," writes *The Times*.

"Nothing is more to be desired than a Hindu-Muslim approach to communal differences as obstructions to the constitutional advance. Is Government committing the blunder of frustrating a promising departure? The question itself reveals the tactical weakness of the Government's position, but it provokes one or two others. Is Mr. Gandhi or Mr. Jinnah unaware of the tactical effect of these moves?"

"The moral of this melancholy episode is that a wholly fresh start is needed in India, that neither Mr. Jinnah nor Mr. Gandhi seems able or willing to achieve it and that it is more than ever necessary for the new Viceroy to be a man qualified to encourage new endeavour and leadership in India."

Dealing with the reasons why the Government of India refused Mr. Gandhi's request to forward a letter from himself to Mr. Jinnah, *The Yorkshire Post* in an editorial says: "The danger is that the arrangement of a meeting between the two leaders would open the way, not to a reconciliation but to a recrudescence of troubles from which India has been saved by firm Government action. This first request would be quickly followed by others. Mr. Gandhi, having talked with Mr. Jinnah, would wish to take counsel with his own Congress colleagues. And before long it would be suggested that Congress leaders should be freed to carry forward discussions. The Congress Party would adroitly seize the chance for which it is waiting to recover its lost prestige and with renewed vigour into the political arena."

The *Yorkshire Post*, as usual, expresses the official view of the matter. The arguments advanced by it in support of the action taken by the Government of India reflect the 'die-hard' Tory view in Indian affairs. The comments of the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* show that influential British non-official opinion

considers the action of the authorities in this very important matter as shortsighted and unwise. It is fully in accord with the Indian point of view that after the British authorities have so frequently and with so much insistence declared with all solemnness that no political advance is possible in India so long as a settlement is not arrived at between the Congress and the League the present action of the British Government amounts to denial of any opportunity to achieve this aim.

S. K. L.

Brailsford's New Book on India

In a new book, entitled "Subject India," Mr. H. N. Brailsford deals with India's outstanding political problems and outlines a plan for a settlement of the Indian question. We are obliged to *The Hindu* for a brief telegraphic summary of the main contents of this new publication as transmitted by its Special Correspondent in London. Mr. Brailsford's suggestions are:

(1) A Pacific Charter containing a joint offer of independence by the United Nations; (2) transfer of Indian affairs from the India Office to the Dominions Office; (3) a new Viceroy should be appointed, preferably an Indian such as Mr. Jinnah or Sir T. B. Sapru, who will open his term of office with an amnesty to Congress, simultaneously with Congress calling off civil disobedience; (4) a Congress-League pact assuring provinces which demand self-determination following either a bare majority vote of its newly elected legislature or three-fourths vote of members returned by the largest communal electorate, the right to have the issue decided by an arbitral court which may provide for a plebescite for territorial division, frontier rectifications, etc.; (5) to meet the "Hindus wholly proper ideal of Unity" the Paramount Power is to insist on full civil and political rights for States' subjects; (6) formation of a National Government to conduct war effort and prepare the draft of a new constitution.

Mr. Brailsford thinks that the "Cripps draft offers the smoothest and by no means the longest road" to India's independence or secession. "If," he adds, "Indians reject the easy road they will not win independence more quickly and may bring on themselves and on us a tragic and ruinous struggle." About the communal question, he says that "religion is being prostituted" "to preserve the ascendancy of the propertied classes." In his opinion, however, "Hindusthan could not live or achieve independence if the Princes and States remain in the hands of the Paramount Power." The writer observes that the Congress has never accepted the Fuehrer-Prinzip though it "too often obeys Mr. Gandhi with perilous fidelity." About the success that Gandhiji has already achieved, Mr.

Brailsford says that Mr. Gandhi has given to those who have come under his influence an inner sense of independence that they are free within. "This subjective liberation is a mighty event in India's history for Indians were oppressed even more by their inner fatalism and sense of racial inferiority than by the British Raj. These inner fetters Mr. Gandhi broke." With reference to the problem of Pakistan, Mr. Brailsford has made some very weighty observations. He says that "Indian geography is not as simple as Mr. Jinnah's logic." He expresses his "doubt whether separation would last for much more than a generation." He considers that "the independence of Pakistan would be somewhat nominal." "With Bengal Pakistan would become at once a financial possibility and a geographical absurdity. Without Bengal it is difficult to believe that the shrewd Punjabis will ever shoulder the economic burdens that Mr. Jinnah's scheme would entail."

Progressive, thoughtful and practically minded Indians would mostly be in agreement with the main suggestions and observations made by Mr. Brailsford. In dealing with the communal problem, from the summary of his work available to us, it does not appear that he has been able to take a proper consideration of the very important fact that it is British policy which is almost wholly responsible for its introduction and intensification, culminating in the demand for Pakistan. Many others, Britishers, Americans and Indians, are fully in accord with his view that a new Viceroy should now be appointed. Not many others, however, will give their assent to his proposal about Mr. Jinnah in this connection. Could he have thought of a similar suggestion with reference to the Irish *impasse*? And even if such a suggestion were made at the time what prospect was there of its acceptance by either the British or the Irish people? There are many who do not share his enthusiasm about the Cripps offer. Important changes are certainly needed to ensure its acceptance.

S. K. L.

Institute of River Training in Bengal

We are glad to find that the Government of Bengal have at long last succeeded in securing the services of an expert in connection with the scheme for controlling periodic flood and famine

in Bengal. Some two years back Dr. N. K. Bose of the Punjab Irrigation Research Institute was deputed to this province to prepare a scheme of river training after personally conducting an enquiry into the conditions of some of the rivers in Bengal. His suggestions having been accepted, the Bengal Institute for River Training has now been started, with Dr. Bose as its Director. The long delay that has taken place in the establishment of the Institute has been due to the inability of the Punjab Government to spare Dr. Bose's services. As an expert in river training Dr. N. K. Bose had been attached to the Irrigation Research Institute in the Punjab since its foundation and had occasionally been its Director during the absence on leave or deputation of Dr. M. Taylor. We look forward to the success of the new scheme for the control of periodic flood and famine in Bengal, which cause such dire havoc and untold misery to the people of the province.

S. K. L.

Problem of Quinine

While quinine is being sold at fabulous prices and there is a woeful shortage of it, due to well-known causes, we are asked to be content with the assurance of a supply from the United States of America along with the publication of a brief outline of the Bengal Government's very elaborate scheme for rationing quinine supplies available for the Province. As the quantity of indigenously manufactured quinine amounts to about one-third of the total amount required, there has been an insistent demand for the production of an adequate quantity in the country. Unfortunately, however, this demand has so far met with no proper response on the part of the authorities. In this connection it may be recalled that Government deputed an expert to prepare a scheme for a larger production of quinine in consultation with the Superintendent of Cinchona Plantation in the district of Darjeeling in December last. In view of the very lamentable shortage of the quantity of quinine required in the country, specially in a malaria-ridden province like Bengal, we would ask the authorities to place before the public the results of the enquiry along with the report on it which, it is understood, is now with Government, and to state the action that they have taken or propose to take on it.



SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR

SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR

By S. K. LAHIRI

Sir Nilratan Sircar passed away at the age of 82 at Giridih, a popular health-resort in Chota-Nagpur, on Tuesday, the 18th May last. His death not only creates a void in the medical world in India, which it would be difficult to fill; but his disappearance from the wider sphere of his varied activities for the social, cultural, political, economic and industrial advancement of India causes irreparable loss to the country as a whole and the cause of her progress and development.

Sir Nilratan Sircar's death removes one of the most accomplished and skilful among the physicians of the day, who had attained world-wide celebrity as a leading exponent of the medical science and won recognition as one of the most brilliant ornaments of the noble profession to which he belonged. But the claim of Sir Nilratan Sircar to the remembrance of succeeding generations rests not on his unique achievements as a medical man and as a consummate manipulator of the humanising art of healing alone.

His earnest solicitude for public welfare along with his ceaseless devotion and never-failing enthusiasm impelled him to take a very active and prominent part in the public life of the country, notwithstanding the very high pressure on his time and energy that the multifarious duties of his extensive professional work entailed; and this enabled him to render invaluable public service in various spheres of activity calculated to promote the well-being of the people.

Though Sir Nilratan Sircar began his life in very humble circumstances, by his manful struggle against poverty and adverse circumstances, he achieved unique success and rare distinction. He retained till the last moment of his life his original simplicity of character and unassuming manners. His sweetness of temper endeared him to his patients and generated confidence and assurance in their minds; his consideration for the poor and suffering was well-known; his sympathy and regard for his friends was a notable trait of his character. He always abstained from speaking ill of others and in criticising those with whom he differed, he was in the habit of taking scrupulous care not to hurt anybody's feelings. He never showed any inclination to play to the gallery. Sir Nilratan Sircar's remarkable career, his spotless

character, his notable public spirit, his devotion to public duty and the high ideal by which he was animated, along with a singular combination of uncommon intellectual gifts with rare moral qualities will serve as an inspiring example to the youths of the country.

Sir Nilratan Sircar's achievements in the domain of medical science and practice placed him in the forefront among the medical men of his day, and he had the unique distinction of holding the position of leader of his profession for over half a century. To him along with the late Dr. Sureshprasad Sarvadhikari belongs the credit of raising the status of Indian practitioners of medicine to a position of equality with British members of the Indian Medical Service practising in India. They demonstrated that given the same opportunity, Indian practitioners of medicine, in all its branches, were equal to their British compeers. He took a prominent part in the establishment of the Carmichael Medical College, the first non-official medical college in India manned by Indian teachers of medicine, besides a number of important hospitals and medical institutions. Besides, he rendered signal service to the cause of medical education and research by attempting to place medical education in India on a more systematic and scientific basis, and in other ways.

The country owes her gratitude to Sir Nilratan Sircar, in an equal measure, for his services in other spheres of public activity. He was ever anxious to serve the cause of educational advance and expansion. His long and intimate connection with the Calcutta University,—as an elected Fellow since 1893, as an influential member of the Syndicate, as Vice-Chancellor, as President of the Post-Graduate Department in Arts and also as President of the Post-Graduate Department in Science, and as a member of numerous Boards, Committees and Faculties,—his membership of the legislature of the Province for a number of years and of various other institutions enabled him to attempt to further educational extension and improvement in all possible ways. His interest in education was of a comprehensive character and this interest continued till the last days of his life. His ardour for education was not restricted to a narrow sphere; he concerned himself with education in most of its branches and all its stages, namely, general education, from the

primary to the highest stage, scientific education and research, medical education, technical education, etc.

Whenever the situation demanded—and such occasions occurred often in this Province—Sir Nilratan did not hesitate to raise his voice against official encroachments on the field of education. He maintained his interest in education even when advancing age and failing health made it difficult for him to participate actively in matters affecting this most important problem. Sir Nilratan's devoted labours in connection with the organisation of the National Council of Education, and the establishment of the Bengal Technical Institute, which has subsequently developed into an engineering college under the National Council of Education, will be long remembered with thankfulness. He took a prominent part in the drafting of the first set of rules and courses of instruction together with the constitution of the National Council of Education as Secretary, with the help and advice of the late Sir Brajendranath Sil and many other distinguished citizens of Bengal. It may not be remembered that he was mainly responsible for influencing the late Sir Taraknath Palit to make his magnificent gift for the promotion of scientific and technical education. It was chiefly with the help of Sir Taraknath's contribution in the beginning that the Bengal Technical Institute was brought into existence and Sir Nilratan was for a number of years connected with it in an active and intimate capacity as Secretary. He was associated with the work of the National Council of Education as also of the Visva-Bharati till the last days of his life.

Sir Nilratan played an important part in the promotion of industrial development in Bengal. He was one of the pioneers of the tanning and soap industries in the Province. He took a bold step in starting a tannery with a view to producing finished leather goods, the managing agency of which was ultimately made over to Messrs. Martin & Co. He also set on foot a soap factory. It may be noted with satisfaction that his example in these spheres has been followed by many young men as a number of tanneries and soap factories have subsequently been established in the precincts of Calcutta. His enthusiasm knew no bounds, and he took active steps, during the Swadeshi Movement, for the purpose of an enquiry into the requirements and prospects of manufacture of chemicals and allied products. Even so late as in October, 1939, while delivering the Convocation Address of the Andhra University, Sir Nilratan pointed

out how each time a war blockaded the communications between the East and the West, they discovered their helplessness in the supply of medical preparations and chemicals. He urged that with the excellent natural advantages which India possessed as regards her soil, climate and plant flora, and with proper and adequate training of young students in chemistry and allied subjects for handling these and other relevant matters, it should not be necessary or difficult for them to depend wholly on imports from other countries in the matter of the supply of medical preparations and chemicals. It may not be known to many that even the burdensome financial strain produced on his resources by his industrial ventures did not cool his enthusiasm for the industrial development of the country.

His long and intimate connection with the Indian National Congress until the split that took place on the eve of the introduction of the Montagu Reforms, his activities during the agitation in connection with the Swadeshi Movement and the Partition of Bengal, the bold attitude that he took up at the time of the Panjab disturbances, the intimate connection that he maintained with a member of public institutions and his numerous activities for raising the status of his country and his fellow-men, in various departments of life, during the entire course of his active life, showed how genuine and real was his interest in the political advancement of India.

Sir Nilratan joined the Brahmo Samaj early in life. He was a member of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, of which he became President. He took very active interest in the work of the Samaj in the earlier stages of his career, but his interest in the activities of the Samaj continued till the last days of his life. He presided over a session of the All-India Theistic Conference some years ago.

Sir Nilratan Sircar was, perhaps, the first among the physicians of India, whose great abilities and distinguished services received acknowledgment from European and American medical men. During his visit to Europe in 1920 the University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. and the Oxford University the degree of D. C. L., *honoris causa*. Since his passing away a number of eminent physicians in England and America have come forward to pay eloquent tributes to his memory and acknowledge his signal services and eminent position among the physicians of the day in befitting terms.

UNITY IN SPITE OF DIVERSITY An Indian Problem Solved

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

AKBAR'S ACHIEVEMENT AND PLACE IN HISTORY

NEARLY four hundred years ago, a man used to sit down at early dawn, on a flat stone lying in an old nook near the palace buildings of Fathpur-Sikri, but retired from habitation. There, day after day, he would indulge in lonely meditation with his head bowed in prayer and his chin resting on his breast in anguish of spirit. He was a King of Kings (*Shāhān-Shah*), a Protector of the World (*Jahān-pānā*); he had conquered many rich and fertile provinces, he had crushed his enemies till hardly one was left, north or south, east or west, of his dominions. And yet, he had not found happiness. As he told his best friend, "Although I am the master of a vast kingdom, yet my mind is not at ease in this diversity of sects and creeds."

How to give political unity to India amidst her differences of race and creed, was the problem that faced Akbar. He did not abandon it in despair, as many before, and *after* him too, have done; but he boldly grappled with it and solved it by his statesmanship which has left an example for posterity, if only we have eyes to see and ears to listen to reason and hearts to enshrine country over self.

Professor J. Holland Rose, after summing up the achievements of Napoleon I, rightly concludes, "Such a wonder-worker was Napoleon. The man... must ever stand in the very forefront of the immortals of human history." We may, with equal reason, claim that Akbar was one of the immortals of Asiatic history. No doubt his activities ranged over a smaller area and left less enduring fruits than Napoleon's. But the Indian historian may rightly plead that Napoleon was the heir of the French Revolution and himself completed and confirmed the work that had been begun by others,—while Akbar was nobody's heir, but the *creator* of a system of imperial peace and unification of India which the British have inherited, revived and completed.

Upon the clash of diverse races and sects in India descended Akbar's policy like a healing balm,—or, to change the metaphor, a cementing force. The result was that the strongest and bitterest opponents of Mughal rule in India became its most devoted supporters, because they felt themselves to be *equal partners* of a national Government of which the head merely happened

to worship in a different church from theirs. The fruit of Akbar's statesmanship is seen even a century after him, when the favourite daughter-in-law of the bigoted Aurangzib (*Jahān-zeb Bānu Begam*) harangued her Hindu escort on a Maratha battlefield with the words:

Sharm-e-Chaghtaia ba-Rājputia ek-ast,
"The honour of the Mughal Emperors is identical with that of the Rajputs."

For, by this time, the victor and the vanquished had become one in interest and feeling, though still differing in creed, because the State had now been placed above the Church. It is only a united India—and an India united thus by political equality, religious toleration, and patriotic devotion to a common Motherland (and not to Arabia or Khurasan) that can defend her sacred soil from alien outrage.

Such a harmonious blending of the people along the line of least resistance and the greatest common measure of agreement, enforced by the curbing of all separatist and self-centred communities,—was attempted by Akbar and achieved within certain limits. The exact opposite of it is illustrated by England's treatment of Ireland, which has yielded the fatal fruit that in every crisis of its history the conquering race has found, "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." Such a fate Akbar averted for Muslim rule in India, so long as his policy was honoured and followed by his successors. How to make the diverse peoples of India one, without crushing them down to the uniformity of slaves? This quest for *Oneness* was the sole pursuit of Akbar's waking hours and the dream of his nights, as we can see if we interpret aright the highly rhetorical prose of the Emperor's bosom friend and chosen historian, Abul Fazl.

There comes an age which may be rightly regarded as a turning point in the life of a people or even in that of the entire human race. Such a period was the 16th century. The hour had come, and most fortunately for India's evolution, the MAN also appeared. To Akbar belongs the glory, shared by so few in the world's history,—of being the creator of an age.

AKBAR'S POLICY ; THE LINES ON WHICH HE MOVED

Let us first trace the main lines of his policy. He appealed to reason as against so-called

revelation, to political expediency as against ancient tradition, to practical experience as against the dead weight of custom. He secularised the State, and for the first time tried to infuse into it the modern spirit of rationalism, experiment and progress. In our own times and in another Islamic land, the Ata Turk has done the same work with complete success, and if the net result of Akbar's reign falls far short of Kamal Pasha's, the blame must be shared by the Indian Emperor's age and people.

Reason cuts away the roots of revealed religion which governed men's minds before Akbar's time. Experiment means that we are dissatisfied with the existing state of things and are prepared to revolt against the authority of our forefathers and scrap up our inherited social and political institutions in an attempt to create something better. This was the spirit of those who made the French Revolution, and this was truly the spirit of Akbar.

The time-chart of Akbar's reign seems to illustrate a clearly thought-out and farsighted policy. Peace must come before progress, and therefore Akbar must bring all North India under one sceptre. This was the indispensable preliminary of imperial peace. Akbar could truly claim, as he has done in one of his reported speeches, "Kingship is a supreme blessing, for its advantages extend to multitudes.... The saying that the coming of monarchs brings security and peace, has the stamp of truth." He no doubt began by annexing all the neighbouring States to his empire, but he did not end with mere annexation. He gave to all parts of his vast empire internal peace, compactness through administrative uniformity, and a higher culture with a glimmering sense of a common nationhood. The Mughal Empire did ensure to more than one-half of India an amount of internal peace which this country had never known before. And if that peace was not so all-pervasive nor so unbreakable as Pax Britannica, we must remember the rudeness of Akbar's age and the fact that he was only a pioneer.

Now, all history tells us that internal peace can be better enforced by a large empire than by a score or more of petty States, each with very limited resources and eternally engaged in war with its neighbours.

Annexation was followed by administrative consolidation,—or, to borrow a phrase from British Indian history, non-regulation provinces were developed into regulation provinces. In the year 1586, Akbar sent out orders creating in every province the same form of administra-

tion. Hitherto they had been ruled by military commanders, like the Major-Generals of Cromwellian England, in a rough and ready manner, which was inevitable at the first stage of conquest. But as soon as the subjugation of the old dynasty was completed, each province was placed in charge of five departmental heads, appointed from the capital and with well-defined functions: they were, the viceroy (with a deputy or *naib subahdar* to take care of the province during his chief's temporary absence or a sudden vacancy), the *diwan* or revenue minister, the *bakhshi* or Inspector-General and Paymaster of the Forces, the *mir adil* or Criminal Judge, and the *Sadr* or Civil Judge. To these were added a group of minor but very important officers,—the police prefect, the district governors and the news-reporters.

This was the steel frame of the provincial administration. We can easily realise what an immense gain it was to the Indian people to have a regular and well-known administrative machinery close at hand to redress their wrongs and to legalise their relations with the Government. The governed knew where they stood and to whom to go for a particular purpose. And as this administrative type was imposed on all the parts of India under Akbar's rule,—which embraced the whole of Hindustan except the mediatised principalities of Rajputana,—and as one official language, one currency and one official era prevailed everywhere, a long stride was thus taken towards uniting India into one nation. Akbar began the work; the British have only completed it and spread it over South India as well.

Next, an improved method of land survey and revenue settlement was ordered for the Empire and gradually worked out in many of the provinces, because this work of minute details takes time. Thus the peasants knew definitely what rent to pay and how to pay it. This was an improvement on the guess-work method followed in former times, and it represents, in theory at least, an honest attempt to stop the extortion and oppression of the cultivators who formed nine-tenths of the Indian population in that age. Akbar's system has remained as the basis of the British Indian revenue system (called the *ryotwari band-obast*.)

Peace and the growth of wealth having been secured, Akbar's Court became the centre of intellectual life and the source of light for the whole country, because of his equal treatment of all sects and his personal comradeship with

many Hindu princes and gifted artists. His patronage of Hindi music led that art on the way to the high development that it has now reached. In painting he ignored the Islamic prohibition of the representation of living creatures as an impious presumption to rival the Creator. The Persian painters invited to India by his father and himself met the representatives of the indigenous Hindu school of art—the last descendants of the painters of Ajanta,—and the fusion of the two styles under the Emperor's eyes gave birth to a new and very charming method of painting which we call the Indo-Saracen or Mughal school. And this art did not stop at the Delhi Court; trained pupils of the royal art studio,—among whom were many Hindus of newly discovered genius,—gained service with the vassal Hindu princes, and worked at their capitals on subjects chosen from Hindu mythology epics and folklore. Thus was developed the so-called Rajput school, which followed exactly the same technique as the Indo-Saracen school, but confined itself to purely Hindu motifs. In architecture, the blending of Saracenic and Hindu elements effected under his patronage and inspiration strikes the eye of even the most casual observer in the delicate corbel brackets and thin pilasters of Fathpur-Sikri and the Red Mahal of Agra Fort.

In literature, Sanskrit epics, story-books, and scientific works were translated into Persian, and some Turkish and Arabic works were also rendered into the same language by the Emperor's paid agents. Here we ought to bear in mind that Persian was then the language of polished society in their correspondence and of the *litterati* in their compositions, besides being the medium used in all administrative papers,—just as French was in much of western Europe in the 18th century. Indo-Persian literature received an immense impetus and a rich and varied development—in certain branches, like history, epistles, fiction and conventional poetry,—took place from Akbar's patronage.

HIS MODERNISATION OF THE STATE

Akbar tried to modernise his State. Now, the basic principles on which a modern State stands are three, namely, (1) Universal toleration, without the Government identifying itself with the championship and propaganda of any particular religion. (2) The equality of all nationals of the country before the law. (3) In the public service, the rule of "careers open to talent" irrespective of caste, creed or birth. These were the three rights which the French

Revolution of 1789 won for the world, but Akbar had adopted them two centuries before that upheaval in Europe.

Further, he anticipated the very latest activities of European States by undertaking uplift work for the masses and introducing social reform, such as the prohibition of enforced *sati*, the discouragement of child marriage, etc., and opened schools and industrial workshops. If the scale of his activity in this field was very small, we must remember that he was the first Islamic sovereign in India to make such an attempt and that the age was rude. His openness of mind and boundless spirit of inquiry are illustrated by his experiment for discovering the original divinely intended language of man!

A large and rich empire like Akbar's requires the strongest possible defence against foreign enemies. Akbar had learnt the urgency of the problem from the experiences of his father and grandfather. The North-Western Frontier was then India's chief danger zone. So, like Balban and Ala-ud-din Khilji before him, he held the Panjab by means of strong garrisons and well-repaired forts. But unlike these Delhi sultans, Akbar was the owner of Afghanistan also; therefore, he made Kabul his first line of defence; he repeatedly chastised the border Afghans in order to keep the Khyber and Karapa passes open, and posted strong forces and able viceroys in Kabul.

To ensure national defence, Akbar set himself to improving his army,—its racial composition, organisation and armament. His gradation of ranks by the *mansabdari* system introduced order and discipline of some kind where a rough and ready haphazard arrangement had prevailed before. This strengthened the authority of the supreme head of the State and introduced unity of command,—the first requisite of military success. He stiffened the feudal army by means of a *corps d'elite* called *ahadis* or gentlemen troopers, directly recruited by him on a higher pay and status than the common soldiers. He forced his feudal chiefs—or, more correctly, his military fief-holders with only a life tenure of their lands,—to maintain their proper number of troopers and horses, by strict muster, branding and descriptive rolls (*dagh wa chihra*). This attempt provoked a dangerous and wide-spread mutiny, but the rule was not abandoned.

Technical improvements were made under his orders and sometimes at his own suggestion, in the artillery, the gun-carriages and the muskets, and he had also a well-equipped

flotilla and a swift-pacing camel corps (though small in number). Special attention was paid to the breed of the horses, as the cavalry was the main arm of that age.

HIS PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION

The work of moral reconstruction must be preceded by the destruction of the rotten old order, just as the peasant burns the stubble and tares before sowing the next crop. And this task brought Akbar into conflict with the vested interests represented by the Islamic theologians (*ulema*).

He was a rationalist, they were traditionalists. The intellectual foundation of his reforms was the belief that legislation must be progressive and not a mere imitation or perpetuation of immemorial old customs,—the conviction that what was suited to an earlier age requires to be modified, or even abolished altogether, in order to serve the needs of a changed later age. The Muslim theologians, who monopolised the offices in the departments of education, justice, charity and legislation, constantly appealed to the precedents of the immutable Quranic law and the sayings of the Prophet as embodied in his Traditions (*Hadis*).

Against this spirit came up Akbar's open declaration, dolefully recorded by the pious Badayuni: "The founders of this religion (i.e., Islam) were nothing but poor Arabs, a set of scoundrels of highway robbers." (Text, ii, 262.)

The Prophet, as we know, was illiterate (*Al Nabi-al-ammi. Qur. vii*) and he was a primitive Arab. We can easily imagine how such a highly modern criticism as this saying of Akbar shocked the *ulema* of his time. But what Akbar meant, and what the narrow-minded orthodox theologians did not perceive, was that rules which had been good for a society of nomads six hundred years after Christ were not necessarily good a thousand years later, because India is not Arabia and the whole world had changed during this first millennium of the Hijera era. Hence the need for progressive legislation.

EQUALITY AND PROGRESS

But Akbar was no fanatic even in suppressing other people's fanaticism. He approached the question of religious truth with an open mind, and at first ordered debates to be held in his presence on the tenets of Islam, by the theologians of that creed. The wrangling among the different sects within Islam itself,—seventy-two such are formally admitted, besides others of lesser fame—first awakened disgust, then

doubt in his mind. Select teachers of other faiths,—Hindu, Christian, Jain and Zoroastrian—were next admitted to this royal House of Worship (*Ibadat-khanah*) and held forth on the philosophy of their respective creeds. Akbar's faith in the intellectual basis of Islam was shaken by this convergence of light from diverse angles. As a ruler of men he was troubled by the conflict of so many creeds in his realm. One of his recorded sayings runs—"Although I am the master of so vast a kingdom, yet my mind is not at ease in this diversity of sects and creeds."

The next step in the path of his spiritual emancipation was the logical one of his adopting the policy of universal toleration* (officially called *sulh-i-kul* or peace with all men) as the one thing needful for a diversified population like India's. This was diametrically opposed to the cardinal doctrine of Islam, namely, the exclusiveness and finality of the Quranic revelation. "There is no object of adoration except Allah, and Muhammad is the agent sent down (*rasul*) by Allah to preach His will." The Muhammadan faith when logically interpreted cannot for a moment admit the liberal doctrine of Akbar that there are some grains of truth in every religion sincerely professed. Within the fold of Islam itself, in Akbar's own time there had been murderous persecution of minor sects like the Shias and the Mahdavis, by the Court theologians of Delhi, with the full power of the civil Government at their back. Akbar was determined to stop it. Hence arose his war with the orthodox Islamic clergy. A modern European writer has entitled his book on the reformed Turkey of Kamal Pasha as *Allah Dethroned*; it would have been more correct to call it *Mullah Dethroned*. That was exactly the work of Akbar, and he had to bear the full brunt of the attack of the dethroned Mullahs and of the partisan writers in their camp, who have spread a cloud of calumny over his State policy and histories.

Akbar's social reforms, like his policy of religious toleration and his new variety of Sufism called the Divine Monotheism (*tauhid-i-Ilahi*), failed to change Indian society and disappeared soon after his death, because the people could not be educated to carry them out generation after generation. It is not an official *Gazette* that can give life to a social reform;

* "It is my duty to be in good understanding with all men. If they walk in the way of God's will, interference with them would be in itself reprehensible, and if otherwise, they are under the malady of ignorance and deserve my pity."—*Sayings of Akbar*.

the people alone can do it by their own efforts. Akbar was too far in advance of his age. Thus the darkness of tragedy slowly descends on this great Emperor in his declining years; he becomes more and more melancholy and solitary. His personal friends Birbal and Abul Fazl die violent deaths, and Prithviraj (of Bikaner) a natural one. Two of his sons die of hard drinking and the sole survivor among his progeny, Salim, rebels against him.

Thus the curtain drops on the brightest and

most instructive scene in Indo-Muslim history. History, however, judges men not by what they have actually achieved, but by what they have loftily planned and nobly attempted, though the prize of material success may have eluded their dying grasp.

In the Arabic language, *akbar* is a superlative adjective meaning "the greatest," and here was certainly the greatest of those sovereigns who have borne the title of the Great Mughals.

RABINDRANATH ON RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

BY PRINCIPAL KSHITIMOHAN SEN, SHASTRI, M.A.,

Santiniketan

ON or about January 15, 1927, a party of American tourists came to Santiniketan in course of their travels in India. It appeared that in addition to sight-seeing there was also another purpose behind their visit; namely, to sound the possibilities of preaching Christianity to the people of the country. They, however, hesitated for some time to refer to this matter explicitly when they interviewed Rabindranath, presumably because of his well-known views on religion, as embodied in his *Gitanjali* and *Sadhana*. Then straightaway they asked the Poet, "In your country do all the people understand the highest truths of religion? Don't you think one could preach the truths of Christianity at least to those who do not?"

Rabindranath replied: I do not agree that the illiterate are incapable of understanding the highest truths of religion. For, our ancient social system made it possible for both the literate and the illiterate to imbibe these easily. No doubt, to-day the commerce of thought between the two has slackened because the field of Indian education, as the Blue Books show, has considerably narrowed down since then, while in other countries the benefits of knowledge have been broadcast far and wide, thus enabling the people to understand Truth. I would, therefore, wish you to spread education among the illiterate of the land, rather than preach your religion to them.

For the matter of that, do all the people, in your own country, educated though they be, understand the truths enunciated by Christ? Have they made those truths part and parcel of their private and public life? The fact is that the message of the Master has not as yet illuminated their minds and activities. Had it done so, Christianity would not have needed any pro-

paganda, for then their own lives would have been the most eloquent and powerful testimony to its truths. For, speech is at best a very poor substitute for truth.

Again we believe that only those who are qualified for the task, the illuminated ones,—have some justification for advising others about things spiritual. As a rule, compulsion of any kind in life is bad, but in the spiritual life it is nothing short of a calamity. For, every one can interpret an ideal or truth only in his own way and follow it according to his own lights.

What is of the essence of the matter is that one should be free in his pursuit of truth. There can be no dull uniformity in the realm of spiritual life. Its very beauty, on the contrary, is in its variety. Even in the physical world we find that the needs of the people, whether in respect of work or of food, are different and that these cannot be regimented into a deadening monotony. For, we realize that to do so would be fatal. Thus, in the world of Spirit the Santhal wrapt up in his particular gross form of worship and the illuminated soul absorbed in the subtle modes of meditation can live their separate religious lives side by side.

The only thing which should be borne in mind is, to see that no obstacle of any sort is placed in the Santhal's aspiration for or way of understanding the highest truth of the spirit. If he could be assisted in this direction, well and good, otherwise the life of a man of self-realization exercises a more far-reaching and permanent influence than any set words or stereotyped injunctions.

In your own country, I dare say, there are quite a large number of people who have not as yet understood the truths of your religion, although these have been forced down their

minds by the church in spite of their incapacity to take them. The result is a shocking discrepancy between their belief in the precepts of their religion and their practice of the same. A kind of unconscious hypocrisy has, thus, crept into their life, hence, the strange phenomenon of the co-existence in your country of the institution of the church alongside that of lynching.

The truth is that only he whose own soul has been illuminated can kindle the souls of others. A piece of fuel-stick, which has not itself caught ignition, cannot ignite other fuel-sticks. At most it can only give smoke. Your burning enthusiasm for preaching your religion to one and all irrespective of their individual requirements is like that smoke. The present state of affairs in the west with its poison of mutual hatred and thirst for blood is a clear indication that the message of the Master has not as yet become operative in the life of the people there. Then, further, whom do you wish to send here to preach Christianity to us? Or why send any one at all? You may rest assured that the moment it has kindled its light in the hearts of the people, the darkness of distrust and destruction and delusion will disappear. For, light is

its own advocate, and it needs no propaganda or publicity.

The Jews had made of religion a monopoly of their own people. Christ came and destroyed this spirit of sectarianism. To-day his followers are attempting to re-introduce the same by splitting the Truth, presented by him, into so many dogmas. Thus, it would appear that his crucifixion did not end when he was placed on the cross, but that it still continues. For, the adherents of the Faith, bearing his name, have narrowed down the content and circumference of his message. Are they, then, qualified to preach it to others?

It would be far better, instead, if they tried first to win the hearts of the people of their own country, and enter into the spirit of their struggles and sufferings, fears and hopes. For, love will easily transmit to them the light of the life of those who work among them. More than precept or philosophy of religion, what is required is the spirit of friendship, of identifying oneself with others completely.

Why not, however, first establish the truth of Christ in your own hearts? Once you have lighted your own lamp, the encircling gloom, as a matter of course, will vanish.

INFLATION OR SCARCITY ?

An Open Letter to Mr. G. D. Birla

By PROF. ANATH GOPAL SEN

SIR,

I have gone through your pamphlet entitled "Inflation or Scarcity?"* with the care and attention which a subject of such vital importance and a man of your position deserve. But I must confess at the outset that while I must unhesitatingly congratulate you for the clearness and lucidity of your treatment and also for the collection of certain valuable data, I regret I cannot agree with your central theory. As a matter of fact, from the very title of your booklet it would appear that you have started on a wrong hypothesis. The difference which the title of your booklet indicates and which you have tried to develop throughout the pages, between Inflation and Scarcity, is a difference without any distinction. There can be no question of inflation unless the increase of production has failed to keep pace with the increase of money. In other words, there can

be no inflation unless in relation to the quantity of money in circulation there is comparative scarcity of goods. So the two terms Inflation and Scarcity are almost interchangeable and the presence of scarcity rather proves inflation than disproves it. From the conditions prevailing you cannot deny that the country is in the grip of inflation just as your opponents should not deny that she is also in the grip of scarcity. It is only a question of difference in emphasis. But your position, you will excuse me if I say so, is more untenable than that of your opponents as the title of your book as well as the trend of your arguments seem to suggest that inflation and scarcity are two different things and while there is scarcity there is no or hardly any inflation which is an impossible proposition in view of the currency figures furnished by you and the abnormally high prices and other conditions prevailing. The appropriate title of your booklet in my opinion should have been: "Inflation and Its Remedy," and instead of taking

so much pains to disprove inflation, which was unnecessary (though we have had certain valuable facts and figures therefrom which will be useful to us in other contexts), you should have done better to devote more thought and space for showing how production could be increased in this country at the present moment to counter the effects of inflation and in which direction. Unfortunately you have done with it in 3 or 4 lines only in the last paragraph of your pamphlet.

The weakness of your position lies in the fact that nobody denies that there is scarcity but they say that this scarcity or reduction in consumable goods is the *sine qua non* of war finance and inflation is one of the means to bring about the desired scarcity.

Inflation has been defined thus by Geoffrey Gronther, Editor of the *Economist* and Author of *Paying for the War* (Oxford Publication on World Affairs): "It is the name given to the method of reducing the consumption of the public by increasing the prices of the things they buy." It will appear from above that scarcity of consumable goods is the inevitable and also the deliberate policy of War finance. And what is the test of Inflation? Says the same author: "The test is this—Has any pound that the Government is spending been taken out of somebody's income? If so, there is no inflation. But if the Government's expenditure increases without the Public's expenditure being reduced, *pound for pound*, then, whatever the outward appearance of the financial devices adopted, they are, in fact, inflationary."

With all the facts and figures you have marshalled, you have nowhere attempted to prove that the public expenditure and the Government's expenditure have moved in inverse ratio. If you could prove this then and then only there will be scarcity of consumable goods and yet no inflation and no rise in prices.

As I had already hinted, you should have admitted inflation and suggested increased production only as a measure of remedy. Everyone will agree with you that the conditions in India are very much different from those of other progressive and industrialised countries at war, such as, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. In so far as scope for increased production is concerned, whatever might be the conditions in other countries, there is no doubt that there are still untapped resources and forced idleness throughout India. But here again there are certain insurmountable obstacles, if we should look hard facts in the face, which stand

in the way of increasing her production in spite of her favourable position in certain respects. Even assuming that further production was possible with the now available unskilled labour and strictly limited industrial equipments and transport facilities at our disposal, the Government would not and cannot produce goods for public consumption but would try to increase the output, if at all possible, of goods for war purposes only. With strict control of all enterprises and the want of machinery, plants and tools, expansion of industries in the present circumstances to meet public needs is not possible and it is also not to the interests of any Government at war. Secondly, we should not forget that even for the interests of war, the British Government could not be persuaded to establish such industries in our country which might make them lose the Indian market hereafter. The only field where there is room for increasing production is agriculture but this will also call for an extraordinary organisation to give it the requisite push and drive and shall also demand immediate solution of certain vital problems, such as provision of long and short term loan for the agriculturists, necessary implements, good seeds and manures—problems which could not be solved in the last 100 years. With the men at the disposal of the present Government, nothing more than expression of pious wish and distribution of grow-more-food pamphlets could be expected of them. However, in this sphere a National Government could do something even within the present restricted circumstances. But those who would run the national Government or could "inspire, plan and mobilise the country's mind and capacity" are ploughing their lonely furrows inside their prison house. So, increase in the production of consumable goods even in India under the present circumstances is not less "unpractical" than purchase of Government's requirements in countries other than India or stoppage of export of essential food-stuffs and cotton piecegoods from India. India must be made to contribute her men and materials, to her utmost capacity, to all parts of the world within her comparatively easy reach. In doing so, the interests of the people are bound to suffer from reduction of consumption. You may agitate against it but to ask for increased production of consumable goods with all the unlimited demands of a totalitarian war is to ask for the moon or for the armistice.

If you had kept the two fundamental war-time economic phenomena in view: (i) "the

* By Mr. G. D. Birla, Hindusthan Times Press, New Delhi. February, 1943.

task of any form of war finance is to reduce popular consumption"; (ii) "Taxation and borrowing do it by taking money out of the pockets of the people before they can spend it; inflation lets them spend as much as before, but sees that they get less for it," the answer to your question ("should we, then, by way of applying a remedy, curtail private purchasing power and also private consumption?") should have been easily found. That answer is a clear and emphatic 'yes'. You cannot enter into a totalitarian war and have your old-time consumption intact. You cannot have both ways—eat your cake and have it. Your fundamental mistake lies in your contrary conception.

The point is not that there is less purchasing power or less private consumption. The real point is—how the aggregate sacrifice caused by this inevitable scarcity is to be equitably distributed among the different classes of people—the rich and the poor. Unfortunately you have totally overlooked this most important and vital point and treated the entire population on one and the same footing. Of the three methods *viz.*, taxation, borrowing and inflation, available for taking goods and services away from the people and giving the Government power to command them, the first (*i.e.*, taxation) if on high progressive scale is distasteful to the rich though best from the viewpoint of equity and the last (*i.e.*, inflation) is a hot favourite of the rich, though ruinous to the poor: Says Lord Keynes the celebrated Economist, "Inflation greatly benefits some important interests. It

oils the wheels everywhere, and a regime of rising wages and profits spreads an *illusion* of prosperity."

It is too late in the day to try to defend inflation which is now universally admitted to be a dangerous menace of the war-time finance and which should be carefully avoided and deliberately checked as it is a thing which happens by itself if nothing else is done. It is also useless to deny the existence of inflation in face of the soaring prices which have shot up higher in proportion than those in England. If more economical and efficient marshalling of our men and resources and their more judicious and balanced distribution are not possible by the present Government, which has no popular sanction behind it, let there be more taxation on progressive scale and more borrowing. But for God's sake, inflation must be checked, to avoid present inequity and heart-burning and future class conflict and financial disaster.

From an enlightened and broadminded man like you, the country expects a correct lead and it is for this reason that I have taken the liberty to address you this open letter which I would not do to any other Capitalist Entrepreneur out-and-out. Your fair name, your right to speak on such subject with authority, are likely to strengthen the forces of mischief and weaken the cause of those unfortunate millions who cannot share the spoils of inflation but have only to bear its heavy brunt. Hence this letter in open cover.

Yours Truly,
ANATH GOPAL SEN

THE INDIAN CRIMINAL

By C. V. RAMANA

WHAT happens to the criminal after his release? Does he change mentally after undergoing his long term of penal servitude? What impressions does he gather during the period of imprisonment? Have the criminal instincts in him been transformed into some form of creative construction of which society approves? Is he now, after the imprisonment, capable of earning his livelihood? Could the prison make a better man out of his monotonous "existence" behind bars? Has his health improved, and if not, why not? What diet is he given? And finally what has the prison done in moulding him into a social being? Obviously these are the questions that arise, if we wish to understand both the mental and physical aspect of a prisoner's life. Naturally

in this brief study we shall only make an attempt at answering all these questions.

None are born criminals. This is a very well-known fact that has only been established after a thoroughgoing study into human instincts and character, by many psychologists and doctors. One who commits a crime, a murder or a burglary, does so because certain circumstances arise in which one thinks that a murder or a burglary ought to be committed in order to master the circumstances and to a very great extent in order to fulfil one's selfish motives. One commits a theft for economic reasons mostly, one does not do it for the mere pleasure of it. It is starvation that drives the criminal to commit the act that is so much condemned

by law. Law does not try to understand the motives implied in the conduct of a human being which compel him to cross the boundaries of law. Law, without understanding human nature, imposes certain penalties that only further demoralise the victim and make him a person unacceptable to the present society. So long as law does not think of reforming an individual by understanding the circumstances and motives implied in the act, which the law looks upon as "illegal and criminal," the criminal's lot will remain the same. As Kripatrik says:

"It is the society that corrupts and deteriorates the mind and turns the human being into a criminal perplexity resulting in criminal acts and it is not in any way a born complex in man."

The criminal needs as much or even greater care, and comfort than the political prisoner. In fact it is the criminal that is to be reformed into one acceptable to society and not the political prisoner. People in general feel that a criminal is a parasite in society. Very few seem to realise that it is the very same society that has made him commit the acts, and which now looks upon them with contempt. Reforming the criminal would mean that society is improving; improving society would mean less criminals or even none at all. So it is a problem concerning society as a whole. But the present society looks upon the criminal as one who was born with such instincts. Indian society being dominated by retrograde forces that influence its ways both culturally and intellectually, one can well understand why this society does not protest against the cruel treatment that the criminal receives in this country. Society attaches greater importance to the treatment of political prisoners, because political prisoners are more intimately connected with society in their actions and their everyday life. Gradually Indian society is realising what exactly the role of vested interests has meant to her.

Looking at the treatment the Indian criminal receives during the period of imprisonment, one is bewildered by the appalling conditions under which the criminal lives for years together. The diet is so poor that it often happens that even near relatives or friends no longer recognise the prisoner after long periods of imprisonment. It will surprise the reader to know the nominal amount spent by the government on each criminal on his diet. Everyday the criminal is allowed a sum of six pice (one anna and a half

only) by government for his diet.² It is no consolation to know that even from this small menial amount the gaol warders and contractors have their share. So what actually the criminal receives would be an anna only. In Indian prisons the criminals are given their food according to weight. Newcomers to the prisons do not know the actual quantity of food materials they ought to receive. So in such cases the warders most unsympathetically exploit this ignorance for their own profit. Some gaol-birds who have been in prison more than half a dozen times know the exact quantity of food material they ought to receive, so in such odd cases the warders do not benefit very much. Though here too they have their share by brute force and power.

The vitamin content in the food supplied is almost nil.³ With such malnourished food the criminal is forced to labour from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. and again from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. In the morning the criminal labours with an empty stomach, as he receives his dole of food at 1 p.m., this being the first meal for the day. Time for rest is not provided for the criminal as he is to start labouring again at 2 p.m. The diet which the prisoner receives contains almost next to nil of proteins, no protein content is given to make the criminal energetic. The rice, pepper water with chilies, salt and some vegetables with very little oil, in fact produce a lethargic effect on the criminal's physical condition. After the Congress government came into power butter-milk was given to all prisoners,⁴ but the quality was so bad that the difference between not having it and having it was not great. For the amount of labour that the criminal turns out, he very badly needs nourishing food. Even if one-fifth of the actual amount the government profits by the free labour of the criminal is spent for the criminal's diet, it will go to improve the criminal's health. A majority of the criminals after serving long periods of imprisonment are affected with some chronic disease or other. Dr. Henry Morrison in his brilliant article on the criminal's health gives the following data. Out of 65 prisoners of long penal servitude released in Mexico, where criminals are treated

2. *Madras Gaol Manual*, published by the Government of Madras, 1939.

3. Report and Recommendation submitted by the Congress to the Central Government for amendment of gaol regulations and improving the quality and quantity of food. 1938.

4. Change of Gaol diet made in 3 provinces only: Madras, Bombay and United Provinces. Changes being introduced by Ministers of Public Health, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan and Mr. Gilder.

1. *Individual in the Making* by Kripatrik, page 76, Chap. 3, "The Criminal Mind."

as badly as in India, 15 were suffering from tuberculosis, 6 from venereal diseases, 5 from apoplexy, 10 whose mental condition necessitated admittance into lunatic asylums, 5 from miscellaneous diseases of a less serious type, the rest of course from under-nourishment.⁵

Apart from insufficiently nourishing diet and ill-health, the criminal suffers from "isolation" of a strange type. There is no variety at all in the criminal's life in prison. Everyday there are the same monotonous tasks which he has to perform. In case the criminal refuses to perform his task, he is whipped and forced to work, and is given much harder work than usual for his stubbornness. For fear of pain he labours hard. This being the case no kind of friendly relation can exist between the gaol officials and the criminals. The criminal is always suspected. All movements of his are watched with scrutinising care. He is not trusted in anything. No sort of privacy is permitted to the criminal. Usually such odd treatment affects the criminal's nerves. But how is he to express his feelings? He only suppresses his emotions and feelings in such a way that it helps him to brood more and increase his worries. The cell he lives in is ill-ventilated, smelly, dirty and crowded. In a small room of 6000 cubic feet 6 criminals are allowed to stay. Within such a small area no allowance is made for the prisoner's private life. Usually it is a corner without any screen. Considering all this, one comes to understand the unhygienic conditions under which human beings are forced to live. Now, it will not surprise the reader to know that the maximum number of deaths occur in the prisons of India and Japan. Nicholson is right when he says:

"The fact that the greatest number of prisoners die in India and Japan goes well to prove that because of the very fundamental necessities for human beings being deprived, the number of deaths reaches such an astounding height. Most of the released prisoners are either semi-neurotic or in state of mental persecution which ultimately leads to final stages of neurosis."⁶

The question of sex-hunger, "libido" being one of the fundamental features in the life of a human being, has to be suppressed by the criminal. The criminal in India is not allowed to have physical intimacy, even not with his wife. A healthy emotional and sexual life being out of the question, the prisoner suffers from hunger for food and sex, neither of which can

be satisfied. This being the case the criminal is forced, as there is no other alternative, to inhibit his fundamental desires very strongly. The criminal is also not given scope for sublimating his desires into something useful and active. This cannot be done unless the criminal has freedom to select the job he prefers and work as he desires.

This being the case, the criminal is filled with illusions regarding every aspect of human life. The mind of the criminal gets into such a complex of illusions that the criminal no more cares what happens to him. Now his pleasures are turned into dreams. He derives satisfaction from his dreams. The criminal creates his own private world which only his mind can imagine. The disillusionment he derives from actual conditions around him increases so long as he is not allowed expression of his suppressed inhibitions and strong desires. These fundamentals being denied to him, his inhibitions become stronger and are more complex in their nature. His whole thought is occupied by such strong illusions. Dreams occupy his imagination. The creative aspect of his imagination is baffled. He sees nothing but madness in him and around him. Contact with the outer world, with which he is so accustomed, being barred to him, the illusions increase. He has no one near him whom he trusts and from whom he, previous to his imprisonment, derived comfort and consolation. Everywhere around him he finds force and cruelty, no trace of kindness being visible. This being the case he falls into a stage of semi-neurosis, wherein his present state of mind occupies itself with imaginations and brooding over illusions. A brilliant analysis of the criminal mind has been given by Ernest Jones⁷ in his address to a gathering at Zurich. Dr. Ernest Jones giving facts about a criminal whom he had analysed, states that committing a certain crime is not an instinct but is circumstantial. If proper environment is given, the criminal can very easily be made to adjust himself to society.

It is a fact that a majority of the criminals who undergo long periods of penal servitude are admitted into lunatic asylums in India. 56% of the lunatics in Indian asylums are criminals.⁸ These facts reveal in detail that the treatment given to prisoners in India is most unsuitable both mentally and physically. A criminal who

5. Article entitled "Criminal's Treatment and their Health" by Henry Morrison, Hygeia, 1936, May.

6. Nicholson: "Death-rate in World Prisons and its Cause." Article in Times (U. S. A.), dated Jan. 6, 1941.

7. "The Criminal Mind"—a talk given by Ernest Jones in Zurich. Published in *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, 1931.

8. *Madras Medical Report* (1936), Page 12.

is suddenly released after a long period of sentence finds to his surprise, that he is unnoticed, no chains, none to threaten him, no work to do, and that he is at liberty to do anything that pleases him. This sudden freedom to the mind comes into conflict with the illusioned ideologies of his semi-neurotic condition, hence this sudden shock only turns him into a perfect neurotic instead of into a sensible creature who can live and adjust himself to society.

How are all these problems met with in other countries? No country has been so negligent about its criminal offenders as India. After the dawn of Psychology and Psycho-analysis the treatment of criminals has fast improved. Society as well as individuals who care for the criminals have tried to understand the differences between human errors and crimes. In the prisons of Russia the criminal is very well treated. Firstly, the role of force has been abolished, proper nourishing diet is given. Variety and entertainment, which the Indian criminal lacks much, is provided. The Law is very sympathetic in its understanding of the criminal.⁹ The criminal does not feel that he is in a place where he is being tried for an offence for which he is to be punished. He lives only in separate quarters, no difference being made between prison-life and the life the criminal has been accustomed to previously. Games, books, creative recreation are provided for the criminal. The question of sex-starvation does not arise at all.¹⁰ The prisoner in Russia enjoys the presence of well-qualified and capable doctors, psycho-analysts, and tutors. Many novels¹¹ give detailed pictures of Russian prison-life. Thus it is clear how the problems arising from the treatment of criminals are intelligently solved. In Europe almost all countries realise that a criminal is not a pest, but one to be looked after with greater care and better supervision, so that a criminal who goes back to live in society is able to adjust himself easily.

Even in Germany where the worst of human tortures are supposed to be prevalent, the criminal is treated in a much superior and scientific way.¹² It is the political agitator that

meets with the inventions of inhuman torture. He, according to the rulers, is a menace to the growing society. This being the case the domineering power tries to put an end to the menace. Stefan Lorant¹³ gives a good picture regarding the treatment of criminals as well as of political offenders. He relates in detail the vivid experiences he had as a political agitator. When Stefan Lorant was released, his child who had by then grown up greets him first with a "Heil Hitler,"¹⁴ and not as father. Due to fear and also because of training, the child forgets to greet its parents as its guardians, but greets them in an artificial manner. Details of the life of German prisoners are clearly depicted in Feuchtwanger's plays and novels.¹⁵

The prisons of England are slowly improving and conditions are much better than in India. Continuously thorough-going investigations regarding criminals, their mind, and treatment, are being conducted on progressive lines in England. Palme Dutt¹⁶ gives clear accounts of some prisons in England, specially the one in Putney, London, where experiments are being carried on regarding the treatment of criminals. Cole¹⁷ gives details of "pre-reformed" prisons in England and their conditions. Readers interested may go through his article in *Time and Tide*, to compare and contrast the conditions of the criminals there with those prevailing in India.

In America the prisons are places where the criminal reforms himself and comes out healthy both mentally and physically. As the name "Reform House" itself suggests, the prison is like a hospital where certain bad and unnecessary elements are removed from the body. The prisons are fast improving. Psychology is applied to the advantage of the nation in order to know and understand the criminal. Upton Sinclair's novel¹⁸ gives a fairly good account of these "Reform Houses."

In conclusion we may say that one finds a large difference between the treatment of

13. *I was Hitler's Prisoner* by Stefan Lorant (Penguin). 1939.

14. *I was Hitler's Prisoner* by Stefan Lorant, Page 248.

15. Plays of Feuchtwanger, New York; and *Power* by Feuchtwanger, New York.

16. "The New Cell," Article by Palme Dutt, Editor, *Labour Monthly*, in *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, dated May 11, 1939.

17. "The English Criminal," Article in *Time and Tide*, dated Jan. 4, 1937.

18. *Co-Op.* by Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, n.d.

9. *Soviet Communism, a New Civilisation* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Chapter 18 and 26. 1936.

10. *Soviet Democracy* by Pat Sloan (Pages 213, 14, 17, 19). 1938.

11. *Great Offensive* by Maurice Hindus, 1931. And then *the Harvest* by Panferov, 1940.

12. *I was a German* by Ernest Toller. 1937.

criminals in India and abroad. Nothing much has been said regarding the prisons in the East as they are similar to, or even worse, than those in India. Gradually in India too the importance of the treatment of criminals is being realised, though the rate, at which the government and

the public in general come to realise the significance of the problem, is indeed very slow. It will not be hoping in vain to expect the people of India to understand the urgency regarding the criminals and their treatment in the Indian prisons.

GUERRILLA WARFARE—A HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

By M. B. DEOPUJARI, M.A., LL.B.

THE part played by guerillas in China and Russia has proved the importance of this form of warfare even in these days of highly mechanised and scientific war. In both these countries, the aggressors were prevented from taking complete hold of the conquered territories and consolidating them by guerilla bands of patriotic men and women, many of them erstwhile peace-loving citizens. They stepped in when the regular armies had to quit the field. And they did the job. So conspicuous has been the role of these guerillas that attempts are being made in all countries to organise guerilla bands alongside the regular armies. It would be therefore interesting to study the historical origin and the importance of guerilla warfare as such.

History tells us of the struggles of nations and peoples. In the past, aggression of one nation over another or of one community over another was the order of the day. The issue of the struggle, in all such cases was determined by the kings and nobles who fought it out—out among themselves alone. The common people did not come into the picture at all. They would accept the resultant change of masters as a matter of course having neither the spirit nor the requisite training to rally together in defence of their country. In this way the Mohammedans came in India in the 12th century and found themselves in possession of an Empire no sooner did they defeat an ill-assorted league of Rajput kings headed by Prithviraj Chauhan. For centuries thereafter the Hindus acquiesced in the domination of the Muslims. But for an all-round defence of the Fatherland such as we witness in western countries to-day, a vast country like India would not have gone under so easily.

In the 17th century there came a reawakening in the land specially in the South and the people began to experience the surge of new life. Leaders had to turn the spirit of patriotism to fruitful account which meant organising

resistance to the hitherto strongly entrenched Power. It was the genius of Shivaji the Great that pointed out the way. Shivaji was a true statesman. He assessed correctly the possibilities of the times and found out the best means to realise them. He exploited all the advantages nature had bestowed on his country-men. His hill-forts were the centres of his strength. His enemies, the Bijapuris and the Moguls strove their utmost to draw him out on the plains but Shivaji avoided pitched battles and chose his own methods to defeat his foes. His tactics were to send out small parties of men to raid enemy camps, loot their baggages and destroy their ammunitions. At a moment when the enemy thought himself secure from attacks Shivaji's men would make their appearance and spread terror among his soldiers. No time was given to the enemy to recover from surprise. The episode of Shahista Khan's narrow escape from his Poona house is a good illustration of the boldness of Shivaji's plans and their skilful execution. Thus Shivaji was the father of guerilla warfare. He put into practice the tactics associated with guerilla warfare long before the Spaniards conceived of them. The term guerilla was applied first to the irregular troops which attacked the French Army of occupation in Spain during the Napoleonic wars and turned it into a 'running sore' for Napoleon. On account of the obstinate resistance put up by the guerillas, Napoleon was forced to keep several of his best divisions locked up in Spain and had to face a war on two fronts.

At the time of Shivaji's death the Maratha kingdom was firmly established but it was still in its infancy. On the other hand, the Mogul Empire had reached its zenith and Aurangzeb personally arrived in the Deccan to lead an all-out campaign of extermination against the Marathas. Resources in men and material of the greatest empire of the world of those days were matched against a petty State hardly a

decade old. 'Could the issue of such an unequal struggle—a struggle between a giant and a dwarf—be in doubt? But then a miracle happened. True to the traditions and methods of the founder of the kingdom, Maratha leaders made ready to face up to the aggressor. The war of liberation lasted 20 years. The Emperor lived long enough to witness the failure of his grand army and his grandiose plans. In spite of his commanding talents, religious zeal and love of power he died a disappointed man. Students of guerilla warfare will come across many a deed of valour and devotion wrought by the guerilla leaders of those days. Santaji Ghorpade was the foremost among them. He had received his training under Shivaji and was a master of guerilla tactics. While the Moguls had to all appearances subjugated Maharashtra by capturing Sambhaji, the Maratha King, and Rayagarh, the Maratha capital, Santaji was preparing plans to attack and harass the enemy from outside. During the prolonged siege of Jinji, the war-time capital of Maharashtra, Santaji sent parties of his men to disrupt enemy lines of communications and spread confusion among them. On a seven hundred mile front which included Maharashtra and Karnatak Santaji's men operated against the enemy incessantly, giving him no respite. The Moguls found it impossible to bring him to bay. The strain of pursuing such an elusive foe taxed the resources of the Moguls to the utmost and systematic subjugation of the country was rendered impossible. Presently the besiegers of Jinji found themselves besieged by Santaji's Marathas. They faced starvation as no supplies could reach them and they were forced to blow up their own dumps of ammunition lest they might fall into the hands of the Marathas. At last the Moguls were forced to raise the siege and return to safer places. The initiative soon passed into the hands of Marathas. Not only did they save their kingdom but emboldened by their successes set on a career of conquest.

During the quarter of a century following the death of Aurangzeb, the Marathas annexed parts of central and eastern India. Bajirao the great Peshwa was like Shivaji a master of guerilla warfare. While his lieutenants were plundering the Doab, the Mogul Emperor sent Sadatkhani, the founder of Oudh, to oppose them. In an action against the Marathas, Sadatkhani won some success which he magnified into a great disaster for the Maratha arms. While the Emperor was gloating over the great

victories of his General Sadatkhani, Bajirao who was near at hand detached a few of his divisions to retrieve the situation in the Doab and he himself suddenly appeared before the very gates of Delhi. Indescribable was the panic and consternation the news caused in the Mogul Court and urgent messages were sent to the Nizam summoning him to Delhi. Asafjahi the Nizam was the most determined enemy of the Peshwa. He felt delighted to have a chance of wrecking vengeance on the Marathas for many of their past misdeeds. He went post-haste to Delhi and elaborate plans were drawn up to crush the Maratha power. But Bajirao kept himself well informed of all his moves and took steps to prevent any succour from reaching from the south. Then he confronted the Nizam as he reached Bhopal and inflicted a crushing defeat on him. The Battle of Bhopal has been described by the eminent historian Sardesai as a master-piece of guerilla warfare. The Marathas made effective use of guerilla tactics in defensive as well as offensive operations.

The lightly armed Maratha horseman, subsisting on bare necessities of life, generally a loaf of bread and chutney and practising the motto "fare hard and journey fast," has not yet become a relic of bygone days. We find his counterpart in Russia and in China and in all the occupied countries of Europe today. The full contribution of the guerillas in the present titanic struggle for human freedom and justice is yet to be known. Though methods of warfare have vastly changed since the days of Shri Shivaji and Bajirao, the conception of total war such as is waged by Germany and Japan and Italy, necessitates the mobilisation of all the resources of the modern State. In such a scheme the guerilla forces are complementary to the regular forces and form, as it were, a second line of defence. A regular and methodical training of the people in guerilla warfare is a real desideratum. It was with the object of drawing attention of the Government to this problem that Reverend Doctor Moonje, with his usual political foresight, issued an appeal to the Government of India two years ago. He followed it up by approaching leaders of the country in the same connection and has, with their co-operation, succeeded in making a beginning in this direction. It is to be hoped that his efforts will lead to a fuller appreciation of the importance of guerilla warfare both by the Government and the people.

THE THEORY OF THE CLASS-WAR

By D. V. RAMA RAO, M.A., LL.B.

THE theory of the class-war was first propounded in a systematic manner by Karl Marx assisted by Engels in the Communist Manifesto which appeared in the year 1848. Karl Marx, it may be noted, was not the originator of the socialist idea, as many wrongly suppose, but was only the originator of the doctrine of the class-war which is really the distinguishing feature of Marx's contribution to the general socialist thought.

Although socialism as an idea was born long before Marx's time it was confined more or less to utopian theories but with the advent of Marx it at once assumed importance both as a philosophical interpretation of the history of mankind and as a practical guide for the achievement of the socialist goal. But neither the Communist Manifesto nor the more detailed later work 'Das Capital' can be taken to have said the last word on socialism; indeed, socialist thought has progressed a great deal since Marx's time and even to this day it continues, still, to be a growing idea which has yet to take final shape.

While a number of thoughtful writers before, during and after Marx's time, have contributed to socialist thought, Marx's contribution is significant as a land-mark in its growth and development just as the contributions of Darwin and Freud are significant as distinct land-marks in the growth of the theories of evolution and psycho-analysis.

According to the theory of the class-war, the inherent clash of interests in the various groups of society would be reduced ultimately to a direct conflict between the exploiting on the one hand and the exploited on the other in which the exploited all over the world would join hands to wrench the power from the exploiting, and establish a proletarian dictatorship which in its turn would pave the way for the achievement of a classless society wherein all exploitation would be at an end. This, in substance, is the Marxian brand of socialism commonly known as communism. It will be helpful to note here that the fundamental difference between those that call themselves communists and the other socialists, who do not, is really one of method and detail; thus while the communists swear by Karl Marx and his doctrine of the class-war the other socialists do not.

Karl Marx, it may be noted, not only predicted the phase of the class-war as inevitable

but believed there was no other way of attaining the socialist goal.

Before accepting or otherwise of this theory it would be instructive to examine how far things have progressed in the direction Marx envisaged: A good many tendencies Marx predicted have remained not only unfulfilled even to this day but actually developed in exactly an opposite direction. Thus for instance, instead of class-strife it is national rivalry that has been becoming increasingly marked. To-day the exploitation of one nation by another is more marked than the exploitation of one class by another. Can any one dispute the fact that the exploitation of the working class either in Britain or India pales into insignificance before the much more systematic exploitation of India by Britain? Since the publication of the Communist Manifesto people everywhere have grown more nationally conscious than class-conscious. The experience of this war as well as the last shows clearly that people who talk of international class-war do not hesitate to join their respective nations promptly at the outbreak of wars between rival nations.

The British Labour Party has again and again shown by its attitude that it prefers a capitalist England with all her colonies rather than a socialist England without any colonies. This is nothing strange since the average British worker knows his interest too well and is much more shrewd than the average communist to be led away by 'international slogans.' It ought to be clear then, that class interest does not necessarily prove stronger than national interest as Marx mistakenly supposed.

Coming next to the progressive deterioration in the condition of the working class which Marx predicted, nothing of the kind has happened. Working class conditions without exception have improved all over the world though in subject nations like India the pace has been slower.

Then again instead of society developing into two clear-cut camps of exploiting on the one hand and exploited on the other, strangely enough, it has developed into an anomaly where most of us find ourselves both exploiting and exploited at the same time. This is what Bertrand Russell says in his book *Roads To Freedom* (pages 154, 155):

"There is no alchemy by which a universal harmony can be produced out of hatred. Those who have been

inspired to action by the doctrine of the class-war will have acquired the habit of hatred, and will instinctively seek new enemies when the old ones have been vanquished.

"But in actual fact the psychology of the working man in any of the Western democracies is totally unlike that which is assumed in the Communist Manifesto. He does not by any means feel that he has nothing to lose but his chains, nor indeed is this true. The chains which bind Asia and Africa in subjection to Europe are partly riveted by him. He is himself part of a great system of tyranny and exploitation. Universal freedom would remove, not only his chains, which are comparatively light, but the far heavier chains which he has helped to fasten upon the subject races of the world.

"Not only do the working men of a country like England have a share in the benefit accruing from the exploitation of inferior races, but many among them also have their part in the capitalist system. The funds of Trade Unions and friendly societies are invested in ordinary undertakings, such as railways; many of the better-paid wage-earners have put their savings into Government securities; and almost all who are politically active feel themselves part of the forces that determine public policy, through the power of the Labour Party and the greater Unions. Owing to these causes, their outlook on life has become to a considerable extent impregnated with capitalism. And as their sense of power has grown, their nationalism has increased. This must continue to be true of any internationalism which is based upon hatred of the capitalist and adherence to the doctrine of the class-war."

From the above it should be clear that the exploited of one country may very well be the exploiting of another and that workers do not always find the communist slogan 'Workers of all nations unite' a suitable one! Bertrand Russell in the same book, *Roads To Freedom*, gives the instance of Bernstein, the German socialist who 'even goes so far as to maintain that European nations have a right to tropical territory owing to their higher civilization.' There is nothing strange in this, since there is no reason why a country while wanting to be socialist at home should not want to be capitalist abroad when countries which while professing to be democratic at home can have no scruples to be autocratic abroad. The fact is socialism is not incompatible with nationalism.

To-day Russia which is a socialist country is fighting in the name of the fatherland and not in the name of socialism. Whatever might be the conditions that induced Karl Marx to believe in the inevitability of the class-war as a necessary phase of the socialist revolution, the conditions of the present-day world certainly do not warrant that assumption. It has been shown already that the assumptions on which Marx bases his theory of the class-war—class-consciousness rather than national consciousness that would tend to be more marked, that the working class conditions would tend to deteriorate

steadily and that society would tend to develop more and more into two clear-cut camps exploiting on the one hand and exploited on the other,—proved totally incorrect. This is so because Marx largely arrives at his conclusions from what he witnessed of the working class conditions in England, France and Germany of his own day. No doubt the early uncontrolled private capitalist enterprise resulted in a good deal of wretchedness of the working classes but this was rather due to allowing the theory of *laissez faire* to exercise its influence beyond the limits of its utility than to the inherent callousness of the capitalist class as Marx was mistakenly led to believe. The doctrine of *laissez faire* is everywhere at a discount now and is not likely to be revived until, perhaps, a democratic world federation comes into existence.

Then again, because even in England, the bulwark of democracy, the working class did not possess the right to vote during his time, Marx wrongly supposed that democratic government could never be possible in a capitalist country. Hence he thought the only way of capturing the government by the workers lay through revolt. This also naturally confirmed his belief in the inevitability of the class-war. But as is well-known England introduced universal suffrage soon after and though continuing to be a capitalist country has been running ever since an essentially democratic government. Indeed, not only England but a good many capitalist countries have adopted democratic forms of government and introduced measures in the interest of the working classes, which Marx could never have thought possible, purely by constitutional means. Had Marx been alive today, probably, he would have modified his views regarding the inevitability of the class-war. Marx's defect lies, chiefly, in that he relies upon data which is not sufficient to draw the conclusions he arrives at, and in being influenced by too much scepticism and cynicism in estimating human nature and attributing human motive; so that his thesis cannot be taken to be an entirely objective study.

Whatever propaganda value it might have had two or three generations ago, to-day the theory of the class-war is only helping to create confusion in people's minds being no more a doctrine supported by facts. It is this confusion which has led some of the communists to condemn even Gandhiji as a tool of the capitalists although to every unbiassed person Gandhiji must appear as one who has done more than anybody

else to eliminate exploitation from our present-day world.

One would do well to remember that socialism to-day has taken fuller shape as an idea and that socialist thought has grown more comprehensive and clear, thanks to the efforts of intellectual groups like the Fabians and to thoughtful writers like Bernard Shaw, who is also a Fabian by the way, and Bertrand Russell, to mention only a few.

Shaw's *Guide To Socialism*, to give a single instance, is not only much more clear, comprehensive and convincing than anything Marx wrote but the Fabian brand of socialism, to mention one among many other brands, is in every way an improvement over the crude Marxian brand, i.e., communism.

Many of the socialists who differ from the communists are not moderate but only modern and it is the class-war fads who are really out of date.

To any intelligent observer it will be evident that not only our world has already imbibed quite a good deal of socialism but that socialist economy is coming to be accepted more and more not because of any class interest but simply as a progressive move. It must be noted, however, that even if every country in the world were to become socialist exploitation and wars might not cease altogether until all the nations learn to look upon one another as members of one world family. In this connection it is both interesting and instructive to note, what Bertrand Russell says in the same book *Roads To Freedom* (page 156) :

"In Australia and California, there is an intense dislike and fear towards the yellow races I cannot but think that, if Australia were completely socialized, there would still remain the same popular objection as at present to any large influx of Chinese or Japanese labour. Yet if Japan also were to become a Socialist State, the Japanese might well continue to feel the pressure of population and the desire for an outlet. In such circumstances, all the passions, and interests required to produce a war would exist, in spite of the establishment of socialism in both countries."

From what has been said above it follows that socialism is not necessarily international and that one can be a very good socialist indeed, without believing in the theory of the class-war. In fact this bewildering theory has, to a certain extent, scared away a good many from joining the socialist cause who otherwise would have been attracted to it.

Whatever force it might have had in the past, to-day while socialism is becoming increasingly popular the theory of the class-war

is coming to be viewed as more reactionary on the whole than revolutionary.

The rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany can partly be explained as resulting from a reaction to the theory of the class-war and not as a reaction to socialism as many wrongly suppose. Both Italy and Germany call themselves National Socialist States and introduced measures which Marx would have thought steps in the direction of socialist economy. This is what John Gunther, the eminent American Journalist-writer, has to say about Fascism in his book *Inside Asia* (page 80) :

"The conventional Marxist definition of Fascism is that it is the last stand of private monopoly capitalism against social revolution. I do not find this definition very satisfactory, since it ignores the considerable revolutionary element in Fascism. It ignores the fact that Fascism borrows heavily from Marxism, and makes a pretence at least of establishing a social order in which some of the extravagances of capitalism are curtailed. Under Fascism both capital and labour are at the mercy of the state, which is the supreme embodiment of economic as well as political authority."

Being frankly and blatantly imperialistic and opportunist, Fascism is neither the friend of capitalism nor the enemy of socialism. Fascism has not hesitated to wage war against capitalist countries nor to conclude pacts with socialist countries. It is out and out Machiavellian. Believing as it does, however, in the doctrine of the totalitarian state and being intensely nationalist it cannot tolerate a disintegrating influence like the doctrine of the class-war.

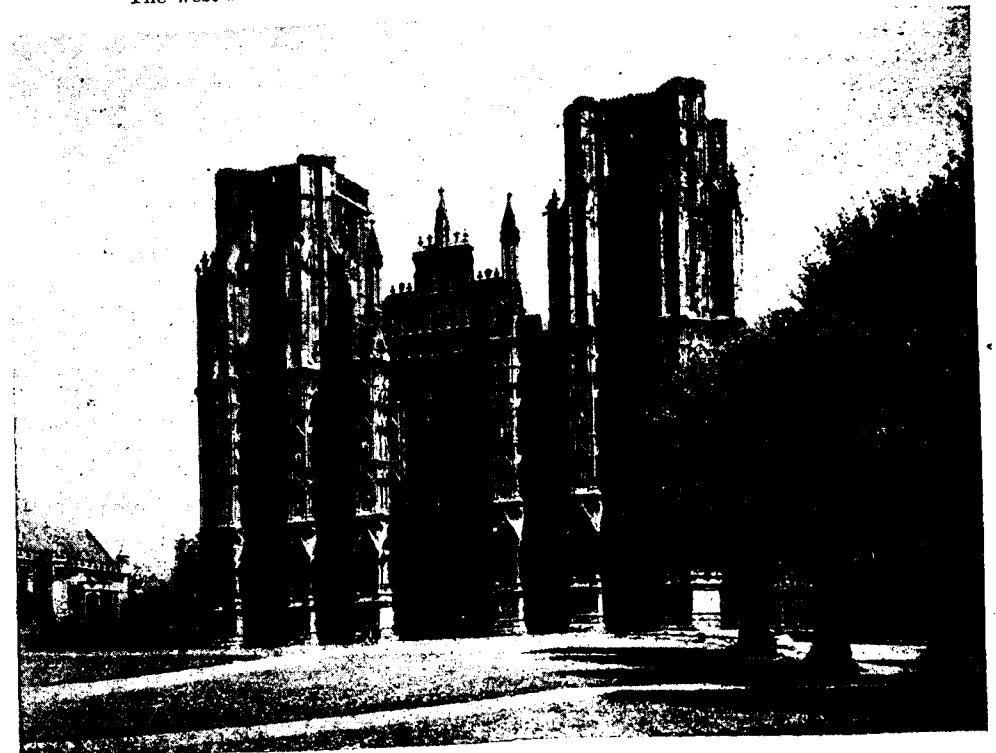
The theory of the class-war has come to be viewed as a reactionary doctrine not only by the fascist countries but even nationalist China under Chiang Kai-shek, which has always continued to be friendly with Russia, did not hesitate to carry out a bloody purge of the communists in China when their influence was felt to be detrimental to Chinese national interests. Indeed, communist purges are not wholly absent, even in Russia, the cradle of orthodox communism.

The dispute between Stalin and Trotsky represents to a large extent the difference between modern socialism and orthodox communism, and with the banishment of Trotsky from Russia international communistic influence, too, is virtually eliminated from Russia.

The reason why Russia to a certain extent developed on Marxist lines, in the beginning is to be found in the fact that it did not have a democratic government during the Czars' regime; and consequently the intellectual groups, who



The west front of Peterborough Cathedral with its three mighty arches



The west front of Wells Cathedral is richer in medieval carving and wider than any other English Cathedral



Chichester Cathedral, with its tall spire, dominates an English market town which even to-day retains some of its medieval atmosphere



The Choir was the richest and most complete portion of Exeter Cathedral before the German raid

largely contributed to the Russian revolution. found the slogan of the class-war a very useful rallying force for the organization of revolt against the existing government.

Not only has Russia been swerving from orthodox communism but under Stalin's regime it has been steadily conserving its energies to build up a strong nation instead of wasting any of its energies on doubtful international ideologies.

Russia to-day has emerged from hazy theories into practical wisdom and as has been

pointed out already, in its present heroic resistance to German aggression, Stalin is appealing to the Russians in the name of the fatherland and not in the name of any international ideology.

Whatever significance the theory of the class-war might have possessed in the past, to-day, when the causes for class-strife are much less, it not only ceases to be a revolutionary doctrine but is in danger of actually developing into a reactionary influence.

CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND

By NORMAN HILLSON

CANTERBURY

CANTERBURY, standing in the heart of the ancient kingdom of Kent, is not only one of the oldest cities of England but also the site of her first Christian cathedral. It was in 597 that Pope Gregory the Great sent St. Augustine and his missionaries from Rome to convert the English. St. Augustine came to Canterbury and began to build what was later to become the huge Metropolitan Church. He was enthroned as first Archbishop and, with but brief intermission, Archbishops have sat on this throne ever since.

From these very early days the Cathedral of Canterbury has been of supreme importance in England and its importance has been enhanced by its architectural beauty. Like so many other English Cathedral Churches, it was the result of slow development and an admixture of passing designs and styles. Often damaged by fire, there were times when the monks of the attached Benedictine priory were disheartened. This was especially the case after the great Archbishop Lanfrance died in 1089. A contemporary prior, Conrad, built a choir which even his contemporaries, described as "glorious." It was burned to the ground, and the monks called in William of Sens, a Burgundian mason. He carried on with the building until he was incapacitated by falling from scaffolding, and was succeeded by William the Englishman, who created the outline of the great church we know to this day.

Since those days the Cathedral has been much enriched and now the huge tower called the "Bell Harry" dominates the whole building.

Approached by way of a gate house, it stands apart from the town, which grew around its walls. It has been the centre of English episcopal life from the moment of its inception, and its archbishops have numbered in their ranks eminent divines from the earliest times. Lanfrance, Anselm, Becket, Hubert, Walter, Chicheley, Morton, Cranmer, Pole, Parker, Laud, Juxon, Tenison, Tait and Benson—each name is a footnote to English history.

The Cathedral is full of treasures. The marble throne of the Archbishop dates from 1200, and in the north choir aisle you can still see the helm, surcoat, sword and spurs of Edward the Black Prince, who died in 1376.

ROCHESTER

The missionary work of St. Augustine did not cease with the foundation of Canterbury Cathedral. His was a nation-wide mission, and he gave it expression in the other notable church of the Kentish kingdom—the cathedral of St. Andrew at Rochester.

The ancient building, begun in 604, although not of the ambitious proportions of the mother church, still stands on an eminence above the river Medway and is a familiar landmark in the English scene. It was not until 1130 that the cathedral as it appears to-day was consecrated.

ted. By that time successive priors of Canterbury had added to the fabric and the beautiful west front in Norman style had been completed.

Rochester, as its name implies, is a city of Roman origin, and for centuries it was an important fortress commanding a vital bridge across the river Medway. The noble remains of the castle keep bears witness to its former importance.

The town to-day is small, but it has an honoured place in history, for, throughout the



The choir is unusually long in Canterbury Cathedral and is notable for the fine ornamentation and the use of round and pointed arches

centuries its citizens have insisted on maintaining their liberties, and it is interesting to note that in the very early days the monks of the cathedral fought with the citizens to safeguard the privileges of the royal borough, a status it has enjoyed since the Norman Conquest of Britain in 1066.

The most famous Bishop of the See of Rochester was St. John Fisher, martyred by King Henry VIII and canonized by Pope Pius XI in 1935.

CHICHESTER

Of more importance in the south was the cathedral of Chichester, in coastal county of Sussex.

To-day this once thriving entrepot of merchants and sailors operating in the adjoining creek leading down the point of Selsey is a dreamy, half-forgotten town of about 14,000 people. But its former significance is emphasised by the beautiful market cross which stands through quite close to the precincts of the cathedral. If you wander through the Dean's garden beyond the cloisters, you will find that the herbaceous borders are backed by the old walls of the original Roman camp erected in the first years of the Christian era.

The cathedral stands as a reminder of the years now passed, dominating the small city with its massive stone walls, its detached campanile and its tall spire.

One can capture the atmosphere of a medieval market town, for the Cross, erected by Bishop Story round about 1500 marks the junction of the four main streets which used to serve the ancient gates. Here to this day street vendors gather to peddle the produce grown on the rich lands which surround the city.

Chichester Cathedral was built in 1108, and although it has often been damaged by fire, it still retains more or less the form intended by its founders.

Its architectural charms are of a modest and yet ingratiating kind. They do not obtrude. But Chichester must always be an abiding memory for the traveller, for it is so essentially of the English countryside.

He can stand on the Downs above the park of the Duke of Richmond at Goodwood and look down on that pleasant dip of land. Far away the sea is hidden in a bank of mist. Nearer are the woods and the sweep of green fields, with here and there an occasional village. There is an uncanny sense of peace and very great quiet. And all the time in the half haze of a summer afternoon there is the dim outline of the cathedral church which was built nearly a thousand years ago.

EXETER

Exeter, known in Roman times as Isea Damnonorium, lies in the south-west of England. It is the capital of the historic county of Devon, but even today its population is only a little more than 50,000. The modern city has spread below the broad ridge of land above the river

CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND

Exe on which, in the year 1050, Leofric, the first Bishop, founded a church on the site of a primitive Saxon monastery.

Though other cathedrals in England were built by strangers, Exeter has the distinction of having grown out of the soil, of being made with local materials by local men and sanctified in its development by native bishops such as Bronescombe and Quivil, both of whom were born within the walls of the ancient city. Nothing remains of Leofric's foundation, and the present cathedral dates from 1114. Although it is not so extensive as many other English cathedrals, it is one of the most perfect examples of the Decorated style.

The church is dedicated to St. Peter and stands just a little isolated from the modern town, across a spread of lawn. The first view is inspiring to the stranger. The ancient twelfth century towers of the north and south transept rise in contrast to the noble masonry of the choir and the Lady Chapel of a later date. Apart from occasional restoration work, the whole cathedral was completed by 1480.

The unexpected is the most satisfactory benison to the discerning traveller. It is there in full measure if he enters Exeter cathedral by the west door, for he will immediately be confronted by the full sweep of nave and choir extending under a vaulted roof for more than one hundred yards.

But the first astonishment is enhanced by the many surprises in the detail of the church itself. There is the unique minstrel's gallery in the triforium dating from the fourteenth century. Here are carved figures of angels playing eleven medieval instruments: cithole, bagpipe, recorder, viol, harp, Jew's harp, trumpet, organ, gittern, shawn, timbrel and cymbals. On Christmas afternoon the choir sings carols from this gallery to music played as far as possible on these same ancient reeds and brass.

Then there is the reredos of the altar made in 1319, the choir screen carved about the same time, the ancient tomb of the original Lady Chapel, and the bosses in the arching of the vaulting.

WELLS

But if Exeter has charm, what of Wells, in the county of Somerset?

The cathedral of Wells has few equals in Christendom. One can endorse the words of the unknown eighteenth century writer, "In Jerusalem only was a wider influence born." Here indeed is a unique survival of the great

days of the medieval church. The west front gives on to a broad expanse of grass and is bordered by the ancient Deanery and the College of the Vicars Choral, one of the most perfect specimens of domestic architecture extant. To the far side is the Bishop's Palace, a moated grange, with the original battlements, and the remnants of the great dining hall—for in other days the Bishop of Wells was a soldier-priest and had to defend his diocese against possible incursions from the marches of Wales.



Though one of the smallest Wells is perhaps the most beautiful of the English Cathedrals

The Cathedral precincts can only be reached from the town through ancient gates, one of which is still called the "Penniless Porch," because for many centuries paupers were allowed to beg there. The palace moat is now a paradise of lovely water-lilies and swans. The swans daily ring the bell of the drawbridge to remind the warden that feeding time has come.

On crossing into the close, seven hundred years of history remain behind the visitor, for here is a complete expression of the religious life of another day. The present church was started in 1174 and took 200 years to build. Few

churches have so many sculptural treasures. In spite of the latter day iconoclasm, the west front is rich in medieval carving.

For those whose interests are not concerned with architecture, there is the fourteenth century clock with its strange figures—a wonderful specimen of the art of the horologist. At the striking of the hour, knights on horseback revolve in opposite direction as if engaged in a joust in the tilt yard.



The spire of Salisbury Cathedral is the tallest in England, 404 feet (123 metres). There is an uninterrupted view of this spire for miles around

Outside, in the gardens of the palace, the wells, or natural springs from which the city takes its name, still play merrily and unceasingly. It is said that no one has ever been able to find out how deep they are.

SALISBURY

Salisbury Cathedral, in Wiltshire, the country of the plain, also stands remote, and in its own place. It has often been said that its actual setting, above the river Avon and its tributaries on land that is almost flat, is the finest in all England. And the great spire, the tallest in England—404 feet (123 metres)—

immortalised by the landscape painter Constable, complete a scene of compelling beauty.

Like Wells, Salisbury Cathedral stands in the middle of an historic countryside. Not far away are the mysterious ruins of Stonehenge. The earthworks of Old Sarum can still be outlined on the bare uplands. Here used to stand a city which gave its name to the Breviary of the "Sarum Rule" which subsequently was made the basis of the present-day English liturgy.

The cathedral itself is unusual in that it was built in one distinct plan, with the single exception of the spire. It took only forty-six years to build—1220-1266—and, so far as outward appearance is concerned, it remains more or less the same as when it was designed. The thirteenth century priest had the same view of the church across the close as the visitor has to-day.

NORWICH

Norwich Cathedral, with its tall spire, commands the flat countryside of that curious region of inland lakes and lagoons known as the Norfolk Broads. It is a cathedral which was built in 1096 by Herbert de Losinga who was so stricken with remorse for his many delinquencies in buying and selling ecclesiastical preferments for his own profit that he determined to use his unhallowed gains in the building of a mighty church. He embarked on the work with tremendous vigour, and before his death, in 1119, the church was completed as far as the altar-screen of the Holy Cross.

His successor, evidently inspired by Losinga's energy, carried on the work so that the west front, nave and central tower were opened by 1145. The cathedral was then practically complete, and apart from the replacement of the wooden spire in the middle ages it has not been appreciably changed since.

Here indeed is a vast building designed in one short period of time for the purposes of monastic ritual. In nearly every other cathedral, adaptations had to be made for ceremonial purposes, or the introduction of a chapel to the dedicatory saint, or the preparation of a feretory. At Norwich there were always processional aisles, and the nave was so vast that even though the monks appropriated five bays for their choir, there yet remained nine for the convenience of the laity beyond the screen of the Holy Cross.

Many old monastic buildings have been lost with the passage of time and through the spoliations of the reforming and Puritan eras.

But Norwich Cathedral remains a gem of the very finest native church architecture standing in the midst of a delightful city which, although it has become considerably commercialised, still retains a great deal of its old-world charm.

No cathedral in all England has a more beautiful and restful close. It is entered by great gateways, one of which was built by "old Sir Thomas Erpingham" (who commanded the archers at the battle of Agincourt in 1415 and whose remains are buried in the cathedral) and it contains the ancient Deanery and Bishop's Palace, both buildings of considerable splendour. The whole scene is rich in religious and literary associations, and a monument to Lord Nelson

supreme expression of devotion and labour. All those tens of thousands of heavy stones had to be brought in flat-bottomed boats along the channels of the Fenland.

The whole of this Fen area is so flat that Ely can be seen from almost every horizon in the dim haze of the marshland.

A visitor who climbs the central tower today can see the sea lapping the foreshore of the Wash, and the towers and colleges of Cambridge, many miles distant, seems but a stone's throw away.

It has been said that this cathedral stands like a solitary ship at rest on a calm sea. Its isolated position certainly gave it a position of



From almost every point in the Fenland districts of England the massive Cathedral of Ely can be seen

reminds the stranger that the great admiral was a native of these parts.

ELY

The tall spire of Norwich dominates the Broadland country, but even its vast height is not so impressive as the huge Norman tower which surmounts the cathedral of Ely in the Fenlands further to the West.

Ely Cathedral is one of the most remarkable in Christendom. It is the complete expression of the early desire of religions to seek seclusion from the outer world. As long ago as the year 673, a group of monks sought the most inaccessible part of the marshland known as the Fens and began to build a great church. It was not only a wonderful achievement in architecture and design; it was also a

military importance in the years after the Norman conquest of Britain, for it was in these Fenlands that Saxon resistance continued to the bitter end under the leadership of the patriot Hereward the Wake.

In the early middle ages the Bishops were powerful temporal lords, receiving the huge revenues, but money was needed in plenty, for the precarious foundations on the marshes caused frequent collapses in parts of the fabric. At one time in the fourteenth century the tower, the Lady chapel and three bays of the Norman choir had fallen to ruin. The Cathedral presented such a dismal appearance that when the great architect Pugin saw it in 1342 he collapsed for several days.

But the monks were not deterred. Within seven years all had been restored once more, with

the exception of the tower. The base of this was too wide to permit of ordinary vaulting and so, with true medieval instinct for compromise, an octagonal lantern was built instead of the ordinary tower. This gives the great marshland Cathedral an outline which is not to be found elsewhere in Christendom.

PETERBOROUGH

The third of the great Cathedrals in Eastern England is Peterborough. In 598 the Kings of the Saxon kingdom of Mercia founded at Medeshampstead ("the homestead in the meadow") a church consecrated in the names of Saints Peter, Paul and Andrew. King Wulfere declared at the opening in a loud voice—so says the chronicle—"This day do I freely give to St. Peter and to the Abbot and to the monks of this monastery these lands and waters and meres and fens and weirs; neither shall tribute or tax be taken therefrom."

Thus came into existence the Cathedral of Peterborough. Often rebuilt in the early centuries, it was for a long period a storehouse

of sacred relics. The Abbot Elsinus (1006 to 1055) assembled in the feretory pieces of the swaddling clothes, of the stable manger, and of the Holy Sepulchre. There were bones of the Innocents and of St. John the Baptist, and above all the incorruptible arm of Oswald, King of Northumberland, which, so legend declared, should never die, because of the generosity of this monarch during his life-time.

By reason of its many sacred treasures Peterborough was called in envy "the proud." Certain it is that, in medieval times, the precincts were regarded as so sacred that even Kings had to remove their footgear before entering the church.

The existing Cathedral was consecrated as long ago as 1237, having been 120 years in the building. In its present form it contains no fewer than eight different styles of architecture. Its unusual west front and its strange assortment of towers and pinnacles have made it the subject of controversy among scholars for many years, while the original shoddiness of some of the early building material has often endangered the security of the fabric.

THE ROMANCE OF THE POST OFFICE IN INDIA

By P. C. MITTRA

THE history of the growth of civilisation has been the story of the increasing mastery gained over elemental forces of nature by human society. In no other sphere this constant but victorious struggle of man over nature is better illustrated than in the domain of transport and communication. Since the cavemen led their isolated lives in groups of two score or three, people have felt the urge of communicating with their kin whom distance separated from them. From cavemen to patriarchal tribes, from these tribes to feudal communities and from these to modern states, society has been ever broadening its scope. In this dynamics of growth the development of postal system has been the main instrument in fulfilling the increasing urge of people to draw near each other.

The story of our land too, beginning from the flourishing village communes of five thousand years ago to the present-day India of industrial

towns and linked-up villages, unfolds the tale of postal development that is almost a romance in its details. India of seven lakh villages is welded to-day into a nation. But we would be committing a mistake to believe that political factors alone have contributed to this transformation. The harmless and unassuming institution of post offices sprinkled over hills and dales, in distant villages and humming towns, has been no mean factor in influencing the national consciousness of forty crores of people inhabiting this vast country. In a sense the dawn of world consciousness in our minds has been also made possible by the postal agency that has brought us in intimate and rapid contact with people of all parts of the globe and has thus given us opportunities of knowing their thoughts and ideas and sharing their hopes and fears.

The postal system in India has a chequered history. Its origin may be traced to a remote

antiquity when couriers used to convey state messages to and from the seat of Government. From the accounts of foreign travellers we find that ancient Hindus had communications with contemporary Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians. A Pandu king is said to have had frequent communications with the Roman king Augustus. In this period Hindus had regular intercourse with the people of the Black Sea and Caspian regions and access even to the continent of Africa. In the days of Chandragupta there existed a royal road from the bank of the Ganges at Patna through Lahore to Taxila in the north-west of the Punjab for the easy conveyance of merchandise and correspondence.

During the Moghul period the exigencies of state necessitated more frequent communication within the country. This led to some improvements in the postal system. The enlightened king Sher Shah introduced mounted post in India. Under this system a pair of horses were kept ready on the route at every two miles throughout the entire length of 2,000 miles of the trunk road across the northern India plains from Bengal to Sind. Emperor Akbar, the efficient administrator that he was, went a step further and built post-houses at stages of ten miles on the principal trunk roads and ordered swift Turki horses to be placed at each stage. A distance of a hundred miles was thus covered in one single day and night. From Agra to Ahmedabad in Gujarat, letters would reach in five days, and it was indeed a veritable achievement for which the Moghul administrator could not justly feel pride. Such efficiency could not however continue for long as the Moghul empire fell into decay after repeated clashes with powerful Marathas.

It is in the time of Clive that we again find a regular postal system established in the country. During his regime Zemindars along the various routes were held responsible for the supply of runners to carry mails. His successor Warren Hastings placed the post office of India on a better footing and allowed private correspondence also to be carried through the postal channel. It was indeed a big step forward.

For the next fifty years the history of the post office is obscure. There was no general postal system in the country prior to 1837. The Collectors or the District Officers were responsible for the post offices and mail lines within their respective jurisdictions. There was no central authority to control the postal officials and maintain uniformity in procedure. There were no postage stamps and charges had to be paid

in cash. It was in the year 1837 that by an Act public post was established which conferred on the Government the exclusive right to convey letters. A Government monopoly was established and all private persons under pain of severe penalty were prohibited from carrying letters for hire without permission. Uniform postage rate of half an anna on a letter weighing one quarter of a tola, either for the unit or for the ascending grades of scale, was established. The lowest rate of letter postage was fixed at two annas per 100 miles and copper tokens for postal purposes were struck specially for public convenience.

Then came the year 1854 that is rightly looked upon as a landmark in the history of post offices of India. In that year the entire department was placed under a Director-General, postage stamps were first introduced and uniform rates were fixed irrespective of the distance to be covered by the letters.

The next stage commenced with the Queen's Proclamation that heralded profound changes in the country's administration. Postal system began to develop enormously and as a matter of fact all the radical changes were brought about within the next three decades.

The first big change was in connection with the money-orders. Previous to 1880 money could be sent through the Government Treasuries but the system was cumbersome. In that year this work was taken up by the Post Office with the result that in a few months the number of money-orders issued and the amount paid were doubled and quadrupled. The extent to which the money-order business has increased can be seen from the fact that while the value of inland money-orders in 1880-81 was 45 millions, in 1939-40 it had risen to 758 millions of rupees.

The next major innovation was the postal Savings Bank that in its present form was started in the year 1885. In providing an easy and safe place of deposit for men of ordinary means this system has immensely grown in popularity. Its success can be gauged from the fact that during the last sixty years the amount of deposits has risen from 27 lakhs to 78 crores of rupees.

The Parcel Post in India had its origin in the old 'Bhangy Post' system, a name derived from bamboo stick or *bhangy* which an Indian carrier balances on his shoulder with loads hanging at each end. The rates under this system varied with the weight and distance. Gradually the system was abolished and arrangements were made with the railways to carry parcels. In 1871 a uniform rate of postage irrespective of

distance but varying with weight was introduced and a rate of 3 annas for 10 tolas was fixed. In 1907, after an agitation by the public, the rate was further reduced. It is doubtful whether the parcel post at the present rates pays the post office.

In 1877 Value Payable Post or Cash on Delivery system was established and in the next year the Post Office undertook the insurance of letters and parcels. Under the Value Payable Post system the Post Office not only undertook to deliver a parcel, but also, for a small commission to collect the value and cost of the article from the addressee. In India where there are but few large firms outside the presidency towns catering to all tastes, this system has proved very convenient to people of means, living in rural parts. They pay the post office for the purchases of their choice and feel as if they are doing the actual shopping.

For the developing of the overland post office efforts were made from the very beginning. In the time of the East India Company direct communication between India and England was organised by means of fast steamers in the Mediterranean and the Red Seas. In 1830 the steamer *Hugh Lindsay* made the first voyage from Bombay to Suez. In 1840 the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company obtained a charter pertaining to the contract for the conveyance of mails between London and Suez, while the vessels of the East India Company's Navy conveyed them between Suez and Bombay. As time passed on direct and swift communication between India and all the important ports of the world was established (in most cases by air lately) which has helped to link the postal system of India with all the continents. The system of airgraphs is the latest device adopted for quick delivery of letters abroad.

For prompt disposal of mails, sorting on board the steamers and railway trains was introduced. This has proved to be very advantageous. Under the present arrangement the mails are lifted from the steamer direct into the Foreign Mail Sorting Office on the Ballard Pier, Bombay. There they are opened and sorted by a large number of sorters for various parts of India and within three hours fast running trains steam forth with despatches of letters to Calcutta, Madras, Lucknow and other important cities.

A network of post offices is found spread to-day in all parts of India. The humble peasant at his wooden plough and the educated city dweller at his office-desk both make regular uses

of the efficient postal services. According to the latest report of the Director-General, there existed at the end of the last year 1,58,000 miles of routes over which mails were carried by different agencies. The remotest corners of the country were not forgotten. Surmounting insuperable difficulties the postal department serves this vast subcontinent through twenty-five thousand post offices and double the number of letter-boxes.

The Indian postal system has adopted the most modern methods. The modern innovations like the identity cards, Express Delivery, Indian Postal Order and Cash Certificates are unique features.

The variety of services rendered by the department and the vastness of its transactions can best be appreciated when we view it in the background of the national economy. Notwithstanding the fact that the League of Nations years ago declared India to be the eighth industrial country of the world, ninety per cent of the population still live in villages, most of whom are dependent on agriculture and are illiterate. To this vast class of people banking facilities are not easily available. For them the postal agency renders such services as are supplied in advanced industrial countries like Britain and America normally by widespread branches of national banks. In the development of trade and culture in the country-side the importance of the postal system can therefore be hardly too much emphasised.

Lastly, no account of the Indian Post Office would be complete if we fail to pay our tribute to the 'unknown soldier' of the department—the postmen and mail-runners, who are symbols of regularity and precision. The success of the entire system is made possible only by their honesty and dutifulness. We can rightly estimate their role when we realise that it is a formidable task in India to deliver letters in view of the fact that letters are posted here in twenty different languages and written in as many characters. The houses are not numbered, the address on the letters is often incomplete and illegible. The cover of the letter is considered the appropriate place for sending salutations and greetings, and for expressing pious hopes for the welfare and long life of the person addressed. A typical and amusing example of such form of address is quoted below:

"To the inseparable from my heart, the fortunate Babu Sib Nath Ghosh, having the same heart as mine. From Post Office Hasnabad to the village of Ramnathpur, to reach the house of the fortunate Babu Priya

Nath Ghosh, District Twenty-four Parganas. Don't deliver this letter to any person other than the addressee, Mr. Postman. This is my request to you."

This is not enough. Sometimes in addition to some title of respect or honour, high-flown phrases of flattery are written with no indication of the place of delivery. Let us quote again,

"To his highness the respected brother, beneficent lord of us the poor, my benefactor, Munshi Manik Chand—may his good fortune continue."

The unfortunate postman has to wade through these difficulties. He has often to go about seeking assistance of some of the local residents in deciphering many a doubtful address. His salary is generally low, yet he is surprisingly honest. He delivers on an average 300 postal articles a day. He has no time to be idle. In fair weather or foul, day in and day out, with clockwork precision he is to be seen traversing with rapid strides the limits of his jurisdiction.

Like that of the postmen the rural mail-runners' task is also not a little arduous. It at times and places involves great risks. In the North-West Frontier Province, the runner with his mail-bag runs the risk of his life from trans-border tribesmen. In the forest tracts of Central India attacks by man-eating tigers are not merely travellers' tales but grim realities. In the riverine districts of eastern Bengal the postmen and runners have to go from village to village by boat and have to face frequent storms that seem all-powerful in their ferocity when one meets with them on a frail country boat in the mid-current of a swollen river.

The postmen are an important factor in the department. They are in the lowest rung of the ladder but all the same it is they who form the base, who are the pivot of the whole postal organisation.

THE CAMEL-DRIVER DREAMS OF HIS GOD

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Pale pink dawns and pure gold noons and grey-green even-falls

Immemorially enamel

The solitary desert-track by which He goes,—
If you have ears you'll hear the uncanny way
in which He calls

Across the desert,—if eyes, you'll see its sands
blush into rose on rose

Stained by the shadow of His calm horizon-
humped camel.



My God, you ask? why, He is a camel-driver
who exists

Beyond the margin of our dreams, daring the
desert climb

Of acon-spread tranquillity whose stars are even
as molten gravel:

He is garbed in a self-glow of nakedness,
turbaned in flaming mists

Of memories that float about the distant
summit-points of Time,—

His camel's hoof-prints change to crystal wells
at every point of the lone desert-travel!



IN TUNE WITH RABINDRANATH

By GURDIAL MALLIK

THE other day I switched on the radio of my soul to catch the spirit of Rabindranath as it stirred in spring the newly-grown green leaves in the *sal* avenue at Santiniketan. Somehow I felt that with the advent of the season of freshness and fruitfulness, he had come back amongst us, once again, when we welcomed it with song and dance. So I began to listen-in to the voice of his vision no sooner had the morning-bird sent out, like the muezzin from the minaret, its call to the world to awaken into adoration and activity. And this is what I heard with my inner ears :

"This is the sacred spot where my venerable father grew vividly God-conscious. And it was his holy injunction that whoever would come here would try to live in the spirit and sweep of That supreme consciousness.

He also passed on to me the torch of Truth which he had received from Raja Rammohun Roy and which he had kept burning in the *Brähma Samaj*. And he said to me, 'Never let the light dwindle into dimness.'

Such was the twofold trust my father, who was as well my spiritual preceptor, gave me. And I accepted it with all my heart, pledging to myself that I shall leave no stone unturned in discharging it faithfully.

But the Ever-New Eternal changed the direction of the road on which I had been called out. He led me away from the pulpit and from the *Padma* and asked me to spread my seat under these *sal* trees. And He said, 'Here is a flute for you to play on and to produce from it strains of music, diverse and deep.

I played on the flute when the first blossoms in spring filled the atmosphere with the fragrance of the far-away and when the rain beat its rhythmic feet on the dancing-floor of the earth. The children heard my songs and trooped round

me as if I were the Pied Piper of Paradise. They called for the tune and I played, knowing that theirs was the call of life. But all the while behind my playing on the flute there was the constant consciousness that it was My Master, —and not I—who was the owner of the instrument and also the creator of the music.

My Master was, perhaps, pleased with my performance. For, He honoured me by commanding me to walk forth from Santiniketan and wander about on the face of the earth in the role of the Pied Piper-cum-Poet of Humanity.

And so I travelled in the West and in the East. The children of Man heard my songs and followed me along the perfumed paths of Peace, wondering at the magic casements my songs opened out for them, overlooking the ocean of All-in-one and One-in-all existence.

But alas soon afterwards, a cyclone of terrific severity blew across the world and those magic casements were closed again. The lights went out. All over there was black-out, and it drowned in darkness the bright faces of the children of Man and also stilled their joyous voices into the melancholy monotone of the cemetery.

There is, thank God, however, no black-out in the broad heavens. The stars are still shining there, winking every night to the hooded lights in the houses of men to be of good cheer. For, the morning comes. The Sun of Truth is on His way in His chariot.

Let Santiniketan get ready with its conch-shell and its sandal-paste, its flowers and its songs to welcome the Guest of the Ages. Beware, lest like the foolish virgins, it goes to sleep in the hour of the arrival of the Eternal Bridegroom."

At this stage the drone of an aeroplane, flying overhead, caused a disturbance and my radio refused to work any longer.

A REVIVAL OF ART IN BENARES

By PROF. B. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., F.R.G.S. (Edin.)

WHEN Benares stood on a shining pinnacle of glory, the whole outside world gazed with amazement at her wonderful achievements in the various domains of culture—religion, literature, art and science. Passing through many vicissitudes of fortune in matters political, the religious capital of India has never lost her traditions in religion and literature but the continuity of her art-tradition has been broken from time to time; and since the arrival of the iconoclastic Mahomedan invaders in India, the real art of Benares which gave her a proud position amongst the art-centres of India declined and it was never revived in any epoch of her long history. Archaeological evidences exist to show that a school of sculpture, distinct in style and workmanship, evolved in Benares which culminated in the production of such marvels of plastic art as the famous Gupta Image of Buddha and other figures, which may be seen in Sarnath and other ancient sites of Benares. Whether the art of painting, cultivated to a high degree, ran on a parallel line with that of sculpture, we have as yet no direct proof to ascertain. Probably in the Mughal period, under a foreign inspiration, the art of painting received an impetus. Some of the specimens of this art of the period, although half Hindu in composition, may be witnessed in old aristocratic houses of Benares. But there can be no comparison between the elegant Gupta Sculpture of Sarnath and the artificial paintings of the Mughal period produced in Benares.

Art degenerated into mural decorations of fantastic figures, e.g., of elephants, horses, monkeys, etc., on whitewashed walls of public buildings, and music too similarly degenerated into street-ballads sung in the Benares *melas*.

Suddenly, in this gloomy atmosphere of artistic inaction and inertia, Benares saw a new light of the dawn. Pandit Pujya Malaviya, unlike other contemporary educationists, had a glorious vision of a picturesque Hindu University and realised his dream by embellishing all the buildings of his University with the revived art of ancient India. When the architectural Hindu University was completed, great artists from all parts of India began to flow into Benares with manifold motives, but no one lingered on in this ancient city with the dominant purpose of preserving and reviving the traditional art of India except Mr. Ranada Ukil, Director

of the "Ukil's School of Art" in Delhi and one of the most renowned painters of Modern India.

Art came to the Ukil family, to which Mr. Ranada Ukil belongs, as a natural gift. His brother, the late Sarada Ukil, whose fame as a painter of originality spread to all cultural quarters of India and abroad, did not care for any high post or government service and maintained his independence by opening a private school of art in Delhi, where all the four brothers co-operated to make it a success. The Government of India, Native Princes, all appreciated the work



Goddess Saraswati. Painted on silk

of the school, where teaching was carried on and original paintings were painted by these two gifted brothers. Ranada Ukil was given the duty of teaching the classes, which he carried out with admirable success.

Soon after he had finished his educational career in the Government School of Art, and the Indian Society of Oriental Art in Calcutta where he had been in direct touch with Mr. Percy Brown and Acharya Abanindra Nath Tagore, he

began to produce original paintings of great merit which gave him a rank among the first-rate artists of India. In 1926, he won the Viceroy's prize, a rare award given to the foremost work of a painter. In 1929, Ranada Ukil was chosen as one of the four eminent artists who were commissioned by the Government of India to travel to England and paint the walls and the dome of the "India House" in London. Mr. Ukil was fortunately given the most difficult task of representing the themes of *Alexander's meeting with King Porus*, the *Id and the first Moon*,



Radha's first lesson on flute. Painted on silk

Ragini Todi, the *Seasons*, which he accomplished with such artistic excellence as to attract the deep admiration of Sir William Rothenstein, the famous Principal of the Royal College of Art, London. We quote his lines :

"I can speak highly of his initiative and resource as a painter. He was an interesting student while he was at the College, and carried out his paintings at India House to the satisfaction of all concerned."

The mural paintings of the India House, first of their kind, making a wonderful display of Indian Art, created a great sensation in the art-circles of London. Repeated appreciations came from the art-critics and the press voiced them in glowing language. Mr. Ukil was invited by His Majesty the King

Emperor to parties in the Buckingham Palace, and Queen Mary, as a mark of appreciation, bought an original painting of Mr. Ukil, named "Shahjahan's dream of the Taj."

After a successful career in England, all the four artists returned to India and Mr. Ukil without caring for any government post went to Delhi and took up the work as the Director of the Ukil's School of Art founded by his elder brother. Now began the real period of his artistic creativity. Within a period of seven years, Mr. Ranada Ukil painted a gallery of paintings, which won for him laurels of praise from all the cultured people of India. His paintings named :—(1) The Goddess Durga, (2) King Bhoj and 32 dolls, (3) Shahjahan's dream of the Taj, (4) Waves kissing the Moon, (5) Series of Omar Khayyam, (6) Goddess Saraswati, (7) Set of paintings of *Durga Kavach*, (8) Set of eight temple dancers, (9) Goddess Kali, (10) Siva and Parvati, (11) Ragini Todi, (12) Prince Salim at the grave of Anarkali, (13) Mural paintings for Tripura Palace, were highly patronised by the Ruling Princes who purchased them at high prices for the purpose of decorating the walls of their palaces.

The keynote of his art is naturalism linked with a halo of divine light. His divine figures are full of human feelings, which they tell us by their expressions, his human figures in turn are not devoid of a divine glow. This commingling of the divine and human aspects has been an outlook of our Eastern Religion and Mythology. Mr. Ukil, nevertheless, did not follow the tradition slavishly and in many instances, broke away from the old conventions.

"When Greek art reached its perfection, the limbs which infer the soul, enough of the soul to inform the limbs, were faultlessly represented. Men said the best had been done, and aspiration and growth in art ceased. Content with what had been done, men imitated but did not create. But man cannot remain without change in a past perfection; for then he remains in a kind of death."

Mr. Ukil probably felt disgusted with the old trammels of traditional art, practised in the early days of our Indian renaissance and felt in tune with Rossetti, Millais and Hunt, who said :

"We will paint men as they actually were in the past, in the moment of their passion, and with their emotion in their faces, and with the scenery around them as it was, and whatever background by nature there was behind them, it shall be painted direct from the very work of Nature herself, and in her very colours. . . . We cannot grasp the whole of nature and humanity, but we shall be in their life, aspiring alive and winning more and more of truth."

Such a spirit in him led to the triumph of his art at the end. Let us take some of his

masterpieces from this point of view and illustrate our ideas :

1. "*Waves kissing the Moon*"—is an ideal picture of great imagination. The moon rises in the blue horizon uniting the sea with the sky. Her mellow light melts in a stream and spreads over the dancing waves, which leap up almost in a heavenly joy to get hold of the nectar of beauty, stored in the Moon-God. The waves have taken the beautiful shape of a maiden, with eyes full of rapturous joy, with body resigned in love, clasped in union with the Moon-God, manly and humane, with looks which betoken a divine character. The waves again around the Queen of Waves, have been ingeniously represented as a bunch of velvet flowers. This imagery may be considered as a great achievement in Indian decorative art.

2. "*Ragini Todi*"—is an anthropomorphic representation of the famous Indian tune called Todi. The face of the Vina-player is extremely meditative as if the musician is in tune with the celestial world although her fingers are alert enough to play on the strings of her instrument so effectively as to attract a herd of deer to her side. The European critic will no doubt be reminded of "Orpheus and his flute."

3. "*Prince Salim over Anarkali's tomb*,"—Prince Salim (afterwards known as Emperor Jhangir) was a true lover of a romantic kind and stands pre-eminently in this respect as a contrast to all the other bureaucratic rulers of his family. His love with Anarkali, so sublime in character, so pathetic in history, resulted in the cruel burial of the unlucky girl at the hands of his religious father. The painting shows the bereaved prince kneeling before the black sepulchre of his beloved and pouring forth all the sorrows of his heart, which express themselves in the face and the body of the condoling lover. The whole atmosphere, the clouded moon, the barren trees and a kneeling plant is in perfect harmony with the mournful figure of the Prince, drowned in an ocean of sorrow.

4. "*Goddess Durga*,"—A mythological painting of Mother Durga in the act of killing the demon Mahisasura. The divine spirit of force acting upon the demon of evil is wonderfully represented here. The majestic Goddess has perfect poise in her face, a great animation in her armed hands and a dispassionate activity running through her whole body engaged in fighting the demon, as if she is performing a natural duty. The lion, skilfully painted as in decorative art, is no less spirited and powerful than his divine mistress.

5. "*Kali*"—is also a picture of the much-adored Goddess of the Hindu Pantheon. The ancient mythology of Kali makes her a female deity of destruction. Like Siva, her consort, she revels in a dance of cosmic dissolution. She is busy killing a host of demons, she is forgetful of her great husband being trampled under her feet, her wild fury is balanced by her serene and smiling face. This picture was purchased at a high price by H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir.



Goddess Kali

6. "*Saraswati*,"—All the traditional ideas regarding the representation of Saraswati, both in sculpture and painting, have been revolutionised in this painting of Mr. R. Ukil. The Goddess has only two hands, her swan is caressing the hair of the Goddess with its beak from the back and is outspreading its long decorative tail to hood its divine mistress. She is seated on a full-bloomed lotus springing from the bed of a lake. The eyes of this figure give expression of meditation, and contemplation, which are the very spirit of this Goddess of Learning. Her slim and somewhat emaciated body also gives evidence of a deep concentration which neces-

By K. N. CHATTERJI



Ukil's School of Art, Benares
 1st Row (from left to right) : M. K. Lakshman Singh of Sailana, Yuvaraj Digvijaya Singh of Sailana, Mr. R. Ukil (Director), Kumar Ramendra N. Roy (Bhowal Sanyasi), Mr. S. K. Mustafi, Mr. Sajani Kant Motilal
 2nd Row (from left to right) : Kumar Lakshman Singh of Gangwal, Mr. K. C. Roy, A.R.C.A., Mr. Surendra N. Mukherji, Advocate, Mr. J. Ukil, Kumar Hanumant Singh

sarily follows the real pursuit of learning. This idealistic painting of our painter won a coveted prize in the Hollywood exhibition held in America.

The few paintings, noticed above, I have chosen as showing the variety of subjects he deals with, the wide field of his imagination and as revealing the depth of his artistic thoughts. His masterly treatment of the subjects, the themes of which are not Hindu, such as the "Scenes from Omar Khayyam," and "Shahjahan's dream of the Taj" is equally appreciated.

The delicate lines, the colour-scheme, a special toning and texture which characterises his paintings, are indeed the essential qualities of Ukil's art. Mr. Ranada Ukil is a brilliant colourist: his colours are outspoken, his decorative figures hued with a mixture of colours throw a dazzling impression upon the mind of the spectator. I venture to think as a layman that the brilliant tints which he now uses in his pictures may take a new turn, and like his elder brother Sarada

Ukil's his art may appear in an original scheme of colouring, sometimes subdued, sometimes strong, but always alluring our eyes to a transcendental world of the *Aurora Borealis*.

In 1940, after the death of his beloved brother, Ranada Ukil buried his pencil and brush in the soil of Delhi, and came down to Benares to make the choicest offerings of his art at the feet of the great God Siva, the Nata raj of dancing, the father of Music and Muses. His settlement in Benares, his opening of a school of art in the city and a painting class in the Benares Hindu University, augur well and herald a welcome revival of art, which this ancient city deserves so urgently at the present moment. Will the educationists, the cultured residents of Benares take a special note of this silent worker and selfless artist, who cares more for teaching students and creating a band of young artists for future India than for propagandising his private work and going in pursuit of money and fame.

THE principal event of the month of May was the conclusion of the North African Campaign. The victory is as yet too near to be viewed in its proper perspective and as usual a lot of things have been said, in the midst of the rejoicings, by the Allied spokesmen and press which—to say the least—are premature and on the other hand much that would add to the credit of some of the armed forces of the Allies that participated in this hard-fought campaign has as yet been left unsaid. The Washington Conference having come so soon after the end of the campaign has also effectively diverted the attention of peoples of the United Nations from a close viewing of the logical conclusions of this Allied victory. All attention was fixed on Mr. Churchill's summing-up and the reactions amongst the peoples and the press of the United Nations.

Mr. Churchill has spoken and spoken at length with all the skill of a veteran public speaker. Comments on his main speech and the subsequent declarations have been many, and as was to be expected, they were divergent and even contradictory. Mr. Churchill has said a lot that has stirred the emotions and the imagination of the Allied peoples, but in the main he has left all—excepting the very few that are in the inner Council of War of the United Nations—guessing as to the exact nature of the future plans of campaign against the Axis. There is nothing in all that he has said that indicates any change of plan from his previous declarations that the European theatre of war has to be given all possible priorities and until a decisive victory is obtained there, all other theatres of war are to be regarded as secondary only. The only deviation from the above plan that can be seen in his Washington declarations is that now according to Mr. Churchill the Allies are in a position to wage simultaneous war on all fronts. The declaration stops there, so far as we can make out, and the main object in all these speeches seems to be to keep the Axis guessing as to where the main blow will fall. In the European theatre of war also Mr. Churchill indicated that a trial will be given to the theory that a decision may be obtained there by an aerial offensive alone, and the present greatly intensified tempo of aerial warfare may be taken as an indicator in that way. On the other hand, many comments are now appearing in the press regarding the nature of the plans for a major offensive, by land, sea and air, on the

continent of Europe. Some predict a concentrated attack on Italy, others hint at a "pincers move" with one arm striking on the westernmost part of the occupied zones and the other hitting the continent far down in the eastern Mediterranean.

From the first reactions to Mr. Churchill's speech—and from parts of the speech itself—one was led to the conclusion that the war was coming to an end in the near future and that a clear, decisive, and all-round victory for the United Nations was visible in the immediate offing. With the passing of the tumult of the victory in North Africa a more cautious tone has crept in all the predictions and Mr. Churchill has further qualified his declarations with more reserve as regards the duration of the struggle, and the nature of the task before the Allies. This is just as it should be, for as yet very little has been really achieved, in comparison to what remains to be done. The continent of Africa has been freed from the menace of the Axis, it is true, but Africa was never a major theatre of war and the victory obtained there—substantial and tangible though it is—should not be credited with any higher values than is justifiable after proper regard has been paid to the ratio of Axis forces destroyed or immobilised in Africa to the sum-total of Axis strength.

The main effect of the North African victory is to extend the sphere over which the Allied threat of a major counter-offensive on the continent of Europe is now looming. This in itself must have resulted in major dispersals of Axis strength over a large area, thereby lessening the Axis pressure against the Soviets to some extent. Beyond this, and beyond partially clearing the Mediterranean sea-route, nothing of any great tangible value has yet been attained by the conclusion of this campaign—excepting the liquidation of the Axis forces operating in North Africa—so far as the final decision in this World War is concerned. The North African campaign has been an extremely tough and hard-fought-out affair, in which many reputations have been gained and lost. It has been full of dramatic incidents relating to victories and defeats, with many chapters illustrating the relative values of human courage, determination and endurance under the conditions of modern mechanized warfare, and considered purely by itself—as an isolated war—it has most certainly and substantially contributed to the making of military

history of modern times. But far greater tasks, calling for incomparably greater efforts lie ahead of the United Nations on the continent of Europe and over the millions of square miles overrun by Japan in the Far East and China, and as such it is imperative that the North African victory be viewed in its proper perspective.

On the Russian front the lull still continues. The opposing forces are on the alert along the far-flung battle line and the activities occasionally reported indicate a condition of *qui vive* on both sides as the time approaches for the start of the summer campaign. The danger to the Russian forces has not been lessened in the interim period and the threat to the Caucasus is still there. On the other hand, Germany has now to meet a very much intensified aerial offensive, now striking at her vitals and further has to keep in readiness forces sufficient to oppose any major invading force that the Allies may launch into action against her defences in occupied Europe. It is highly doubtful whether the threat of a Second Front, or the destruction caused by the aerial offensive over Axis Europe would delay the summer campaign substantially, as Germany cannot afford to let Russia recoup much longer. The nature of the campaign, if and when it is launched, would be the truest indication as to what effect the Allied counter-offensive has had on Axis Europe. If the summer campaign be delayed much beyond the middle of June, it would certainly indicate that Germany is now definitely on the defensive, though even that would not mean an early end of this war, unless Germany cracks up internally as miraculously as she did in the last World War.

The Luftwaffe has its hands more than full now that the great Allied Air-offensive is on.

The thousands of tons of high-explosive dropped in the industrial centres of Germany, do not merely mean destruction of sinews of war, it further means a great enhancement of the stress and strain on the morale of the peoples of Axis Europe. The fighters and fighter-bombers that Italy and Germany have so far kept grounded, in reserve for the counter-operations against Allied landing attempts, will either have to be drawn upon heavily soon or else a very substantial new force will have to be created to meet this new offensive. Either way it means greatly added strain to the resources of the Axis High-Command, and these resources have already been stretched to the limit by the Russian campaigns.

Mr. Churchill has made a statement that the defeat of Germany would mean the certain defeat of Japan, though the defeat of Japan does not entail the defeat of Germany as an equally natural consequence. Mr. Churchill as one of the Heads of the Allied innermost War Councils may certainly be in possession of facts not given out to the public, which may justify such a statement. As gauged by known facts, however, the statement appears to be typically Churchillian. Germany defeated in 1945-46 will most certainly not mean the extinction of a Japan that is allowed to gather strength till then, and Japan completely defeated in 1943-44 would most certainly mean the release of great forces—from the Russian Far East, from China and from India—and great resources, which would most certainly hasten the end of the Axis in Europe. If Germany were defeated and broken in the near future then what Mr. Churchill said would appear to be more logical, but then Mr. Churchill himself has said that he does not see any reason as to why this would *not* be a long war.



American artillery crossing a New Guinea river



Men of an Allied lookout on a mountain-top in New Guinea watching action between Japanese and Allied forces from a distance



Allies (mostly Australians) drive their way through the jungles of New Guinea



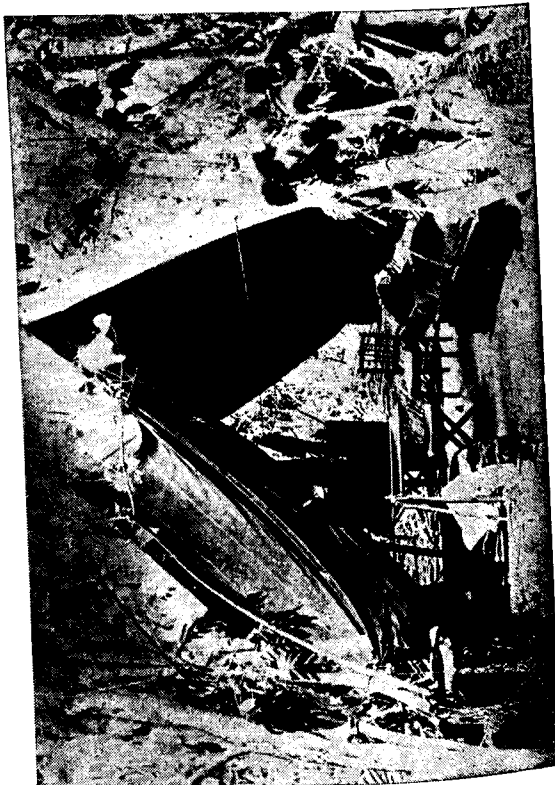
U. S. Marine gun crew under a camouflage net on Guadalcanal, fighting the Japanese in the Solomon Islands



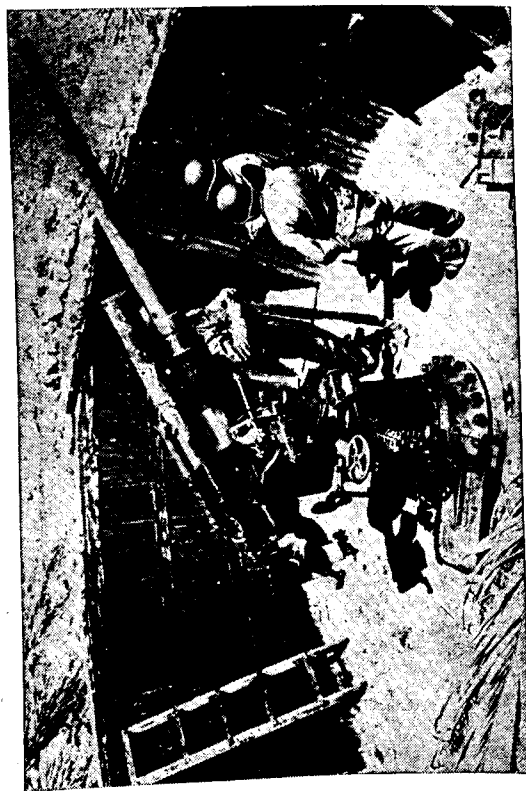
U. S. troops carrying light machine guns march through a native village in New Guinea on their way to the Allied front lines



Two U. S. soldiers watch New Guinea natives preparing thatched roofs for a house



U. S. Marine commander lives in this tent on Guadalcanal



This anti-aircraft gun was abandoned by the Japanese and seized by the U. S. Marines



U. S. Marine Corps camp on Guadalcanal, with bomb shelters cut

IN MEMORIAM ASUTOSH MUKHOPADHYAYA

By PRABHATKUMAR MUKHERJEE
Lecturer, Calcutta University

THE sad and unexpected death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in 1924 created a void which has not yet been filled and perhaps will never be filled up again.

His life was gentle; and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world 'This was a man.'

Sir Asutosh was a man indeed almost unparalleled in history on account of the versatile character of his genius, his many-sided activities, his manly virtues, his sturdy independence, his splendid and imperishable excellence of sincerity and strength. A tower of moral grandeur, "he stood four square to all the winds and that blew." He stood head and shoulders above his compeers who had to hide before him their 'diminished head.' Before his luminous presence their genius seemed to be rebuked. Well could he afford to pass his days in gaiety and mirth,

"To sport with Amaryllis in the shade
Or with the tangles of Neaera's hair."

But he was made of sterner stuff and his motto was 'to scorn delights and live laborious days.' His life was spent in "patient thoughts abstruse, matins and vespers and harmonious verse," like the great Newton, "voyaging on strange sea of thought alone."

Sir Asutosh was a genius of a wonderful type. Like the born poet "he was a trumpet wishing for battle." He was the acknowledged Legislator of the World. His utterances full of wisdom have "the trumpet of a prophecy."

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the prince of men; he had "the king-becoming graces as justice, verity, temperance, stableness, bounty, perseverance, mercy, loveliness, devotion, patience, courage and fortitude."

His was a magnetic personality, he had an eye to merit, and he could not allow a genius to pine in obscurity. He had—

"The front of Jove himself;
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command;
A station like the herald Mercury
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;
A combination and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man."

This was Sir Asutosh. "Like Maia's son he stood and shook his plumes that heavenly fragrance filled the circuit wide."

"But Oh! the heavy change, now thou art gone,
Now thou art gone, and never must return."

But—

"Through the centuries let a people's voice
In full acclaim,
A people's voice,
The proof and echo of all human fame,
A people's voice, when they rejoice at civic
At civic revel and pomp and game
Attest their great Commander's claim
With honour, honour, honour to him,
Eternal honour to his name."

Sir Asutosh was a staunch fighter for freedom. The spirit of freedom manifested itself in all his many-sided activities—be it in advancing the cause of Bengali language or in fighting against the reactionary forces in connection with the University Act of 1904. His memorable letter to Lord Lytton in 1923, the then Chancellor of the Calcutta University, still rings in the ears of the Nation. "Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always," was his watchword which "the great cannon to the clouds shall tell and the heaven shall bruit again respeaking earthly thunder."

Sir Asutosh was an educationist of the highest order. He strove for the removal of the curse of illiteracy from Bengal and for the spread of true and high education among his countrymen. As Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University for years he effected several improvements of far-reaching importance. The panegyrics so feelingly showered on Sir Asutosh by Desabandhu Das cannot but flash in our mind, the moment we think of Sir Asutosh, nay the moment any thought of education or educationist springs in our mind. Said Desabandhu Das from his Mayoral chair:

"It has been said that he was a great lawyer. But the greatness of the great man was greater than the greatness of a mere great lawyer. It has been said that he was a great judge. Undoubtedly he was. But the greatness of the great man was greater than the greatness of a mere great judge. It has been acknowledged that he was a great educationist. Certainly he was. And if you count the number of educationists throughout the world I doubt whether you can come across a single educationist better than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee."

It was Sir Asutosh who dreamt to give a high status to the Bengali language thus counteracting the baneful effects of making English the medium of education as established by Lord Macaulay. The further advance of the vernacular, one of the glorious achievements of his worthy son, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the lovely product of a glorious pattern, is but the sweet fruition of the seed sown by the illustrious father.

Who would not be charmed to hear the famous speeches delivered by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, in the meetings of the Senate as its Vice-chancellor? The members embraced him like "children on a long absent father, they clung to him like captives about their redeemer." "Hope elevated and joy brightened his crest," his face was like that of an angel full of beatific vision. Like Prospero he worked many wonders in the University. His Convocation addresses preserve as in a vial "the precious life-blood of a master spirit" whose voice rolls from age to age "chanting divine like the prophetic old."

As a judge and a jurist Sir Asutosh Mookerjee carved his name in the niche of Fame. His name must be filed in Fame's eternal beadrill. He realised like the great Burke that the Law is one of the sciences which make a man perfect but he was fortunate enough to have none of the defects that mar the character of the prominent lights of that profession. Said Burke in his speech on American Taxation while describing the character of Prime Minister Grenville:

"The Law is in my opinion one of the first and noblest of human sciences, a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding than all the other kinds of learning put together; but it is not apt except in persons very happily born, to open and liberalise the mind exactly in the same proportion. Men too much conversant with office are rarely minds of remarkable enlargement."

Sir Asutosh had large and liberal ideas. In the language of Milton he sat

"On the Royal Bench
Of British Themis with no mean applause
Pronounced and in his volumes taught our laws
Which others at their Bar so often wrench."

It is not for me to pass any opinion on the judgments of Sir Asutosh. It would be sufficient to say that the learned and illuminating discourses having references to similar judgments and case-laws of the Courts of the old world and the new, ancient and modern, surprised the Bench and the Bar alike, because apart from their masterly scholarship they evinced a vast knowledge and breadth of vision on subjects full of complexities and intricacies.

The best portion of the life of Sir Asutosh is mirrored in his Herculean achievements in the domain of the University. The University he loved, the University he reared. He lived and moved and had his being in the sacred precincts of his beloved University. Who would not be touched with the sincere pathos and deep emotion surging out of a bosom richly laden with noble ideas when he said:

"Plans and schemes to heighten the efficiency of this University have been the subject of my day dreams. They have haunted me in my nightly rest. To University concerns I sacrificed all chances of study and research, probably to certain extent the interest of my family and friend and certainly I regret to say a great part of my strength and vitality."

"I shall beg from door to door throughout Bengal and ask my post-graduate teachers to starve their family to keep their independence. As members of this University stand up for the rights of the University. Do your duty as Senators of this University. Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always."

He realised that freedom must be the palladium of the University,—the breath of its nostrils. The University was his *Alma Mater*. She taught him language and sentiments and he learnt how to venerate her. Like Wordsworth this high priest of Nature could well cry out:

"She gave me eyes, she gave me ears
And humble cares and delicate fears."

Each stone of this sacred building brought before his mind's eye "the dark backward and abysm of time" as also glorious visions of the future. Each stone "murmured deep a solemn sound." Rightly could he exclaim like the poet, "Visions of glory, spare my aching sight."

It would be no effusion of a prejudiced mind or blind faith, nor a translation of hypocrisy to say that the princely contributions of Sir Rashbehari Ghosh and Sir Taraknath Palit and many other endowments of no mean worth and importance were but the offspring of the selfless devotion of Sir Asutosh to the cause of the University.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was ever an indefatigable worker. Even when he was but a student he made books and thoughts his valued companion and he lived in a world of his own, "where mirth and sloth were made to moan." He would like the thrice great Hermes outwatch the Bear. Childhood, youth, old age all reveal:

"His life was work, his language rife,
With rugged maxims hewn from life."

Sir Asutosh was a real and congenial friend and guide to the students and best could he claim to be so, as it was he more than anybody else who could understand the minds of the students, their sorrows and sufferings which never

failed to evoke a favourable response to the clarion call of their needs and wants. They could pluck comfort even from his looks. His very words acted like the anodyne draught, a balm to their hurt minds. In ecstasy would they burst forth:

"A largess universal, like the sun
His liberal eye doth give to every one,
Thawing cold fear."

It will be no overstatement to say that many bright stars of the day in the field of education or in any other exalted station could not have so shed their effulgence, nay would have been lost in total obscurity without the fostering care or mighty support of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. It was under the sunshine of his benign patronage that hosts of students could steer their tiny vessels through a prosperous course to have their message wafted across the distant seas.

The services of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to the Calcutta Corporation as also to the citizens of the metropolis cannot be lightly regarded nor uttered feebly. The Corporation of Calcutta being in financial difficulty in the beginning of the present century steps had to be taken to obtain accommodation from the Bank of Bengal. The Bank, however, refused to allow any advance to the Corporation unless proper security was offered by individuals. None would come forward and yet the loan was essentially necessary. Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee, as he, then was, along with Mr. R. H. M. Rustomjee, the great Parsi magnate, came out with a spirit of self-sacrifice of surpassing nature and volunteered themselves as the surety and thus saved the honour and prestige of that august institution. Like a genuine administrator he had the highest interests of the State before his mind's eye and like an ideal servitor he brushed aside all selfish considerations. It might be mentioned here that he was perhaps the only member of the Corporation of the time who, as a member of the General Committee, would not take the fees for the meetings attended by him and that this could not in any way impair his attendance even in the midst of his multifarious duties knocking at the door.

The achievements of Sir Asutosh as a social reformer will be long remembered. He felt very keenly the evils that crept into our society and tried his best to remove them in scorn of consequence. The incomparable excellences of his conduct, the inimitable unassuming habit and notably the free access to all irrespective of rank and fashion cast a spell on all with whom he came in contact. In fact no small part of Sir

Asutosh's success towards the eradication of the evils of luxury and the vices that followed in her train was due to the rare example he set by his plain living and high thinking,—"the ancient dower of inward happiness." In dress and deportment, even in the most majestic walks of life, he showed the greater Hebraism and simplicity reminding one of those "Arcadian times that Maro sang." He also tried to improve the style and tone of his mother tongue. He realised the menace of "a frightful multitude of books doing the wider and the wilder mischief." He agreed with Carlyle that if one read a book preaching loose morals "he should bathe seven times in the Jordan." He felt like Ruskin that one should try for the "eternal Court" which is open to us all "with its society wide as the world, multitudinous as its days, the chosen and the mighty of every place and time." He was a writer of no mean order and his facile pen usurped his leisurely hours only to elevate and enrich the writings of his time.

It was the outstanding ingenuity and dynamic personality of Sir Asutosh that helped him considerably in tiding over difficulties of gigantic proportion proffered by the Non-cooperation movement. With regard to the boycott of schools and colleges he had his differences with Mahatma Gandhi and Desbandhu C. R. Das and he stood to his conviction founded as the rock.

The organizing capacity of Sir Asutosh extorted admiration from all. When Their Imperial Majesties visited India, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the principal show in all the functions, all held in the brief span of a few days, in different institutions of different phases of activity and culture. The sagacious conduct of the functions and the brilliant expositions, the marvellous demonstrations and the memorable addresses therein by Sir Asutosh made His Majesty express a genuine surprise and admiration for the wonderful energy, erudition and the organizing capacity of this great genius. Sir Michael Sadler and the members of his Commission were struck by his vast learning, his masterly grasp of subtle and delicate issues, his deep penetration into motive, his remarkable organizing capacity and his astounding administrative ability.

We can ill afford to pass off in silence the unforgettable precocity of Sir Asutosh as revealed in the rare display of his genius in the field of Mathematics when he was a mere student of the college. "The child shows the man as morning

shows the day" so very aptly applies to the life of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The unique achievements of the student Asutosh most highly prized by the reputed Universities of the West, echoing the honoured recognition to no small parts of the globe, were like an arch, wherethrough gleamed the untravelled world and therein showed the green young Asutosh an insatiable thirst for knowledge infinite, to justify in future years, the appellation commonly bestowed on him—an appellation of being the favoured child of the goddess of learning.

One cannot fail to note, rather is thrilled with a feeling of joy and pride to mention the devotion of Sir Asutosh to his mother—a devotion 'that makes breath poor and speech unable.' It was the sincerity of devotion that could so easily throw off the laurels thrust upon him unasked—an honour that moves a heart which seldom thirsts for "Circean draught of flattery and applause." A mere obedience to the religious scruple of the mother outweighing the value of an esteemed invitation from the Viceroy drew forth from His Excellency an utterance with a sneer clad in ireful command. "Tell your mother that the Viceroy of India commands her son to go." In dramatic promptness came a reply released from the volcanic mind of Sir Asutosh, "Then I will tell the Viceroy of India on her behalf that the mother of Asutosh Mookerjee refuses to let her son be commanded by any one excepting herself, be he the Viceroy of India or anybody greater still." Like the great Socrates he had his genius in attendance which was unto him both Law and Impulse. It was perhaps by the tranquil beauty of his nature that he could enjoy an ideal family

life, happy and peaceful, that seldom falls to the lot of men of eminence.

Another characteristic of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was that he had always the rosiest optimism. Though he had lost much of the glory of "those visionary hours" "much of the robust optimism and many of the illusions of the springtide" still he had superabundant faith in the moral providence of God. White-handed hope "came to him like a hovering angel girt with golden wings." He loved man, pitied him his faults and admired his virtues. "The crimson thread of kinship was to him no fiction of the imagination."

He was a man of a forgiving disposition but he would not tolerate the insolence of any man howsoever high-placed he might be. The fitting blow to the swelled-headed arrogance would very often misgive the genuine tenderness of his heart, which made him perfectly oblivious of the monstrous faults even of the deadliest enemies begging his pardon or seeking his protection. Everybody feared Sir Asutosh, his sparkling eyes "made the beholders wink," they acted like the cockatrice. For this he was rightly called the Bengal Tiger.

In short, every opportune moment of his life was the father of hosts of achievements embalmed and treasured up in undying anecdotes, each one of which would shine as a precious possession in men of eminent distinction.

Such is Sir Asutosh Mookerjee whose death we deplore, who had converted the "thorns of his path into purple roses," who had his "seat in the choir invisible of those immortal dead" to "trick his beams with newspangled ore and flame in the forehead of the morning sky."

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE FRIARS

By G. L. SCHANZLIN

IN the thirteenth century Europe sent a few monks into Asia, partly as explorers, and partly as missionaries. To these ecclesiastics the West owed some of its earliest geographical information of the countries and people of inner Asia, one might almost say, the only fairly correct geographical knowledge, which the later middle ages possessed of Mongolia, China and related countries. While the accounts of these Franciscan monks never became general knowledge in Western Europe, in the minds of

those who were intelligent enough to realize the importance of these travelling accounts, Asia and things Asiatic must have moved out somewhat of the hazy sphere of the fabulous into a better knowledge and clearer perception of a greatly extended geography of the eastern continent.

Western Europe of the 13th century had good reasons to be interested in the interior of Asia, which had sent out armies which in one stupendous whirlwind campaign had broken the

military resistance of the kingdoms of Eastern Europe, first the Russian principalities, then the Hungarians, and an army of Polish and German knights at Liegnitz, in Silesia. All this had taken place within a few years, from 1236 on, and Mr. Harold Lamb, in his *March of the Barbarians*, rightfully raises the question, what would have happened to Western civilization, if Batu and Subotai, the two outstanding leaders of the Mongol armies, had not been recalled back to Karakoram, the capital of the Mongol empire, for the election of another Khakhan, Ogodai, the son of Chenghiz Khan, having died in December 1241.

Here are a few geographic and ethnographic notes which the Friars took:

(1) "Leaving the land of the Cangle, we entered into the country of the Bisermins, who speak the language of Comania, but observe the religion of the Saracens."—John, p. 37 (p. 21).

"To the west of the magnificent plain is Curgia (Georgia) where once lived the Crosminians. At the foot of these mountains is a large city called Ganges, the ancient capital of the Crosminians; it kept the Georgians from descending into the plain."—William, p. 199.

Friar William in the same place derives the name of the Georgians from the name of the river Curg:

"This river gave its name to the Curses, whom we call Georgians."—William, p. 199.

(2) "His wife (Master William's) was the daughter of one Larkaine, and born in Hungary, she spoke French and Coman well."—William, p. 160.

"We met there another European, named Basil, the son of an Englishman and born in Hungary, and he spoke the same languages."—*Ibid.*

Does Hungary here mean the Greater, or the Minor?

(3) "The people of Cangle...were by parentage descended from the Comans. Upon the north side of us, we had great Bulgaria, and on the south, the Caspian Sea. Having travelled twelve days' journey from Volga, we found a mighty river called Jagac (Ural), which flows out of the north, from the land of Pascatir, falling into the Caspian Sea.

The language of Pascatir and of the Hungarians is all one, and they are all of them shepherds, not having any cities. Their country borders upon Great Bulgaria, on the west frontier. From the north-east part of this country, there is no city at all. Great Bulgaria is the farthest country in this direction that has any city. Out of this region of Pascatir came the Huns of old time, who afterward were called Hungarians. Next to it is Great Bulgaria."

It seems clear that William identifies first, the Comans with the people of Cangle, the latter being descended from the former. Secondly, the language of the Comans is spoken also in the region of Khwarezm (Khwarezm), if Bisermins as above stands for the nation of

the Kharezmians. Thirdly, he identifies, linguistically, the languages of the Hungarians and the Bashkirs of Pascatir (Bascarts by Friar John). John says: "The people called Bascarta, or Great Hungary." (In the same passage John speaks of the "Bilers, that is, Great Bulgaria."—p. 22.)

Thus the friars had a clear conception of the close relationship which exists between the Hungarian and the Bashkir races. Modern investigation has established the fact that Hungarian is an original Finnish dialect, which very early in the history of the language incorporated numerous elements of Bashkir, that is, Eastern Turki origin.

In another place Friar William draws still more remarkable linguistic conclusions. Describing the Uighurs, the most advanced of the earlier Turkish races, as he found them on his way to Karakorum, some time after he had crossed the river Ili, running into Lake Balkash. He says after finding them in goodly numbers throughout the Mongol dominion:

"Among the Jugires remains the original and root of the Turkish and Coman languages."

Friar William, after all, narrow as he may have been in some things, had the marks of a scholar. Not merely outward things interest him, although he has the eye of an observer; he constantly and honestly raises and tries to answer to his own satisfaction, questions of historical connections, things of the inner life of folks and races.

It seems strange that his many sound comments on such subjects should have gone unnoticed even by the more learned of his and the remaining half a dozen of centuries. He pictures for us a workable outline of Turkish tribes with their habitats, ranging from the Amur river clear across Asia and away into Europe. Naturally he connects the Hungarians with the Huns, as all his generation did. While there is no clearly traceable historical connection between the two races, being more than half a millenium apart in history, the temptation of finding an etymological connection between the two names, is and has been a common failing of earlier writers.

As there was, in the 13th century, a Lesser Hungary in Europe, and a Greater Hungary, Friar John says:

"The land of Comania on the north side immediately after Russia has the people called Mordunis, the Bilers, that is Great Bulgaria; the Bascarts, that is, Great Hungary."—Page 37.

And on page 22 he says :

"Returning (after the Mongols, here Tartars, had conquered the Russians, Comanians, Hungarians and Poles), they invaded the country of the Mordunis, who are pagans, and conquered them in battle. Then they marched against the people called Bilers, or Great Bulgaria, and utterly wasted the country. From here they proceeded north against the people called Bascarts, or Great Hungary, and conquered them also."

The sources of information, which the friars possessed, clearly pointed to very definite Asiatic habitats for both the now Christianized nations of the Bulgarians and Magyars. While, as we have seen, many of these tribes had Turkish affinities, or were of purely Turkish blood, none of the early travellers makes this

claim for the ancient Bulgarians. Modern historical and linguistic investigation tends to reject the assumed Turkish descent of the original Bulgarians, but connects them with the Caucasian groups of races, like the Lesgs, and others. Thus, the Friars were not such linguists and historians. Friar William especially is perhaps the most outstanding of that group of early travellers for sober relation of facts as within his reach of knowledge and information. That he, once in a great while, reproduces some fantastic bit of folk-lore, mistaking it for natural science, or history, this weakness one is glad to overlook.

Upland, Indiana

GURU GOBIND SINGH AND WORLD PROBLEMS

By PROF. DARBARA SINGH, M.Sc.

It is a little less than three hundred years when Guru Gobind Singh, the Tenth Guru of Sikhs, was born into this world. The study of his life and teachings reveals him as a master mind and a consummate genius. And the more it is studied the more interesting it becomes.

Guru Gobind Singh was a combination of a great many noble qualities. At once a mighty commander and a humble, unassuming servant, a great hero and a saint, a poet of the highest order and a brave soldier, a householder and a brahmachari and a Guru and a disciple, he was a saviour of the poor and the lowly and a powerful resister of tyranny and injustice. He was a great spiritual leader who delivered his lessons from the exalted seat with force and clearness all his own. He was a great organiser who assembled the rich and the poor at one place and they were prepared at any time to lay down their all in his service and at his bidding. He was a great general and warrior who fought against the vast numbers of the enemy with a handful of soldiers, risking his life in the thick of the fight. His poetry has a rare flow and vigour and those who read it at once realise what a great poet he was. As a man of learning he knew Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Panjabi, the languages that were then current in India. Above all, he had an unhesitating and ungrudging spirit of sacrifice of a

unique kind. Not only this, he was always open to conviction and correction by others, a quality seldom found in great leaders.

If the above-mentioned qualities are all acquired, God gave him His gifts also. Tall and handsome, he was a god of beauty and personal perfection.

His admirers have sketched Guru Gobind Singh as a superhuman hero endowed with divine power but he condemned all such attributes with all the emphasis that he could command. Gobind Singh wished to be described only as a human being. The historians have described him as a general and warrior, for wars took most of his time. But from his very infancy he was full of love and sympathy for all and readily offered them to the down-trodden. In this matter he recognised no foe for foe is in the man and not man himself. Even when the battle was raging with terrific violence he gave his *darshan* to his devotees, in the ranks of the enemy where they burned with a desire to see him.

Generally there are two ideas fast-rooted among common masses; firstly that Guru Gobind Singh stood for the Hindus and arranged his forces against the Mohammadans, and, secondly, that, he stands aloof from his predecessors, his mission showing a definite departure from those of theirs : whereas the work of the previ-

ous Sikh Gurus was to spread the Name of God and love with the fellow-beings, the work of Gobind Singh has been only war, organisation and military career. The first idea can be easily reluted even by a cursory glance at his life. His forces included Mohammadans and in the beginning his enemies were all Hindus. His Mohammadan enemies, it appears, were invited by the Hindus to join them in their attacks on the Guru. The second thing is entirely circumstantial. At this time the enemies of the Sikhs had increased enormously on account of the emphatic declaration of the principles of Sikhism, viz., equality and fraternity, and its growing popularity, and, moreover, the Moghul emperor had definitely declared his policy of spreading Islam by threats and promises, the Guru, therefore, had to fight a threatening danger. There was no public and no public opinion that the Guru could mobilise to advantage. The Guru had seen the effect of the great and unique sacrifice of his father as a waste on the mind of the Moghul Emperor. He could not pause to try the worn-out methods and merely depend on the verdict of the posterity.

At the altar of sacrifice Gobind Singh laid down the life of his father when he was below ten, his aged mother, his sons of tender age, two of them under his very eyes, his dear wife and a large number of his most devoted and loving followers. When the news of the death of his sons reached him he listened with perfect equanimity and then uttered, 'Oh Lord ! Thy *amanat* has been safely returned to Thee.' Sometimes during his struggles he was left helpless and companionless and had to pass his nights all alone, in wild jungles, making the thorny ground his bed, a stone his pillow, firmament his canopy, tigers and wolves his watchmen and wild bushes his companions.

But what was the impulse that guided Gobind Singh to make such monumental sacrifices and what was the idea that compelled him to live such a difficult life ? His predecessors had lived a comparatively easy life but he was always pursued by his enemies. From one of his verses the motive that compelled him to such a life is quite clear :

For this purpose we came into this world ; God sent us to establish righteousness,
Everywhere ye must spread righteousness and destroy the cruel and the tyrant,
Only for this purpose we were born, understand well all ye saints,
To establish righteousness and to lift up the good,
To exterminate all evil-doers root and branch.

This was the aim of the Guru and this was the imperious craving of his mind. This idea of life is quite distinct from many schools of thought existing before. In this respect Gobind Singh rises to the climax mark—all other things, such as, purity of life, purity of action, love of fellow-being, remembrance of God and His invocation, and humility of life as the foundation of man's character and not the sole aim of one's life and, hence, deserving a passing, although emphatic, mention and not engrossing all his attention.

With such ideas Guru Gobind Singh brings about a revolution in human thought. The principles and teachings of other spiritual leaders are only aiming at self-purification but those of the Guru befit a man to improve society and lift human society by an active service even at the risk of his life. Thus, serving and sacrificing he should sing joyfully :

"Set foot on this path
Give thy head and don't show thy back."

This is the only acquisition that the Guru aims at and regards all other possessions as hollow and unreal. This is an attainment in itself and its own reward. With such clear-cut principles as Gobind Singh had it is not strange that he should constantly find himself in troubles. He lived for larger humanity doing active service under the most arduous circumstances. Such are the men that the world stands in need of.

The greatest living man of today, Mahatma Gandhi, the pride and privilege of India, although in spirit a true follower of Guru Gobind Singh does not see eye to eye with him regarding the line of action. One is an apostle of non-violence and the other is the master of the sword. But is it not that the times have changed and the brute force has lost its efficacy ? Placed under similar circumstances in which the Guru found himself we do not know what the apostle of non-violence would choose.

Guru Gobind Singh preached and worked for his principles to his extreme inconvenience. He had to sacrifice his nearest and dearest and he did most cheerfully. Nothing was more valuable to him than his profession of making sacrifice and doing good. The Guru was a unique personality.

The greatest contribution that the Guru made towards world problems was to create a society that should know no distinction of caste and creed and riches and poverty and should observe perfect equality and fraternity between man and man and should be inseparably united through the relationship with the Guru and

should have the godhead as the impelling force to do good. It was through an organisation only that he could realise his objective. He named the organisation as Khalsa, 'the order of Pure Ones.' With the aid of this organisation he worked laboriously through thick and thin and achieved a good measure of success in his mission.

With the growing strength of the Khalsa many artificial barriers were broken and all those who were adversely affected seriously began to think of their prestige. They combined their forces to frustrate the noble efforts of the Guru. Therefore it is not very strange that the Guru should have first come into conflict with the Hill Rajas. When they found that their own efforts were not enough to defeat the Guru they invoked the assistance of the Moghul emperor who was already inimical towards the Guru as evinced by the martyrdom of Guru Arjan and Guru Teg Bahadur.

Guru Gobind was ardently admired and revered by his men that constituted his army. His army consisted of rich and poor and Hindus and Muslims that had either become Sikhs after taking the *Amrit*, the water of life, or were simply the staunch admirers of the Guru. An account of the several fights between the Guru's men and their enemies furnishes an evidence of great love and reverence for the Guru which manifested itself in unique sacrifices on their part and their wonderful fighting power.

Guru Gobind Singh never waged wars for the sake of any territory and glory. He never pursued the fallen foe. Had he wished he could build a kingdom. But wars or military profession or a secular state was not his aim. He was ever on the defensive. All these wars were forced on him. He was compelled to fight for his existence, otherwise he had no time to think of wars that should detract his attention from his mission. Belonging to the line of the Gurus, he was only to preach the mission of Guru Nanak more vigorously and effectively, viz., Love and Truth and the Name of God and work for the evolution of human society that should observe perfect equality and fraternity between man and man. He fought for the establishment of the most fundamental right of mortals, 'To Live and Let Live.' This is the second great contribution that the Guru made towards the world

problems, that is, the construction of a human society nobler and purer.

Another great contribution that Guru Gobind Singh made towards the world problems is to elevate the character of man individually. He fought so many battles and often came out victorious but even for a moment he never humiliated his enemy. He treated him magnanimously. At one time one of his own men was found serving out water to the enemy while on the battle-field and when brought before the Guru he complimented him and praised him. Sometimes it happened that the same persons who had been ever a bitter enemy of the Guru sought his help. The Guru embraced him and did all for him. The Guru knew no hatred and low means. The Moghul emperor who was out to crush him was praised by the Guru for his bravery and piety even when he was fighting him. The Guru recognised no man as his foe excepting when he behaved as such. He had a great and noble heart. He loved to see similar qualities in his Sikhs.

Quite unlike other great spiritual leaders and reformers he organised a society in which there is no place of autocracy or absolutism. When he instituted the Khalsa and served the water of life to the first five he asked them to serve the same to him also as if he was their follower and they were his guides. In his future doings also he respected them with the same decorum and courtesy as he showed them first. This step was taken by the Guru with full consciousness and he applied it for the whole of his life. In this way Guru Gobind Singh has laid the foundation of a perfect sort of democracy or equality among his men which they have preserved to this day.

Another great contribution that the Guru has made towards world problems is to raise the dignity of the women-folk. When he prepared the *amrit* for his Sikhs he got it sweetened by a woman who put sugar into it. It was his own wife who did so. When the Sikhs perchance fell on women they never violated their chastity. They had them escorted to their homes. This beautiful trait of character of the Sikhs has been amply praised by Mohammedan writers who had all hatred for the Sikhs and their actions and no good word.

RACIAL SEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

I sincerely believed that after the publication of the Broome Report, relieving the white population of fear of peneration in Natal, the Indian settlers, at least for the time being would be left in peace,—peace which was not merely of very great importance to South Africa but also to the Allied Nations with whom South Africa was associating in this deadly world war, but it was in vain. Disregarding the findings of the first Broome Commission, arrived at after one of the most exhaustive and painstaking enquiries ever conducted in South Africa, the City Council of Durban passed a resolution demanding that legislation be enacted for racial segregation.

In fact, the very municipality of Durban has shown itself to be the culprit. It has done nothing to meet the housing requirements of Indians. It has opposed every move to grant any decent sites for Indian occupation, and it has never stopped its shouting about 'penetration and segregation.' Yet Durban is the most 'English' city in South Africa. And it is these very English, not the South African Boers, who are frantically making continuous attempts to segregate 'British Indians' at this perilous period of world war.

It is reported that a legislation was introduced and passed in the Union Parliament preventing Indians from further acquisition and occupation of land in predominantly European areas. The legislation has threatened the position of Indians in Natal to such an extent that they are driven to desperation. In fact, the Indians without exception look upon the application of segregation to themselves as a racial stigma. It is galling to their national pride to feel that, though the members of their race may sit in the Imperial War Cabinet beside the most distinguished statesmen of the British Empire, in South Africa they must not live in close proximity to even the dirtiest and filthiest of their white fellow subjects. It is an unbearable insult to the sentiment of an ancient and civilised people, and inherently unjust.

Any scheme of segregation is contrary to the terms of the Capetown Agreement, which is still in force between the Governments of South

Africa and India. Dr. Hofmeyr, the Minister of Finance, once declared unequivocally that it was impossible for Government to accept the principle of segregation unless it had first specifically terminated the Agreement with the Government of India.

The Indian community of Natal, while opposing segregation, do not desire to live in European areas. Historical experiences show that all the world over people of the same race find it congenial and convenient to live together and the Indians in South Africa are no exception to this rule. It is not denied that there might have been some isolated cases of acquisition in predominantly European areas by Indians, but it is mainly due to the Durban Municipality's criminal neglect of the areas predominantly occupied by Indians and want of civic amenities and also the lack of provision of areas for normal expansion of the Indian settlers. To-day it is found that after 83 years of Indian settlement in Durban, only 20 Indian families occupy houses in the essentially European areas of the Berea. Surely, this cannot be called Indian penetration, nor can it be said that there is a need even for the most selfish motives, to offend the feelings and national pride of the Indian community of South Africa and the people of India by implanting upon them the stigma of segregation and racial inferiority, especially at this critical juncture when India and South Africa are fighting shoulder to shoulder to defeat the Axis Powers.

But the harm was done, and the legislation was enacted. There is no alternative left to India but to recall her High Commissioner, as a protest, from South Africa, for there is no point in keeping him in the Union which has received him for the purpose of fulfilling the Capetown Agreement, now so callously sought to be trodden under by the Union Government of South Africa.

Indians in South Africa will struggle for survival and a decent human existence till the end of Time, but they look up to the Mother-Country and its Government to see that their case, in these critical times, does not go by default.

As the central subject of this book is both topical and thought-compelling, we have read the whole of it very carefully. Although we do not wish to disparage the learning which the author has displayed in this work, nor the skill and the ingenuity with which he has generally tried to interpret the large mass of information it contains, yet we are sorry to observe that it is not a calm and judicious survey of the question with which it deals, in all its various aspects. Nor does the work bear that evidence of a prolonged reflection or a spirit of philosophic detachment which a work of this nature should have exhibited. Rather it bears marks of haste and quick generalization. Not that there are no merits in this work: there are certainly some. But there are many grave defects in it, primarily arising from misinformation, misinterpretations, gross exaggerations, ugly distortions, perverseness of mental attitude, half-truths, dozens of misprints, grammatical errors, and ill documentation. The author says that his "aim is to expose (sic) the scheme of Pakistan in all its aspects and not to advocate it . . . to explain and not to convert" (pp. 10-11). But actually he has not only advocated Pakistan again and again, he has also given repeated warnings to the Hindus as to what would happen to them if they did not agree to it. As a matter of fact, he has manipulated all his arguments with a view to making out a case for Pakistan. His scheme of Pakistan, however, is, as we shall show later on, somewhat different from that of Mr. Jinnah and his immediate followers, in respect of some details. But the underlying principle is the same in both the cases.

In connexion with the merits of the work we must mention the admirable boldness and straightforwardness which the author has shown in stating some of his views. In this he does not mince matters; nor does he spare anybody, however high or great. And we fully agree with him in what he says in regard to (i) "the ever-growing catalogue of the Muslim's political demands" (pp. 245-66); (ii) the Lucknow Pact, and the Communal Award (pp. 98-102); (iii) "the spirit of exploiting the weaknesses of the Hindus" as shown by the Muslims (p. 266-67); (iv) "the adoption by the Muslims of the gangsters' methods in politics" and its reaction in the shape of "gangsterism" by the Hindus (p. 267); (v) the British policy in relation to the Muslim demands (p. 98); (vi) the "system of communal hostages" (p. 104); and, lastly, the Congress policy of "appeasement" and its deplorable consequences on Indian politics. The author is perfectly right when he says (p. 102), "To allow a communal majority to rule a minority without requiring the majority to submit itself to the suffrages of the minority, especially when the minority demands it, is to enact a perversion of democratic principles and to show a callous disregard for the safety and security of the Hindu minorities." He is equally right when he observes (p. 100), "The separate electorates for the Hindu majorities in the Hindu provinces are not a matter of their choice. It is a consequence resulting from the determination of the Muslim minorities who claimed to have separate electorates for themselves." His analysis in this connexion is both penetrating and original.

We cannot agree, however, with the interpretation which the author has put on the much-abused principle of self-determination (pp. 4-5). "The Muslims," the author solemnly declares, "cannot be deprived of the benefit of the principle of self-determination." All right. Will the author apply the same principle of self-determination to the Hindu and Sikh minorities in all the predominantly Muslim areas? In equity he must. And what will be the effect of all this on the political system of this country? The author should have borne in mind that "the right of self-determination is," as Lord Curzon once remarked in 1923, "like a two-edged sword and can be admitted only with reservations." The principle of self-determination is to be applied to a country as a whole and not to every section of its population. Otherwise, there would be disintegration which would make it impossible to set up any stable, organized and civilized government in the country.

The author's arguments based on financial considerations (pp. 7-9 and 63-65) are thoroughly misleading. As a matter of fact, we have found that they have actually misled some unwary people who cannot think for themselves. In regard to the figures of revenue raised by the Central Government from the Central sources in different provinces, the author should have known what the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report pointed out (para. 203) long ago: "In the case of ramifying enterprises with their business centre in some big city, the province in which the tax is paid is not necessarily the province in which the income was earned." This statement applies particularly to Taxes on Income collected at Calcutta and in other parts of Bengal. The head office of a business firm or a plantation may be in Bengal, but the actual firm or the plantation may be, and often is, located outside of the province. Similarly in regard to the import duties. Such duties may be collected in Bengal, say, at Calcutta; but a considerable part of the commodities on which they are levied is actually consumed in areas outside of this province, e.g., Assam, Bihar, the U. P., etc. Many people glibly argue that, in the event of the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan as contemplated by the Muslim League, Calcutta will continue to be the port through which goods meant for consumption in Hindustan areas will pass, and that the head offices of business firms, etc., operating in those areas will continue to be located at this city. The Government of Hindustan will not be so foolish as to permit all this. This argument also applies to Karachi. It is evident, therefore, that the same amount of total revenue cannot be raised in Sind and Bengal, for instance, in the event of the proposed partition of India as is raised today from these provinces by the Central and Provincial Governments. These arguments may also be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to other proposed Pakistan areas. Our author did not, in his haste and anxiety to make out a case for Pakistan, think it necessary to go into all these details.

The author sometimes uses political terms very loosely. Certainly, the authors of the Partition of Bengal did not intend "to create a Muslim State in Eastern Bengal" (p. 20). The new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was not meant to be absolutely independent of any Central Government of India, and its creation was not the same thing as the establishment of Pakistan in Eastern India. Again, the separation of Provinces on a linguistic basis as contemplated by the

Congress (p. 22) is an altogether different thing from the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan as advocated by the Jinnahites. The Congress never meant to make the provinces so created on the linguistic basis to be sovereign, and absolutely independent of any Central Government of India of the future. These analogies are not only misleading, but are also false and mischievous.

In discussing the essential elements of a "nation," "nationality," etc. (Chapter II), the author has not, obviously with a view to the object he had in mind, practically given any importance to such factors as community of race, community of language, community of economic interests, geographic unity, considerations of political expediency and military strategy. The one factor that counts with him is community of religion and all that it implies. The author does not appear to be familiar with the modern distinction between a "nation" and a "nationality." There can be no nation unless the people concerned has become politically organized. As T. H. Green says, "The nation underlies the State." There can, therefore, be no nation in India today as there is now no Indian State. The Indian nation is in the making. The different communities in India are different nationalities as there are different nationalities in Switzerland, Great Britain, Canada, South Africa, and in the U. S. A. The author would do well to note in this connexion the views of such eminent writers as Lord Bryce, J. Holland Rose, Laveleye and Hayes. Renan's is not the last word on the subject. The Muslims waited in deputation upon Lord Minto not in 1909 as the author says (p. 247), but on 1st October, 1906.

The author's arguments in Chapter V are based on a wrong conception regarding the communal composition of the Indian army. He has said that "the Indian Army today is predominantly Muslim in its composition." Sir Jogendra Singh, Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India, removed this misconception in the course of a statement made by him in the Council of State on 24th September, 1942. He said: "May I take this opportunity of mentioning that Mr. Jinnah was wrong. Muslim representation in the Army stands at 32 per cent. and the others provide the remaining 68 per cent." This is very significant.

The author's remarks against the high-caste Hindus and his views about the real ground of opposition to the Partition of Bengal (pp. 117-120) are most wicked and perverse. They seem to betray an unfortunate mental complex from which he may presumably be suffering. It appears that he cannot think except in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence. And according to him other people, too, cannot act actuated by a higher sense of values. That is the reason why he cannot also appreciate the real ground of opposition to what has been aptly called the proposed vivisection of India. His sense of values cannot possibly rise to the spiritual height of this opposition. It seems that he is incapable of it.

According to the author, "it is no use saying that the Congress is not a Hindu body. . . . The only difference between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha is that the latter is crude in its utterance and brutal in its actions while the Congress is politic and polite. But apart from this difference of fact there is no other difference between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha" (p. 41). In regard to the mass contact plan of the Congress, he observes that "in essence, it was the plan of the British Conservative Party to buy Labour with 'Tory Gold'" (pp. 344-45). These are some of the samples of the sweeping nature of the author's statements. There are many such statements in the book.

Now to the central subject of the book. The author has supported Pakistan in principle and given a scheme of Pakistan of his own. According to his scheme (p. 64) some portion (13 districts) of the Punjab is "to be excluded from the scheme of Pakistan" as envisaged by the Muslim League. Similarly some portion (15 districts) of Bengal is to be "excluded from the proposed Eastern Muslim State, although a district from Assam may have to be added to it." Nevertheless he has advocated the partition of India into Hindustan and Pakistan as a solution of the Indian problem, and thus accepted in principle the idea of a watertight division of this country. And he has seriously suggested a large-scale exchange of population between Hindustan and Pakistan so that these two states may be homogeneous in respect of their respective population. A very simple solution indeed! Our author has not considered it necessary to take into account in this connexion the miseries and sufferings to which will be subjected the many millions of Hindus and Muslims who will be practically compelled to leave their ancestral homes for strange places and environment, and perhaps to forget also their mother-tongue. And why all this trouble? Just to satisfy the whims of a few communalists who change their views on Indian political questions, as the author has himself shown, almost from year to year! It appears to us that no man in his senses can make such a proposal seriously. Indeed, the idea of the compulsory removal of millions of Hindus and Muslims from their ancestral homes just to satisfy the whims of some Muslim communalists is as absurd and impracticable as the idea of some Hindu communalists who seriously maintain that, since India has been known for ages as Hindustan, it belongs to the Hindus alone, and that its Muslim population must, therefore, either submit to Hindu domination or be made to leave this country, bag and baggage, for Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, etc. The author has referred in this connexion to the cases of Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria. The number of persons involved in those countries was practically nothing compared with the number which would be involved in India. Even then there was no end to the sufferings of the people of those countries who had to migrate. In the people of those countries we would advise the author to read Sir Alfred Watson's article entitled *The Rejected Plan for India* published in *The Asiatic Review* of July, 1942.

The shifting of population being not at all a practicable proposition, the problem of the partition of India into unsolved even in the event of the partition of India into Hindustan and Pakistan. That will lead to a perpetual trouble, either on actual or on imaginary grounds, between them. This in its turn may lead on to a war between them, terminating in the conquest of the proposed Eastern Muslim State by Hindustan in collusion with the Hindu population of the former, and perhaps in an invasion of India by some foreign Muslim States on the invitation of the Muslim State on the North-West of India. Pakistan, therefore, will be no solution of the Indian problem. And we must not also forget the wise saying of *The Federalist*: "He who hopes that independent, neighbouring states can live in perpetual harmony with one another is a utopian dreamer who knows neither life nor history." Those who think that the creation of two or more independent political Unions would lead to peace in this country are such utopian dreamers who know neither life nor history.

The author has, with a view to producing effect on the reader's mind, unnecessarily exaggerated our differences. For instance, he writes on page 346 in connexion with the question of relationship between Hindus and Muslims: "They (i.e., the Hindus and Muslims) meet to trade or they meet to murder. They do not meet

to befriend one another. When there is no call to trade or when there is no call to murder, they cease to meet." This is a gross exaggeration—nay, a perversion of truth. Even Mr. Jinnah did, in the course of his evidence before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, admit on 13th August, 1919, in reply to question 3813 put to him by Major Ormsby-Gore: "*In India the Mahomedans have very few things really which you can call matters of special interest for them—I mean secular things.*" (*Minutes of Evidence*, 1919, p. 225. The italics are ours). The author has also noted this (p. 316). Certainly things could not have changed since in fundamental matters.

With a view, perhaps, to the same end, the author has given a long catalogue (pp. 158-80) of Hindu-Muslim riots which occurred in India during the period from 1920 to 1940. He has compiled it from official sources. He might have spared the reader this narration. It does not prove much. In a population of nearly four hundred millions some troubles are bound to occur occasionally. If riots develop and spread, it is largely due to the fact—and those who have experience of such riots would bear this out—that law is not enforced at the initial stage with the utmost vigour and with the strictest impartiality. Sometimes local officials allow themselves to be guided by mean "political" considerations, and a wicked spirit of vendetta against one community or another. And had not Mr. Jinnah also stated before the Joint Select Committee on 13th August, 1919, in reply to question 3854 put to him by Mr. Bennett: "If you ask me, very often these riots are based on some misunderstanding, and it is because *the police have taken one side or the other*, and that has enraged one side or the other. I know very well that in the Indian states you hardly ever hear of any Hindu-Mohammedan riots, and I do not mind telling the Committee, without mentioning the name, that I happened to ask one of the Ruling Princes, 'How do you account for this?' and he told me, 'As soon as there is some trouble we have invariably traced it to the police through the police taking one side or the other, and the only remedy we have found is that as soon as we come to know we move (sic) that police officer from that place, and there is an end of it.'" (From the *Minutes of Evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill*, 1919, p. 227). The author has also noted this (p. 317), but has not considered it necessary to analyse its implications. What Mr. Jinnah said in reference to riots before 1919 is equally applicable to riots that have occurred since. It may be stated here that Mr. Jinnah appeared before the Joint Select Committee on behalf of the Muslim League.

This work is an advocacy of the cause of Pakistan. Unfortunately for the cause, the author has given, in a concentrated form (pp. 49-60), such a blood-curdling account of oppressions and atrocities which some Muslim invaders and Muslim rulers of India committed in the past on the Hindus and their religion that it would make every Hindu, affected by the proposed Pakistan scheme, shudder to contemplate what his life would be in Pakistan in the event of its realization, and would, therefore, certainly make him fight against it till the last moment of his life, to avert this calamity. Thus the author has done, perhaps unconsciously, a great disservice to his pet object!

The partition of India into watertight communally-demarcated areas being ethnologically, economically, politically and strategically an absurd idea, the only

solution of the Indian problem lies in a well-devised scheme of the federation of the whole of India. It is really a thousand pities that the learned author of this treatise comprising 380 pages, has not thought it necessary to consider, anywhere in it, the potentialities of federalism as a solution of our communal problem. He would do well to go very carefully through the pages of *The Federalist* in this connexion. Unfortunately for this country, very few of our eminent leaders, both Hindu and Muslim, even know the name of this remarkable series of letters written by John Jay, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton. If it has been possible for the Germans, the French and the Italians—by no means always friends outside—to live in peace and harmony in the Swiss Federation, for the French and the English in the Canadian Federation, and for a number of nationalities in the United States of America, it is also quite possible for the different nationalities of India to live in peace and harmony within one political Union. The solution of our problem does not, we repeat, lie in any scheme of partition of India: it lies in the Federation of the whole of India on proper lines. This will satisfy all the legitimate claims of both the *Hindustanists* and the *Pakistanists*. "India," rightly said His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester in the course of his parting message to this country last year, "is a country fashioned by Nature to be united. Divided against herself she would be very weak: united she can be great and powerful beyond measure." In these words His Royal Highness stressed the fundamental unity of India. And in the course of his address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce on 17th December, 1942, His Excellency the Viceroy also very rightly laid stress on this geographical unity of India and on its implications in terms of the foreign policy, tariff policy, defence policy, and the industrial development of this country. Partition will surely lead to our destruction: Federation alone will save us. Our ideal should be a Federation of All-India on an indissoluble basis. And slightly varying the words once used by Chief Justice Chase of the Supreme Court of the United States of America in another connexion, we would suggest that the Constitution of India should be an indestructible Federal Union composed of indestructible autonomous units, with adequate statutory safeguards for all racial or religious minorities in respect of their language, religion, culture, and traditions.

We have considered here most of the principal points raised by the author in the book. There are still some other points in it equally open to criticism. But we must stop now for considerations of space. As regards misprints and slips of grammar, the only thing that we should like to say is that they are too many to be shown here. There are some useful appendices to the book.

In conclusion, the author says: "I am satisfied that I have done my duty. If the Hindus don't do theirs they will be plagued by the very consequences for which they are laughing at Europe and they will perish in the same way in which Europe is perishing." Really? Are the three hundred millions of Hindus of India so helpless? We, at least, have a much better opinion of them. We may, however, tell the author here that in his anxiety to establish his case he has too often given us a picture which is palpably over-drawn, and thus, indirectly, if not deliberately, done a positive disservice to the cause of nationalism in this country. We, therefore, really wonder whether he has done his duty to his fatherland!



Book Reviews



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ENGLISH

INTRODUCTION TO INDIA: By F. R. Moraes and Robert Stimson. Published by the Oxford University Press, Fort, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8 only.

The work is purported mainly to be an attempt to supply, within the short compass of 170 pages, to the British and American troops now resident in India, what the authors, an Indian and an Englishman, claim to be "a quick and balanced survey of the country," though they "naturally hope that it may have a wider market." A little more than half of the book is devoted to a connected account of India and her people under the headings, The Land, Racial Mosaic, An Ancient Civilisation, Life in the Villages, City Life, Women, Maharajas and Nawabs, India at Work, Swaraj and Swadeshi, and Birds, Beasts and Plants. This is followed by a section, extending to over seventy pages, called Classified Information, which deals with a variety of subjects of more or less importance, relating to the country and its people, the history, literature, religions, political and social movements, etc., to supplement the information contained in the first part of the book. The work contains besides a number of illustrations along with a selected list of publications about India. On opening the book the reader's attention is arrested at the outset by an outline map with illustrations which at once produces the impression that India is, perhaps, more important as a land where elephants, tigers, monkeys, snakes and fishes abound, than for anything else. At the end of the work is another outline map showing a number of important cities and railway junctions, along with the routes of the different railways working in India, with which is appended a list of cities with their respective distances by rail from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

While stating on page 9 of the book, that in the Indian people are blended many racial strains, the authors omit to mention the "pre-Dravidian" among the racial elements enumerated by them. Similarly while speaking about the Southern group of languages of non-Aryan stock, they should not have failed to mention Tulu along with Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. They ought to have recognised the fact, that the Indus Civilisation of pre-historic times was a Dravidian Civilisation, is still merely a hypothesis—it may be a possible hypothesis. On page 25 is made the statement that Asoka "left his records and his ideals engraven on iron pillars and in rock inscriptions throughout the length and breadth of India." In fact, Asoka did never raise any inscribed iron-pillar. He raised, so far as is known to us, seven monolithic pillars of stone. Referring to the activities of Mr. M. N. Roy, he is wrongly described as Mahendra Nath Roy. He is known as Manavendra Nath Roy, not Mahendra Nath Roy. It is surprising that the authors should still maintain that

the recent cyclone in Western Bengal killed only 11,000 people. According to a very modest estimate about 40,000 men, women and children were killed. Other estimates, made by parties not less authoritative or reliable, put the number of persons who lost their lives as a result of the catastrophe at a much higher figure.

The suggestion is made that the Provinces in India enjoyed provincial autonomy with popular ministries supported by legislatures. It is almost an unmitigated insult to India, to assert at this time of day that under the Government of India Act of 1935, the provinces really gained anything like genuine provincial autonomy. The dismissal of the late Mr. Allah Bux, Chief Minister of Sind and the manner in which the new Ministry in Sind was brought into existence; the resignation of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerji, the circumstances under which Mr. Fazlul Huq was compelled to resign and the way in which the new Ministry in Bengal was constituted; and the manner and extent of interference in the affairs of the Provinces by the Central Government and the permanent services, along with some of the recent judgments of some of the highest courts in the country, have fully demonstrated the utter hollowness of the claim, that the present Indian constitution has conferred provincial autonomy on the provinces. The authors seem to support the official view that "the differences within the country" have barred "the fulfilment of Indian Self-Government." This has been no bar to self-rule or independence elsewhere and cannot reasonably be urged as a factor for delaying "the fulfilment of Indian Self-Government." It is extremely unfortunate that there is no proper appraisal or estimate of the nature and extent of the responsibility and effect of the policy of "divide and rule" systematically pursued by the ruling power.

The statement that the Hindu Sculptor carved according to the rules laid down by the priests (*vide* page 159) is not correct. There is in India, in existence, a vast body of literature called *Silpa Sastra* treating the subject in an independent and scientific manner. The question of Greek influence on Indian drama (*vide* page 115) is as yet a matter of controversy. Most scholars do not recognise such influences. In any case there is absolutely no proof that the drama came to India as one of the Greek innovations introduced by Alexander the Great. There is no reasonable ground for cherishing the current misconception about Early Buddhism, (*vide* page 24), namely, that it did not attempt to answer such questions as to whether there is any existence after death. It certainly believed in existence after death and accepted from the fold of Orthodox Hinduism the doctrine of transmigration of souls and that of liberation or *Moksha* which was given a new name, Nirvana. The account given of Hinduism is throughout superficial, unfair and incorrect. Hindu

outlook on life and the world certainly deserved to be treated with much greater sympathy, care and accurate knowledge. Some of the errors, inaccuracies and tendentious statements, have been mentioned, with the object that the authors will make an attempt in the next edition to revise it properly with a view to making it a really useful and reliable publication.

S. K. LAHIRI

PRINCIPLES OF PLANNING: By Prof. K. T. Shah. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 99. Price Re. 1.

The Congress appointed a National Planning Committee in 1939 with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman who at a meeting of the Committee at Bombay from the 4th to 17th June, 1939, explained the nature and scope of national planning and its objective as follows:

"The ideal of the Congress is the establishment of a free and democratic state in India. Such a full democratic state involves an equalitarian society in which equal opportunities are provided for every member for self-expression and self-fulfilment and an adequate minimum of a civilized standard of life is assured to each member so as to make the attainment of this equal opportunity a reality. This should be the background or foundation of our plan."

The Committee has appointed 27 Sub-Committees, divided under 7 main heads, viz., (1) Agriculture, (2) Industries, (3) Demographic Relations, (4) Commerce and Finance, (5) Transport and Communication, (6) Public Welfare and (7) Education. Experts have been invited to serve on the Sub-Committees.

Prof. Shah (as Secretary of this Committee) has done a public service by bringing this Volume to acquaint the public regarding the principles of planning when the Government is likely to proceed in their own way and prepare their own version of a plan of development for India creating fresh vested interests—Indian and Foreign. The principles are not plans. Only representatives of an Independent National Government are competent to make plans. The principles have been laid on the assumption that they will apply to whole of India under a democratic regime possessing full sovereignty.

The book has been divided into 8 Chapters. The Essence of Planning is a simultaneous advance on all fronts and all sectors. Aims are attainment of National self-sufficiency, doubling of the present standard of living which include adequate food, shelter, clothing, social services and civilized amenities. Production must include both large- and small-scale undertakings. Industrial or Social conscription should be an invariable concomitant of the plan. Right to work must be among the fundamental rights of citizenship. Agriculture as a key industry must receive special attention and food supply must be adequately developed. Planning must rationalise the Land Revenue System. Every cultivator-family must be guaranteed irreducible minimum of human comfort. Agricultural indebtedness must be progressively liquidated and rural economy re-organised. Industries—Defence, Key and Public Utilities—should be State-owned, if not immediately, ultimately say within 10 years. The State must determine the size, location of industries and financing must be done through National Banking Authority. Cottage Industries must have a place in National Planning. There must be universal, unexceptioned system of social conscription of all adult, able-bodied citizens to abolish parasitism of every description, and eliminate exploitation of any individual, group or class by another. All workers must be organisa-

ed into appropriate Trade Unions. Marriage must be rationalised and it must be regarded as a civil contract with no trace of sacrament in it. Any marriage which places either of the parties in a marriage on unequal footing will not be recognised by the State. The sick, the invalid, the infirm or disabled will be exempted from obligation to work under planned economy. There cannot be any profit of enterprise. Entire National Dividend will go to the workers or shall be spent for the benefit of workers or for further increase of National productivity.

In planned economy habitual criminals, drunkards, wastrels or prostitutes would be progressively abolished or scientifically dealt with. Money as we understand it today will be scrapped. Distinction between producers and consumers will vanish. Religion has no place in this planning. Trading for profit will disappear and foreign trade will be a State affair. Difference between mental and manual labour will be recognised but difference of income between two individuals shall not be more than 1 : 10.

Thus we have here principles laid down on a strictly socialistic basis which, when given effect to, will turn India into a Soviet System. The book deserves a serious study by all thinkers and well-wishers of the country.

A. B. DUTTA

THE PROMISED DAY IS COME: By Shoghi Effendi. Published by the Baha'i Assembly of Bombay; Mehta House, Apollo Street, Bombay. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 5 only.

This is a book on Baha'ism and proposes to show that the promise and prophecy made by the founder of this Reform movement is about to be fulfilled. The war that is raging all around has thrown the world into intense suffering and tribulation. This was foreseen and foretold. Out of this evil, a new and a better world will emerge. This also was promised. Let us hope the promise will be fulfilled.

"All nations will become a single nation. Religious and sectarian antagonism, the hostility of races and peoples, and differences among nations, will be eliminated."

All this is soothing to the ear and pleasing to the heart. As an ideal and as an expression of wish, no one can demur to it. Statesmen and generals, politicians and poets, philosophers and men of religion, have, off and on, expressed similar thoughts and wishes. Even in the midst of the present world tumult, men are not wanting who talk of a new world order in which all (save perhaps the coloured races) will live in peace and plenty and enjoy the "four freedoms." But in spite of all this, in spite of Buddha and Christ and Muhammad, we have the ghastly spectacle of slaughter all around us.

"All men will adhere to one religion, will have one common faith, will be blended into one race, and become a single people. All will dwell in one common fatherland, which is the planet itself."

To this idea of fusion and blending of races and even of languages, we may concur. To the elimination of fatherlands and therefore of patriotism, also, we need not object. Cosmopolitanism has been dreamt by poets and admitted as an ideal by philosophers.

But how is this unity to be achieved? By professing one religion—a new one? and by eliminating the older religions? Aye, there is the rub! A new religion is an addition to the list and a multiplication of feuds.

There is an alternative proposal: Communism and the denial of all religion. The world has reached a stage when a choice perhaps will have to be made!

The book before us has the good of humanity at heart. It is a thought-provoking book and deserves perusal. Whether the reader can accept or not all that is said here, he will not regret reading it and will consider himself blessed if he finds himself in agreement with it.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

SRI AUROBINDO MANDIR ANNUAL—JAYANTI NUMBER: Published by Sri Aurobindo Pathamandir, 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.

This volume was published on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the birth of Sri Aurobindo; it is a well-got-up and well-planned volume. Its opening poems are full of deep mystic significance. These are followed by papers, contributed by persons, who are well-known for their scholarship and literary ability; the first paper gives an able exposition of the ideal of Sri Aurobindo movement and the last one is a fitting tribute to the master from a disciple. Some of the other papers (Divine Evolutionism, Towards a New World) discuss the philosophical background of the new movement; while five others are important philosophical studies; in the studies on Mayavada and the Gita, the learned writers have discussed the essential features of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy as well as the main points of its difference from that of Samkara. The two studies which deserve special reference are on "Sri Aurobindo and Bergson" and on "the concept of the supermind in Sri Aurobindo's philosophy," they clarify some of the basic concepts of this philosophy and go a long way to solve the problems which usually baffle the reader from the beginning.

This single volume thus provides the reader with the interpretation of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy in its various aspects; but that is not all, it has a message to carry.

The ideal of Sri Aurobindo movement is "to divinize the human, to immortalise the mortal, to spiritualise the material"; it teaches that by the process of integral transformation the Jiva can become the Shiva even in this Adhara. But can such an ideal be true? one may ask, can it be realised at all? Yes, answers the follower of Sri Aurobindo; because, the ideal has become the real for him in the master. What does it matter, if others cannot know of this? "Who once knows thy compassion has, friend, known" says he; and hence he openly acknowledges the master to be "the Paramashiva, the Purushottama, the sovereign lord appearing in the dual personality of the Purusha and Prakriti, Master and Mother." This is the great announcement that has been made on the occasion of Sri Aurobindo's Jayanti; and this is the message that the volume under review carries to the readers.

Two beautiful pictures of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother have added to the worth of the book.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

SECRETS OF SPIRITUAL LIFE: By Dr. Mohan Singh, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. With a foreword by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji of Lucknow University and an introduction by Dr. K. C. Varadachari, Professor in the Oriental Institute, Tirupati as well as an Index. Published by S. Sher Singh, B/2, Kapurtala House, Lahore. Pp. 175+21. Price Rs. 2-8.

Dr. Mohan Singh is the Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore and a distinguished author of a number of books on mysticism. The book under review contains "407 Sutras intuitively apprehended" by the author. In these Sutras Dr. Mohan Singh who is a profound scholar and thinker presents the secrets of

spiritual life and gives a mystic interpretation of traditional thoughts, ideas and parables. Dr. Singh points out that these Sutras are the products of his vision and not of intellection. We are afraid we are at a loss to understand the meaning of his vision. If by vision he means experience, then it is alright; because some of his Sutras are very commonplace and are experienced by many.

The rest of the Sutras are, however, vague and complicated and are meaningless to many. As Dr. Mookerji has rightly pointed out in the foreword, perhaps one who studies these Sutras may miss the wood in the trees. The secrets of spiritual life presented in these Sutras may not serve a useful purpose to the majority. We have more than enough of Sutras in our scriptures. What is at present desiderated is a clarification—a simplification of them. There is perhaps no need for adding new ones.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

KUNDALINI SHAKTI AND PRACTICAL VEDANTA: By Mr. Khusrum, Pleader, Kurauli, Mainpuri, U. P. Price outside India Rs. 5 and in India Rs. 2-8.

In this book, an attempt has been made to reconcile the numerous theories of science to philosophy which have hitherto been regarded as irreconcilable. Here the learned author has demonstratively established that 'Practical Vedanta' is an exposition of Gayatri Mantra through the three aspects of Shakti, Bhakti and Gyan and that by the awakening of the Kundalini Shakti slumbering in the Swadisthan centre of the human body, the Self of man may be liberated from the eternal bondage of Maya or ignorance and his divinity manifested. The Kundalini is lying dormant in the Swadisthan centre and it can be roused by the devotional repeating of the Mahamantra—'Om Namo Bhagwate Vasudevaya.'

Almighty love and wisdom are always at work for the uplift of humanity which can only be realized on the complete surrender of Self and Selfishness. When *ahankar* sleeps, Kundalini awakens. Vedanta holds that each soul is potentially divine. Therefore, the most essential thing in the training of the human mind is to realize the secret of its divinity.

At a time like this, when the world is fast moving from materialism to spiritualism, there is need for the publication of a book like this, which attempts to reconcile the sciences of the West with the philosophy of the East.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

THE ART OF LOVE AND SANE SEX LIVING: By A. P. Pillay, O.B.E., M.B., B.S. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 10.

"The more I come into close contact with sex disorders and marital maladjustments, the more I am convinced that it is not treatment that these patients need but the right kind of instruction on biological facts and that is what I have attempted to impart in this book," writes the author in the preface. Unfortunately, the author has attempted to convey much more than that. Led by his enthusiasm he has sought to combine history, psychology, psychoanalysis, literature particularly poetry, law, popular beliefs, etc., etc., along with physiology and biology. The result has been that the scientific aspects of the presentation has suffered to a considerable extent. It would have been much better for all concerned had he restrained his temptation to quote almost at every page from recognised foreign authorities as also from the writings of those who accord-

ing to him "had no medical knowledge" and "very little practical dealings with women or love." The attention of the lay man, for whom the book is primarily meant, will inevitably be directed more towards the unscientific beliefs and interesting anecdotes in the quotations than to the valuable scientific materials contained in the body of the book.

Emancipation of women specially after the last war has created such a situation in society that the problem of the adjustment of relations between sexes not only in economical and political matters but also in gross physical affairs has been thrust in the forefront of scientific studies. Fortunately, there has been considerable progress in the psychological and biological studies of sex and it is certainly desirable that competent men versed with all aspects of the sex problem and having actual experience of cases of marital maladjustments—like the author of the book under review—should endeavour to spread the accumulated knowledge in matters sexual amongst the lay public and thus serve society at large. While there is much scientific matter in the present book the method of presentation in the opinion of the reviewer has not been scientific. A valuable feature of the book is the list of exercises (with illustrations) to acquire sex efficiency and to cure sex deficiency given in Chapter VIII of the book.

S. C. MITRA

BENGALI

DUI DAMPATI : By Sri Manindra Krishna Gupta. Published by D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

A social drama in Five Acts. The author, now deceased, belonged to the older generation and seems to have written it under the influence of Girish Chandra Ghosh. The events concern the lives of the sons and the daughter of Hara Chandra, a Village-Zemindar and end in a whirl of death. The composition is sentimental and melodramatic, though not altogether without merit.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

JEEVAN KE TATTVA AUR KAVYA KE SIDDHANTA : By Laxmi Narayan Sudhanshu. Published by Yugantara Sahityamandir, Bhagalpur City. Pp. 337. Price Rs. 3.

Life is a miracle of creation, so is the art of poetry. Their origin is shrouded in mystery. But their inter-relationship is obvious, inasmuch as both are the resultants of a dynamic and daemonic urge towards self-delight through self-expression. There is, thus, a deep underlying association between the truths of life and the postulates of Poetry. This, stated briefly, is the thesis of the book, under review.

"The building of men's true world—the living world of truth and beauty—is the function of art," says Rabin-drath. Further, the realization of unity is the purpose as well as pursuit both of Life and of Art. At what point precisely in their career they touch the impersonal, the universal and the eternal, that will ever baffle the intellect, nay, even imagination of the analyst.

All true art or literature is but a vehicle for the unveiling, unfoldment or expansion of the soul. There is a certain magic of "moreness" about it, as about Life. The author has dealt with the creative processes in man the feeler, the thinker and the knower and with his many-sided apparatus of self-expression, as seen, for instance, in folk poetry at one end of the pole and in "art-poetry" at the other. All is in the spirit of play,

—a procession from the unconscious to the conscious, marked by a pageantry of colour and cadence against the background of the vast panorama of human woe and weal. The tenth (and the last) chapter illustrates from the works of several modern Hindi poets, the relationship between the truths of life and the truths of poetic art in the light of the author's explanation of that relationship. The study of *Jeevan ke tattva aur kavya ke siddhanta* is sure to deepen one's enjoyment as well as appreciation of poetry, as it is bound to heighten his sense of mystery, which surrounds life and the creative process of art.

SANTA-SAMAGAM OR DISCOURSES OF A HOLY MAN OF GOD : Published by R. B. Madan Mohan Varma, Ajmer. Pp. 257. Price Re. 1 only.

One would not be far from right if he characterized the book, under review, as a catechism on the philosophy and practice of the spiritual life, as against any particular or parochial creed. It is mostly a record of the answers to the questions put to a self-realized saint by earnest inquirers when he visited Lucknow in 1940 and Ajmer in 1941. Virtue, vice, duty, devotion, desire, death, life, love, God, world, nature—these and other kindred concepts in the stock-in-trade of the aspirant for the divine wisdom, are all explained with an inimitable ease. The third section is made up of extracts from the letters written in reply to the queries of the seekers. One serious omission is a lack of index, though it is slightly mitigated by the use of marginal sub-headings. The editing and arrangement of the varied material, brought together here, would have considerably enhanced the value of the publication.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BHASHANO ANE LEKHO of the late Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Sankarlal Desai, M.A., LL.B. Collected by V. S. Thakore, B.A. Printed at the Navjivan Press, Ahmedabad. 1942. Thick card board. Third edition. Pp. 570. Price Rs. 2-8.

The late Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Desai was known as the Ranade of Gujarat being one of the earliest double Graduates (M.A., LL.B.) of Gujarat, and after retiring from the Chief Justiceship of the Baroda High Court, having devoted heart and soul to certain activities economical, educational and social, has left behind him a name of which every Gujarati feels proud. His public life was a model which every Gujarati would like to follow. This new (third) edition of his speeches and writings, with particulars of his busy and industrious life is a great improvement on the first (1918) two (1922) editions, and deserves both perusal and preservation.

KASHYAPA KULCHANDRIKA : By Barot Ambaprasad Khanderno. Published by B. G. Vora, Bheraiwala. Printed at the Swadhin Press, Ranpur. 1942. Illustrated. Cloth bound. Pp. 104+46.

The Kapole Bania community of Gujarat and Kathiawad is an enterprising commercial community and the Vora section of it has produced such captains of Industry as the late Sir Manmohandas Ramji Vora, Kt. It has got its own hereditary chronicler and the present representative of that chronicler's family has written out a chronicle of the caste, based on legend and history. In addition it is a sort of Directory or Who's Who of the Vora section of the caste, whose munificent charities in Bombay and in their native place are a land-mark of their progress and generosity. Every Kapole should read this volume.

K. M. J.

COTTON CULTIVATION IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

COTTON fabrics formed the clothing of the people of India from time immemorial and the production of the raw material had been regular and uniform. Leaving aside ancient times, we find in the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries that after meeting the needs of the country, cotton piecegoods, made of Indian cotton, formed a very important branch of India's foreign trade. Bengal played a vital part in this piecegoods trade. Cotton was grown in many parts of the Province. Export of raw cotton from Bengal began in 1802 or 1803 and the first shipment was made to the China market.¹ In 1805, Bengal's export of merchandise to China amounted to Rs. 70,79,641 out of which cotton alone accounted for Rs. 28,74,616.² About 1814 the American war led to shipments of cotton to England.³ The flourishing⁴ Indian piecegoods trade in Europe and Asia failed to withstand unequal British competition and the cultivation of raw cotton inevitably declined. Montgomery Martin described this competition in the following few words :

"Under the pretence of free trade, England has compelled the Hindus to receive the products of the steam-looms of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Glasgow, etc., at mere nominal duties; while the hand-wrought manufactures of Bengal and Behar beautiful in fabrics and durable in wear have had heavy and almost prohibitory duties imposed on their importation into England; our Birmingham, Staffordshire and domestic wares have ruined the native artisans of the East who endeavoured to compete with the accumulation of wealth and steam power in England."

Since the last world-war, however, India has made up the greater part of the inequality in competition by the adoption of steam and electric power in the manufacture of her cotton piecegoods. An account of the cotton cultivation during early nineteenth century and the attempts made to improve it may be of help to the researches that are now being made to grow good cotton on Indian soil.

1. Hamilton Bell's letter to Charles Allen (Offg. Secretary to the Government of North-Western Province), dated 8th October, 1846.

2. Milburn : *Oriental Commerce*, 1813.

3. Hamilton Bell's letter, dated 8th October, 1846.

4. Introduction to Volume III of Buchanan's History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India.

SPECIES OF COTTON

In December 1824, a correspondent wrote to the *Asiatic Journal*⁵ that

"the whole number of the true species of Indian cotton was limited to six, which might be resolved into three classes :

First, one specie which was a tree.

Second, one specie which was an annual plant.

Third, four species which were biennial plants.

The fruit of the first, or tree species, was not used in making fabrics.

The second, or annual plant, was what was chiefly cultivated in British India, in China and in the countries on the shores of the Mediterranean. From this kind are made the fine Muslins of Dacca and other fine fabrics, which had been the admiration of the world from the remotest period. In British India the biennial plant is cultivated to a limited extent; but it is not from this that the fine fabrics alluded to are made.

The third, or biennial plant was what was cultivated in both continents of America and in the West Indies. India is adverse to this plant; where the cold in the winter months destroys it; and here it must in consequence be grown every year."

James Taylor, Civil Surgeon of Dacca, in a statistical account of the district,⁶ gave the following description of the Dacca cotton plant:

"The materials of which the fine Dacca Muslins are made is entirely the produce of the Dacca district. The plant is an annual one and attains a height of about 5 feet. It is described by Roxburgh as a variety of the *Gossypium herbaceum* and is said to differ from the common cotton plant of Bengal in the following particulars : First, the branches are more erect with fewer branches and the lobes of the leaves more pointed; second, the whole of the plant is tinged of a reddish colour, even the petals and nerves of the leaves are less pubescent; third, the peduncles which support the flowers are longer, and the exterior margins of the petals are tinged with red; fourth, the staple of the cotton is longer, much finer and softer. This is the Dese, or indigenous cotton of the district, which has been cultivated in the Northern Division from time immemorial. The cotton of the present day, it is affirmed by the natives, is inferior to what it formerly was; the crops are less abundant, it is said, and the fibres, though apparently equally fine and soft, are shorter and more firmly adherent to the seed than the produce of former years. The Dacca cotton, however, notwithstanding the deterioration imputed to it, still (in 1848) ranks as an article of finer quality than the produce of other parts of Bengal or of Western Provinces. Two crops are raised in the district; they are gathered in April and in September, but the first yields the finest produce, and is one that is chiefly cultivated. It impoverishes the

soil and the same field never produces successively more than two crops of good cotton. Formerly the ground of cotton was allowed to lie fallow, and it appears to be owing to the neglect of this circumstance in the present day that the produce is now inferior in quality to the former times."

Taylor had also pointed out that

"The Northern Division of the district produced the best cotton and in the situation, especially that portion of it bordering upon the Megna and the Berhampooter, in Sonergong, Capassia, Toke and Junglebaree, in which this article was chiefly cultivated in former times. The soil here possessed the constituents that were supposed to be essentially necessary to the formation of good cotton ground in America, and it is perhaps to this circumstance that the superiority of Dacca cotton over that grown in other parts of Bengal was to be attributed."

Dunbar, Commissioner of Revenue for Dacca in 1848, admitted⁷ that

"The cotton grown in some parts of the district would appear to be, upon the whole, a finer and more delicate product than any other cotton in the world," and remarked that

"the mere knowledge of the fact that the cultivation was at one time considerable is surely sufficient to warrant the belief that proper encouragement was alone wanting to restore it."

INQUIRY INTO COTTON CULTIVATION

A systematic inquiry into the cultivation of cotton all over India district by district including native states, was carried out about 1848 at the instance of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. They had forwarded the following questionnaire on the basis of which the inquiry was conducted and reports were submitted to the Court by the Provinces separately. The questions were:

1. What is the price of cotton, freed from seed, at the principal mart or marts in your district?
2. At what price does the ryot sell his cotton, cleaned or uncleaned, with or without advances?
3. What is the expense of cleaning cotton by the Churka or Foot-roller, or by any other method which may be in use?
4. What are the expenses of conveying cotton to the nearest port for shipment?
5. What is the average produce of cotton per bigha or acre?
6. What is the quantity of land under cultivation with cotton and to what extent is it probable that the cultivation could be carried in the event of an increased demand?

The principal aim of this survey apparently was to ascertain whether Indian cotton could successfully compete with American cotton in the English market. Opinion was however sharply divided on this question. C. Allen,

7. Letter to the Sudder Board of Revenue, Fort William, dated 5th September, 1848.

Offg. Collector of Mymensingh, held a strong opinion that

"In this ancient and populous country, where land is valuable and rents high, where agricultural science is almost unknown, and the want of skill, energy and enterprise of the agricultural population is proverbial, where the produce is so inferior, and the cost of transportation necessarily so high, competition with America seems a hopeless task. In America, the produce is so very superior, the cultivation is carried on with every agricultural improvement upon a vast rich and perhaps rent-free virgin soil, by the most hardy, energetic, persevering, slave-driving race in the world."

Dunbar met Allen's arguments and wrote:

"There is no commercial object connected with our Indian possessions of greater national importance than the culture of cotton, so as to render it a productive article of export to Europe, and I am clearly of opinion that we should not stop till we have placed the possibility or impossibility of giving the English manufacturers the new material of a quality equal to the American, and at the same or a less cost, beyond question."

He firmly believed that the soil and climate of Dacca was capable of producing the fine cotton which she did for centuries past.

EXPERIMENT IN COTTON CULTIVATION

An experimental cotton farm was established by the Government at Dacca and an American expert J. O. Price was placed in charge of it. A second experiment was carried on at Government expense in Rungpore under another American expert named F. J. Terry. Price arrived in India on 26 August 1843 and Terry in April 1844.⁸ Price drew a monthly salary of Rs. 450/- and Terry Rs. 250/-. Terry left India after some time owing to failing health but Price continued his work for 10 years. Price had experimented to grow American, Mexican, Bourbon and Patna varieties of cotton and did not attain any appreciable amount of success. The Court of Directors was not satisfied⁹ with his progress which was reported regularly to them by the Government of Bengal.

The reason for the failure of Price's experimental cultivation was largely due to the eagerness to grow foreign varieties of cotton. Dunbar, in his letter to Allen referred to before, believed that capabilities of Dacca district in point of soil and climate were just what they were, and it was upon this that they ground their hopes of being able to introduce the culti-

8. Dalhousie's letter to the Court of Directors, dated 13th May, 1848.

9. Court of Directors letter, dated 14th July, 1847.

vation of other cottons, such as Patna, American and Bourbon, 'of a hardier nature than the indigenous plant and yielding wool of a longer staple and consequently better fitted for the English market.' Little attempts to improve the indigenous crop were made and the experiment was thus vitiated. Records of the Government experiment under the American expert, Price, show that due regard was not paid to the advice of Turner, President of the Manchester Commercial Association, who said, "In districts in which the American plant will not thrive, encourage the growth of the best cotton that will grow."¹⁰ The statement of Hamilton Bell,¹¹ who had 30 years' experience in India, that "I take it now as quite settled that our experiments must be with indigenous cotton,"—did not find much support.

Insects, specially green caterpillars, created the stiffest problem for Price. He had observed that the American plants were more susceptible to insects. This insect problem still remains unsolved even today, one hundred years after Price's experiments. In March 1846 Price reported to the Government of Bengal that he had visited all the places at which "ryotee cotton cultivation was carried on and, with the exception of nine beegahs, found the cultivation totally destroyed by insects."^{11a} In August 1846, Price reported that "the ravages of the green caterpillar, on the cotton sown in the farm, appear to be very extensive, and to have been confined almost entirely to the American cotton."^{11b}

A letter from the Secretary of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce to the Governor of Bombay¹² indicates that the data collected as a result of the countrywide survey were not made public at the time. These are however fully available now.

10. Dunbar's Note on the Abstract of Replies of the Local Authorities to the Board's Circular, dated 21st February, 1848.

11. Letter to Allen, dated 8th October, 1846.

11a. Bengal Government's letter to the Government of India dated 16th August 1847.

11b. *Ibid.*

12. Letter from John Cannon, Secretary, Bombay Chamber of Commerce to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bombay, dated 25th October, 1852.

RESULT OF BENGAL DISTRICT SURVEY

Districts	Approx. area under Cotton in bighas	Yield per bigha	Instrument used for Cleaning
Rajshahi	2,000	2 to 2½ mds.	Churka
Birbhum	1,500	2½ to 3 mds.	"
Dinajpur	500 ¹³	15 srs.	Cleaned by hand
Moorshidabad	600	2 to 2½ mds.	Khawee
Bankurah	18,000	about 1 md. 13 srs.	Churka
Burdwan	16,000	2 to 2½ mds.	"
Hooghly	9,000	about 3 mds.	Roller
Nuddea	2,000	3½ to 4 mds.	Foot Roller
Buckergunje	6,000	4 mds.	"
Midnapore	10,000		
Chittagong	acreage unknown 75,000 mds. (uncleaned) grown	34 srs.	Churka
Dacca	acreage scattered and unascertainable	1½ to 2 mds.	Churka and Foot Roller

At the time of this survey, i.e., in 1848, cotton was not grown in the districts of Rungpore (although its soil was considered favourable and experiments were started under Terry), Bogra, Pabna, Jessore, 24-Parganas, Faridpore, Mymensingh and Maldah. Large extensions of cultivation were considered possible in Bankura, Burdwan, Hooghly, Nadia, Buckerganj, Midnapore, Rungpore and Dacca.¹⁴

In Chittagong, cotton was the grand staple of Joomeas, or hill people, throughout the extent of the district's long frontier, from the river Fenny, which separates Chittagong from Tipperah, down to Teknaaf, the Arakan border. They are but rude farmers. A hill-side is cleared from the surface wood: the land is neither ploughed nor dug, and with the commencement of the first rains the seed is sown. Rice, gourds, pepper, cotton are all dropped in the same hole. First ripened is first reaped. Cotton is gathered in the months of October, November and December. The same hill is used for two or three years when it is abandoned and a new clearance made.¹⁵ The quantity of cotton grown by this crude method of cultivation was not small as will appear from the following table:

13. According to Buchanan 25,000 bighas in 1810-12.

14. Abstract of Replies of the Local Authorities to the Board's Circular Letter, dated 21st February, 1848.

15. Collector of Chittagong's note to Sudder Board of Revenue, dated 31st March, 1845.

	Crops of 1843-44	Crops of 1844-45
	mds.	mds.
Fatickcherec	10,000	8,000
Rangooneah	22,222	15,384
Satkuneah	22,222	14,285
Chukera	15,555	14,000
Ramoo	11,111	8,333
Teknaaf	12,500	10,000 ^a

The qualities of cotton grown under the direction of the American experts were examined by Owen Potter, a member of the Cotton Committee of the Agricultural Society at the request of the Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal.¹⁷ The results of his examinations were as follows :

ASSAM : Very short in staple, and tender; free from seeds and clean. Grown from native seed.

TIPPERAH : Good colour and clean, but short staple; woolly, dry and tender. From native seed.

DACCA : Short staple, slightly stained, free from seed. Grown from fine native seed.

DACCA GOVERNMENT FARM, AMERICAN SEED : Short stapled for this class, and seems to have been frayed a good deal in the process of cleaning; dull in colour, free from seed.

RUNGPORE, MEXICAN SEED : Stained, leafy, nibby, short stapled for its class.

PHOOLBARIAH, BOURBON : The best stapled sample of the lot, and with some native in it, stained.

THE DECLINE

The principal reasons for the decline in the cultivation of indigenous cotton in India seem, firstly, to have been the entry of machine-made British cloth into India and the stoppage of the export of Indian cotton manufactures abroad. R. Lowther, Commissioner of the Allahabad Division of the North-Western Province, in the letter to J. Thornton, Secretary to the Government of N.-W. P. dated 12 September 1846, stated :

"It must be borne in mind that the increased importation of cotton cloths and twist has caused a considerable decrease in the consumption in this country, and particularly in Bengal, where its manufacture into fabrics of various descriptions has been almost entirely superseded by the imports from Great Britain. Formerly the export of Indian cotton manufactures to England, France and America, formed a valuable and important branch of the Calcutta trade, but this trade has almost entirely ceased, and vast quantities of cotton goods suited to the wants of the natives are now imported."

Handloom cloth made of handspun yarn gradually gave way to machine products. The second reason may be attributed to the gradual decline of long staple to short staple cotton owing

16. *Ibid.*

17. Letter of C. Beadon, Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to Owen Potter, dated 18th November, 1846.

to decline in the fertility of the soil. Artificial manures were unknown and the principle of keeping the land under cotton fallow for the requisite period of three or four years to enable the soil to recover its fertility was also disregarded. In order to find out the reason for the transition of long staple cotton to short staple, as observed by Taylor, the life history of the plant mentioned by him may be studied with special attention to the loss of chemical ingredients in the soil under the plant.

The third cause for the decline of the Indian, specially Bengal cotton production is that attempts had always been made to adjust the cotton to the machine and nobody seems to have tried to invent machinery which might use short staple cotton for spinning on power spindles. Attention might profitably have been directed to the invention of machinery fit for spinning twist out of indigenous Indian cotton.

This however does not seem practicable till India has her own National Government strong enough to break through the capitalist clique of machine producers.

Fourth, and by far the most important cause was political. Observations on the results for the experimental measures for improving the culture of cotton in India started since 1843 was summarised by J. Forbes Royle, M.D. of the East India House in October 1847 and forwarded by the Court of Directors to the Governors in India in a circular letter dated 10 November 1847. Dr. Royle wrote :

"American planters have observed, that in the West of India, as well as in the Nizam's territory, the cultivation of cotton is conducted in a superior style, embracing the drill husbandry and a rotation of crops, but that in the Bengal Presidency, including Bundelcund, the cultivation was susceptible of great improvement. Mr. Terry and Mr. Blount both cultivated the indigenous cotton of India; the one in the Doab, and the other at Goruckpore, and both with very promising results. But they have stated to me that they were prohibited from proceeding with this culture, because the experiments were said to be intended for the introduction of American cotton into India, and not for the improvement of that of India." (Italics mine).

In reply to an enquiry from Dr. Royle, Mr. Turner the then President of the Commercial Association of Manchester had made an important statement :

"You ask what is the Court to do as regards those districts in which the American plant will not thrive? My answer is : Encourage the growth of the best cotton which will grow; induce the natives to pick it carefully and to clean it effectually (which Mr. Mercer assures me can be done by the Sawgin, if the Kupas is only kept free from the dry friable leaves of the plant by careful picking); discourage or prevent, by every possible means, the system of wilful adulteration, so injurious and so

notorious; abolish the system of conveyance by bullocks, by making roads on which carts can travel; or still better, make, or encourage others to make railroads, by which means the cotton can be sent down in bales, and thus be preserved more free from dirt and adulteration. . . . I believe that if Indian cotton is sent home clean, there will be an increased demand for it; and that it is very unlikely that the spinners will discontinue to use it, even if American cotton recedes from its present value; though of course they would, in such case, only use it as its relative value compared with American. You need not fear that it will go out of use, if, as you say, it can be produced at 1½d. per pound by the ryots in India, as we have very good ground for supposing that America cannot produce cotton within 50 per cent. of this price."

Dunbar, who supervised Price's experiments at Dacca, gave his considered opinion in August 1846 that "the Bourbon cotton is more likely to do well in Eastern Bengal than any other description of exotic cotton, but that the Bengali cotton is unquestionably that which will best answer."¹⁸ (Italics mine)

Systematic experiments to improve cotton cultivation in Bengal by the Government began one hundred years ago—in 1843, under an American Expert, J. O. Price and the people of Bengal paid the expenses.

The experiments were, however, mainly confined to the production of cotton from foreign

seeds. The reason for this might have been the eagerness of the British manufacturers to have cotton from India at a cheaper cost but of the same quality as the American variety which was, most probably, found better suited to the requirements of the machine than the indigenous one. Attempts to improve the indigenous cotton so as to make it suitable for machine spinning might have required some time which they were unwilling to lose. It is very likely that their idea was,—If India can grow world's finest cotton suitable for hand-spinning, why should it not be possible to produce the stronger variety from foreign seeds on such a good soil? The foregoing accounts show that they had all along followed the easier method of selecting good cotton-growing soil, sow seeds there and wait for the crop. Bengal soil was, however, ultimately found unsuitable for growing cotton from foreign, specially American seeds. The experiments which were expected to give quick results turned out to be completely disappointing, and long drawn out and the net result has been a great loss to Bengal. In this whirlwind of experiments, the seed of Bengal's own cotton seems to have been completely lost.*

18. Wm. Grey, Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal's letter to Government of India, dated 16th August, 1847.

*Based on data collected for the writer's book in preparation "Economic History of Bengal: From Battle of Plassey to the First World War."

THE MUKAT NAMEH OR THE PATH OF SALVATION FOR A SIKH

By SIRDAR KAPUR SINGH, I.C.S.

THE famous Sikh Book of Revelations, called the *Sau Sakhi*, has a remarkable hold on the imagination of the public not only owing to its alleged authorship by Guru Gobind Singh, but also owing to the strange character of its contents giving a glimpse into the shapes of the things to come. This is neither the occasion nor the place to make a critical study of the origin, or the subject-matter of the book, in general. It is merely intended on the occasion of the birthday of Guru Gobind Singh to recreate, to a certain extent, the atmosphere in which an average Sikh of the times lived and breathed, for the benefit of those who, these days, do not have time for or opportunity of studying our national literature when it is not anglicised, or translated into English. It is certain, that the *Sau Sakhi* itself is not wholly apocryphal. During his last days at Nander, Guru Gobind

Singh is known to have gone extremely meditative and he used to spend long hours sitting in undisturbed *samadhi*, on the banks of the Godawari. It is said that during these *samadhis* sometimes varied emotions used to play on the face of the Guru, such as emotions of wonder and excitement, emotions of awe and expectation and emotions of joy and sorrow. On re-awakening from his *samadhi*, the personal attendants near the Guru at that time on many an occasion, asked for the meanings of this phenomenon, since it is unusual for a person in *samadhi* to exhibit emotions on his face. The answers to these queries by attendant Sikhs are known as *sakhis*, which here denotes the stories of the future. It is believed that one hundred such stories were narrated to Baba Ram Koer Gurbakhsh Singh Ji. Another three hundred stories of the future were given to three other

Sikhs, one hundred each. The stories narrated on such occasions to Baba Ram Koer Singh Ji were almost all on the subject of the political future of the Khalsa. It is quite probable that these stories were on some occasion related by Baba Ram Koer Gurbakhsh Singh Ji to Sikh *Sangats*, and they were subsequently written down. Nothing is known of the remaining three hundred stories except the tradition that they related to the future of the Hindu race, the future of India, and the future of the world in which we live, respectively. The names of the Sikhs to whom these three hundred stories were related are known but nothing is known of the contents of these stories or whether they were ever recorded into writing by those Sikhs or by somebody else who may have heard these *sakhis* from them.

The *Sau Sakhis*, that is the hundred stories with regard to the future of the Khalsa, are known to have gone under a strange and lamentable metamorphosis, over a hundred years ago, during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. A clever Brahman, whose name is now known, prepared some manuscripts of the *Sau Sakhi* interpolating certain matter which suited his purposes, and with the help of his co-conspirators, apparently some other Brahmans, he made this forged document current in the Sikh Durbar and the Sikh Armies. It would appear that this Brahman was interested in giving currency to two beliefs in the minds of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the Khalsa, with a view to gain political and social advantages for Brahmans in general. He made many additions and alterations in the *Sau Sakhi* to establish that Maharaja Ranjit Singh was, in fact, the incarnation of a Brahman, Keshav Das by name, who was alleged to have guided Guru Gobind Singh in materialising the Divine Spirit of Retribution, called Chandika. For this purpose an elaborate story about the worship by the Guru of goddess Chandi was invented and made current, and it was added that the Guru was thereupon pleased to bless Keshav Das Brahman, saying that the latter would be re-born as a Sikh, and in his third rebirth would become a Singh Sahib, a Maharaja of the Khalsa. The students of history will detect the fascinating similarity of this story with the story similarly made current during the reign of Akbar the Great. The technique, though lacking in originality, was quite subtle and led to success. Further alterations and additions were made in the original *Sau Sakhi* with a view to establish that those Brahmans who had embraced Sikhism by taking

Amrita of Guru Gobind Singh, were slightly on a different and higher plane from the Sikhs who belonged to the lower three castes. All this was done with such cleverness and such skill that it drew the admiration of even such an astute and crooked man as Raja Dhian Singh. Raja Dhian Singh, as is now well known to those who have critically studied the causes and events of the fall of Sikh Power, was dominated by one great ambition of seeing his son crowned as the Maharaja of the Punjab after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This is not the place to go into the details of this episode. But his Prussian thoroughness is apparent from the fact that he obtained the services of another Brahman to make further changes and additions in the *Sau Sakhi* with a view to establish that, it is in accordance with the Revelations of Future made by Guru Gobind Singh that Dogra power should replace Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In this process of mutilation the original and the genuine *Sau Sakhi* has been almost completely disfigured, and from the present material available it is like searching for a needle in a stack of hay to find out which portions, if any, of the current *Sau Sakhi* are genuine.

These preliminary remarks were necessary in order to enable the reader to appreciate the background of the Mukat Nameh that follows. Mukat Nameh, which is an integral part of the *Sau Sakhi*, purports to lay down principles of personal ethics and rules of individual conduct for a Sikh. As the intelligent reader will readily find out for himself there are one or two points in it which are not quite consistent with the teachings of Guru Gobind Singh, and some other points that require elaboration before they can be accepted literally. The major portion of it, however, breathes a lofty moral air. Most of the teachings of this Mukat Nameh are quite authentic and may be said to represent the moral ethos of the Sikhs of the times which followed the death of Guru Gobind Singh.

This is a translation of the *Mukat Nameh* as it has been incorporated in the *Gur Pratap Surujdey*, the famous Brijbhasha book of poetical history.

"Then the great Guru with a view to lead His Sikhs on the path of righteousness and to help them give up the ways that lead astray, spoke thus. Hear, O, ye Sikhs, these words of wisdom. Whoever acts upon them will verily be happy. These words are the Mukat Nameh. By acting upon them you will attain the highest bliss. A Sikh should avoid incurring a debt. If he does incur one, he should pay it off honour-

ably, without delay. He should not encourage the speaking of falsehood in others, nor he should speak falsehood himself. He should live in the company of truthful persons and truth should be his guide in all that he thinks and does. In every way he should strive towards fuller and fuller realisation of the truth. The truth should be seated in his heart and the truth should ever guide all his conduct. He should avoid diplomacy, crookedness and false cleverness. He should earn his livelihood by the honest sweat of his brow. But there is one point to remember in this connection. It is subtle but the intelligent would understand it. If the speaking of truth has no other object but doing harm, this truth should not be spoken. This point I will illustrate by a story. A Brahman was sitting deep in his meditation when he saw a cow running. This cow concealed herself in the nearby jungle. Soon after, a butcher with a knife in hand came there and enquired of the Brahman as to whether he had seen a cow running. The Brahman pointed with his hand to the jungle. The butcher went there and caught hold of the cow and killed her. This kind of mechanical truth should be eschewed. Otherwise, in all dealings with the society, the truth should always be adhered to. A Sikh should never eat food which has been polluted. A Sikh should never love money for its own sake. A Sikh should never eat his food without sharing it with others, who may want it. A Sikh should not keep his hair and head bare for unnecessarily long, whether awake, sleeping or eating. A Sikh should daily read *Jap Ji* and *Jap Sahib* and meditate on the name of *Wahiguru*. Before eating he should utter "By Thy Grace." A Sikh should avoid seeing a naked woman. A Sikh should not allow thoughts of women to occupy his mind. A Sikh should never covet property and money of others and he should keep away from the untouchables. He should never eat meat which has been prepared in the Mohammedan way and should never eat the flesh of a domestic pig. A Sikh should avoid dirt and should strive his utmost for cleanliness. He should always wash and clean his hands after answering a call of nature. During day and at night he should clean his hands properly. He should use cold water for washing and bathing. If, however, he is physically unable to do so he may use hot water. A Sikh must always start his day by taking a bath. He should never eat or drink anything without washing. It is a very bad thing to eat without properly cleaning yourself. A Sikh should be friendly and neigh-

bourly with every caste and creed, though he should himself remain separate from them in his beliefs and attitudes. He should avoid tobacco in every form and should not wear deep red clothes, for they create unnecessary heat. He should not put collyrium in his eyes during the daytime and should never go to bed without his short drawers. He should constantly meditate on the true name, and at the time of going to bed should recite *Kirtan Sohila*. He should always believe that Guru ever helps and guides him. Thus he will be happy and prosperous. A Sikh should take the baptism enjoined by the Guru and should act on the precepts of Guru Garanth. He should not allow his mind to waver and wander into other paths. He should eat the food prepared by a Sikh and should give his daughter to a Sikh only after ascertaining that the latter lives the life of a Sikh. He should keep his mind constantly informed and improved by studying and understanding the *Vedas* and *Shastras*, the books containing spiritual truths. He should educate and discipline his son onto the path of righteousness. He should keep his wife on the path of virtue. A Sikh should always have his mind fixed on the words of the Guru and thus should diligently perform his duties in whatever station of life he is put. He should never be tempted by the money that is received as offerings in the name of Guru. From the House of the Guru, the Gurudawaras, he should expect nothing else except the holy food offered to the congregation. He should eat food only after the appropriate prayers have been offered and he should eat without gluttony. If a Sikh is distributing food, he should observe equality for all. If food is eaten through greed, or it is earned by inappropriate means, it does harm to the body and mind both. When a Sikh has started his meals, he should not leave it in the middle. If he does, he should not start it again. He should always remain on the watch against Mussalman, man or woman. He should never bear malice against a Sikh. All the castes become equal when they embrace Sikhism. They should inter-dine. A Sikh should not seek guidance from the scriptures of other religions and sects. He should not accept food offerings made before an idol. A Sikh should have no hesitation in giving up the following persons,—a Brahman who is greedy of money, a Sikh who pretends that he does but does not really act on the words of the Guru, an unchaste woman and a barren wife, and also a treacherous person. If a Sikh is in trouble and his worldly means have failed,

he should seek help from the Guru in the following manner. After washing his body clean, he should select a clean place. Then he should mix ghee, flour and sugar in equal quantities, and prepare *Karraḥ Parsad* and recite *Jap Ji Sahib*, and then have his mind fixed on the Guru. He should say his difficulty in prayer to God. He should stand up respectfully with folded hands. He should wear the short drawer and a turban and also a sword, at the time of the prayer. The Guru is always with him and will help him out of his difficulties. A Sikh should never call another Sikh by his half name. He who does so treads on the path of darkness and death. A Sikh should never have sexual relations with a woman for enjoyment only, and unless that woman has become his lawful wife by *Anand* marriage. A Sikh should never sleep in the mornings or in the evenings. A Sikh should never eat unclean food. A Sikh should not keep his hair untied and untidy. A Sikh should always keep one tenth of his income apart for charitable purposes. A Sikh should regularly clean his teeth with a fresh wooden brush, and clean water. A Sikh should always bow before God after he has said his prayers. A Sikh should contract relationship with Sikhs alone after avoiding the relations of one's father and mother. These are the ways which a Sikh should adopt. When a Sikh dies, he should be given a manly farewell. There should be no weeping and no customary mourning by women. The Guru's words should be recited. Praises of God should be sung. *Karraḥ Parsad* should be prepared and distributed amongst the Sikhs, and the words of the Guru should be recited so as to create in the mind disillusionment from the mere appearances of the world. The Sikhs then should be fed and offerings made to them of money and clothes. A Sikh should give up customs of his forefathers and of his pre-Sikh days. A Sikh should never remove the *keshas* from his head. A Sikh who has taken the baptism and baptismal vows of the Guru should ever respect the *keshas*. He who transgresses these injunctions shall be unhappy here and hereafter. A Sikh who becomes an apostate should be left alone by the other Sikhs. No food touched by him should be eaten by a Sikh. A Sikh who offers him food or drink is also not wholly devoid of blame. A Mussalman should never be trusted even if he is a fast personal friend. A Sikh who is educated in the Persian schools is likely to lose his faith in Sikhism. It is a good thing for a

Sikh to admit his shortcomings before a Sikh congregation on ceremonial occasions such as births, deaths and marriages. A Sikh should never worship idols or stones and should not eat *pan*. The distinction of castes based on Varanashram breeds injustice and inequality and My Sikhs, therefore, should avoid it. A Sikh should not follow people blindly in the matter of rules of conduct and ceremonies. He should simplify his living with his faith ever firm in the Guru. People who have joined the House of the Guru and people who are born in the Guru's family, the people whom the best conscience of the human race has adjudged great such as Brahmans, should be duly respected. No hurt should be caused to those who have adopted the path of truth, the path of self-discipline, the path of self-purification and the path of self-sacrifice, such as Yogis, Sanyasis and Hindu ascetics. Also the men of learning, the Pandits, and the people whom the society has exalted should be respected. Those who do not act in this manner suffer greatly. He who comes into My House with faith and devotion, and acts upon My words with unswerving diligence shall be exalted by Me. There are higher Mansions in my House than those reached by Shankaracharya, Dattatreya, Ramanuj, Gorakhnath and Mohammad. Just as vegetation grows on a good soil when it rains from the skies, in the same way all that is done with the gaze of the mind fixed on the Guru, bears fruit. Hear ye beloved Sikhs, this is the Mukat Nameh, the path of salvation. It should be repeated after taking a dip in the Mukatsar."

There should be nothing but admiration for the subtlety with which the validity of caste and the superiority of Brahmans by birth is re-introduced into Sikhism, by the clever interpolator. If "Mussalman" is interpreted to mean a person who either belonged to the alien conquering Turkish tribes or owed spiritual allegiance to their political system, the injunction against implicitly trusting them can be readily understood. The dictum against receiving early education in Persian schools appears to refer to the State-subsidised theological seminaries under Muslim rule and interpreted in this way both these injunctions are the soundest and the healthiest of the whole lot, from the point of view of self-preservation, and they are most startling and refreshing when contrasted with philosophico-intellectual unpoliticality of the Hindu race, the parent stock of the Sikhs and Sikhism.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Elements in Human Civilisation

Man's civilisation is a complex which must be taken as a unit. It is wrong to analyse it into various elements and accept certain parts while ignoring others. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja observes in *The Aryan Path* :

It is like light. We will be doing a great injury to our eyes if we analyse light by passing it through a prism and begin to read only with the help of the rays on one or the other end of the spectrum. Just so in civilisation, there is a material side and a spiritual side. Civilisation is neither the one nor the other. It is the unit made up of both. In the same way man too is complex. There is the spiritual aspect in his being; there is also the materialistic aspect in it. Man's intellect and emotion do not work efficiently unless he has a healthy physical body too. It is wrong to ignore the body, that is, the materialistic side of his being, and to attend only to his spiritual ends, as wrong as it is to confine oneself to the mere physical side of life; the latter is like securing a beautiful purse when there is no money to keep. No civilisation has flourished in this world which did not have these two sides. To speak of an antithesis between a materialistic civilisation and a spiritual civilisation is to ignore the facts of man's history.

What is very striking in India's civilisation, which has an unbroken history extending over many millenniums, is the perfect balance between these two aspects of civilisation. Civilisations crumble when the one or the other aspect is ignored. The balance between the two has often been disturbed in the case of Indian civilisation also; but the equilibrium was always restored and civilisation continued to flourish.

The Vedic civilisation is the model for this perfect balance between the needs of man's spiritual life and the demands of his physical existence.

Men prayed to the benevolent gods for spiritual elevation and also for material prosperity. When as a result of a virtuous life on earth man passed from this side to Heaven, there was no break in his life. There was only a prolongation of his virtuous life in another region.

Men and gods, the people and the saints, the living and the dead, earth and heaven, all these combined to form a harmonious universe. This is the civilisation of the Vedas.

The Upanisads exhibited this harmony of matter and spirit in another way. The sages in the forests and the kings in the cities lived on a basis of mutual co-operation. The kings who fought and conquered and ruled the world were the repositories of the highest lore. The sages who performed penances in the forests came to the palaces to learn about the Supreme Truth.

The truth of the world is revealed in the struggle of man in this world and not in the retirement of the forests.

At a certain stage in the history of this civilisation of harmony, one notices a slight disturbance; the world and the life in it are shown to be aspects of sin; real happiness is confined to a stage of mere spiritual existence free from all entanglements of matter. Renunciation of the world is held out as the Path to this higher state of happiness. This teaching began to affect the nation. Man started to neglect his life and his duty to the world in order to be holy. Indolence and hypocrisy were the results. This deflection was only short-lived. The revival of Indian civilisation, based on harmony, was soon started. The sages of the *Naimisharanya* (the Sacred Forest of Naimisha) were the most prominent in this revival.

The *Ramayana* held forth this teaching of the unity in man's life. Sree Rama, the heir to the throne, had to retire to the forest to oblige a weak father. But in the forest he destroyed the demons and when he lost his consort he chased the culprit, killed him, recovered his consort and after returning to his kingdom, he ruled over his ancestral country. In the *Mahabharata* also, there is a description of a long line of virtuous kings who ruled over their countries as a matter of Kshatriya obligation and yet reached the same heaven to which renunciation was supposed to lead man. The descendants of these kings had the help of Sree Krishna in the war they had to wage to win their rightful kingdom. Sree Krishna and all the sages of the forest advised them to fight for their rights. Both Sree Krishna and Sree Rama are incarnations of God.

The Nyaya Philosophy emphasises the reality of the material world. The Mimamsa Philosophy asserts the greatness of man's work in this world. The Vedanta philosophy teaches the harmony between spirit and matter. Sankaracharya interpreted this harmony in his own way, as one of absolute identity. Ramanujacharya interpreted this harmony as a relation of parts and the whole, and Madhvacharya gave his own interpretation of the two as being absolute but distinct realities in this world. God presiding over the material world as the Highest.

Moral Foundations of Society

Naked force appears at present to be the only factor which determines life. Manu Subedar observes in *The Hindustan Review* :

It is the example of a successful aggression, first on the part of the United Kingdom in building up an empire everywhere, and, later, on the part of Japan, which inflamed Germany to enforce in Europe the same law of the jungle and the law of grabbing, on which European empire in five continents had been built up. No people in the world would lose an inch of their greatness, if they acknowledged past errors, and yet,

even in the fourth year of the war, there appears to be no tendency for such public acknowledgment and for setting right those things, which could be set right here and now. This is a matter of disappointment for all those right-thinking men and women throughout the world, no matter to which country they belong, who desire in international matters to see the same dominance of moral considerations as they see it in the organization of life with its units such as families, cities and countries. It is not nationhood, which is the highest expression of human aspiration. It is brotherhood and humanity, which takes that place. With this key, human life can be run on a just basis. If all the effort, that is made today for malevolent purposes of destruction, were used for ameliorative objects, what could the human race not achieve?

Those, who are living now, have inherited much from their ancestors and it is their duty, when they pass away after a few years more of life which God will give them, to see that the heritage, which is left to the future, is a clean and sound heritage, in which violence and force have no room, in which they stand condemned in the field of internationalism as much as they do stand condemned today in the field of private citizenship inside a state.

Looking Back

Rathindranath Tagore writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

Play-acting had an important place in the social and intellectual life in our family residence at Jorasanko. My father was born in this tradition and started quite early to write dramas and have them performed by members of the family, usually taking the leading part himself.

His earliest play produced in this way is *Balmiki Pratibha* (The Genius of Valmiki) in 1881 when he was barely twenty. In the writing and staging of this play his elder brother Jyotirindranath not only greatly encouraged him but collaborated with him in setting tunes to the songs. The play is an opera, the first of its kind attempted in this country. In order to render the music capable of interpreting the characterization and the movements dramatically, the composers did not mind adapting western modes and tunes where necessary. From the point of view of music it was a bold and novel experiment. Although the opera was composed when the author was yet in his teens it has since then been staged quite often and is still held in esteem. Misfortune seems to have attended its first performance in the month of February 1881 when the stage had been set up on the roof of the Jorasanko house. A storm made a clean sweep of the whole bamboo structure. The performance, nevertheless, took place and Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the celebrated Bengali novelist, who happened to be present, referred to it in high terms in the pages of the *Bangadarsan*. Later on, it was performed in the courtyard of our house in the presence of Lady Lansdowne. The cast, drawn from our own family, were nearly all accomplished musicians and some of them no mean actors. The performance proved a success, the novelty of its form and music giving a pleasant surprise to the elite of the then capital, who had been invited to witness it. The only evidence of this performance we now have are two photographs of one of the scenes which have become fairly familiar to the public, having been reproduced in father's collected works.

Mayar Khela (Sport of Illusion) is the only other opera that father has composed. This was published in book-form in 1888. It is perhaps more original than

Balmiki Pratibha whose theme is taken from the *Ramayana* and the music of which shows foreign influence. *Mayar Khela* was written at the request of Mrs. P. K. Ray for the benefit of a charitable ladies' association known as the Sakhi Samiti, who performed it themselves for the first time in Bethune College; it has since been produced fairly often, mostly for charity.

Then followed *Raja-O-Rani* (The King and the Queen) and *Bisarjan*, dramas in the real sense. The first of these was staged at Birjitalao at the residence of my uncle Satyendranath. My mother was persuaded to take the part of Narayani, the first and only time she appeared on the stage.

Possibly the premier performance of *Bisarjan* took place at 49, Park Street, where my uncle Satyendranath had moved from his previous residence at Birjitalao. It is interesting to note that His Highness Bir Chandra Manikya, the then Maharaja of Tippera, who took keen interest in the play the subject-matter of which has reference to an episode in the ancient history of his own dynasty, was present at this performance. The well-known photograph of father as Raghupati bemoaning the death of Jayasingha seems to have been taken on this occasion. All the above event occurred before I was born. I have only a very vague recollection of the later performance of *Bisarjan* when it was produced by the Sangit Samaj in its club house at Cornwallis Street.

Raja-O-Rani has the distinction of being a much-performed and much-transformed play, both in public and private, inasmuch as it has been produced under the three distinct names and forms of *Raja-O-Rani*, *Bhairaber Boli* and *Tapati*. Eye-witnesses of the first performance will recollect the adverse criticism in the papers of the somewhat unconventional relationship subsisting between the performers on and off the stage; nor could they possibly forget the G. O. M., Akshoy Mazumdar, of comic fame, the stalwart of many a comedy and the first and foremost robber in *Balmiki Pratibha*, who just missed turning pathos into bathos in a specially moving scene of *Raja-O-Rani* by his usual comical grimaces, and yet whose one grievance was that he had never been given the tragic part he could have done justice to!

Speaking of acting and singing, it is difficult not to recall the poetic and pathetic figure of my cousin Abhi, who acted so superbly and sang so sweetly in *Mayar Khela*, and died so young and full of promise.

A Soviet Lyric

Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

Simonov's *Conqueror* (1937) is dedicated to Nicholas Ostrovsky. Endowed with a great vital power, warrior, constructor, organizer, Ostrovsky lost his eyesight and was bound for life to his bed by the fetters of a terrible disease. But he did not dream of surrendering even then. Blind as he was, mentally coining phrase upon phrase and dictating them, he became a writer and thus created a book that earned universal fame. The end of Simonov's poem is a description of Ostrovsky's death. In this as in many other instances Simonov saw one more confirmation of the Soviet contempt for death. The lines are as follows:

"He's borne through the city while banners are flying
Around him in pomp that to warriors is due,
And children come fearless to where he is lying,
With features though rigid yet smiling and true.
It seems he may rise. Will it happen, I wonder?
He'll open his lips, now as heavy as lead,

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And fling to the throng in a voice like the thunder
The last of his war-cries—that wrathful Ahead!
This call as a symbol our happiness bearing,
Through danger to conquests has ever us led,
This war-cry is stern, but 'tis buoyant and daring,
This cry is the truest, 'tis forward! ahead!
(Translated by Olga S. Moiseyenko, Voks, Moscow,
Nos. 5-6, 1942).

Russian Patriotism

The New Review observes:

The Pacific and the Russian fronts record only preparations for a coming offensive. Raids on airfields, bombings of convoys, skirmishes in the jungle are regular items of our daily news from the Pacific; pronouncements by generals and by statesmen in Australia breathe anxiety and confidence alternately, and the Pacific remains a field of secondary interest.

In Russia, land operations are reduced to local adjustments of the front, but air activity appears to be on the increase. As the battle has reached a dull stage, our daily ration of news fare is varied with instances of Russian patriotism and valour. Though Russians have no monopoly in the matter, no praise can be too high for the patriotism they have displayed on the battlefield, in munition factories or in the occupied zones. But propagandists are little objective when they want to pass Russian selflessness as a Soviet virtue.

Communism does not exist in Russia; it is mere bureaucratic capitalism, with differentiation in the economic, social and political conditions of the citizens. The Soviet dictatorial bureaucracy has initiated large-scale industrialization. But it has established no communist type of society; as a matter of history, it had no economic success to boast of until it repudiated cardinal prin-

ciples of communism and 'betrayed the Revolution.' The Russian experiment calls for an impartial and objective study because Stalin's policy is usually given a distorted interpretation and because Russian patriotism is presented under false colours by clumsy reformers; since the Lenin-Stalin experiment was carried out on an unprecedented scale by earnest idealists, its lessons should not be lost sight of in all the plans and dreams about post-war reconstruction.

Cape Town Agreement Sabotaged

The "pegging legislation," as it is called, based on the findings of the Second Broome Commission relative to alleged penetration by Indians in the so-called predominantly European areas of the Old Borough of Durban, leads to the enthronement of the principle of racial segregation in the Province of Natal. *Commerce and Industry* observes:

The Old Borough of the City of Durban, consisting approximately of 8,274 acres, is owned to the extent of 350 acres by 25,000 Indians, (of which 204 acres only are under Indian occupation), the balance being in the possession of some 80,000 Europeans. In the "added areas" there is a vast amount of counter-penetration by Europeans, who thus have succeeded in preventing Indians obtaining suitable accommodation for residential and other purposes for their growing numbers. Between October, 1940, and now some 90 properties were purchased for occupational purposes by Indians in areas contiguous to existing Indian areas in the Old Borough of Durban, and this fact is seized upon by the more irresponsible sections of the White population to bring

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into being the proposed pegging legislation, and thus to extend the segregation principle to an area which has so far been free from that canker in the body-politic of the Union. Trading licences have been the rarity these days to Indians planning out their business, and even residential accommodation is being denied to them, for the Durban Municipality while demolishing and acquiring old Indian residential properties under the special sanitary and health regulations has persistently refused to accept the obligation of housing these dispossessed Indians. An investigation shows that such of the properties which have been acquired are acquired by Indians for investment purposes with European tenants, for in view of the trading restrictions and other economic disabilities, which it has been the legacy of Indians in Durban these seventy-five years to bear, such of the surplus money which is in their hands is now sought to be utilised for investment in the Union itself. The Whites formerly used to charge Indians with sending monies out of the Union to India, but now when Indians want to show their abiding interest in South Africa by investing there the savings of their sweat and blood, the argument is advanced that they are a danger and a menace to the White civilization of the Union.

Folk Culture in Names Hindu : Parsi : Muslim

At a P. E. N. meeting in the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, R. P. Masani lectured on "Folk Culture in Names." We quote from *The Indian P. E. N.* :

Mr. Masani showed how widely the idea of an

intimate connection between name, character and destiny had influenced folk philosophy. It was commonly believed that, just as there were words of power, so there were names of power, each with its mystic property.

According to Islamic tradition, poverty would not enter a house where names like Muhammad and Ali were found. Hindus and Parsis alike entrenched themselves behind the names of gods or ancient heroes, irrespective of occasional incongruities. The belief seemed to have been general in India that the adoption and repetition of names of gods, saints and sages or of sacred places and rivers conduced to spiritual welfare.

There was a wide variety of customs, traditions and beliefs concerning choice, change, exchange and concealment of names, time of naming children, etc. The name survived after death and played an important part in the funeral rites of Hindus and Parsis. The Egyptians had included the name as a constituent of man. A name was sometimes concealed lest knowledge of it confer power over its possessor. A man might be cured or killed, blessed or cursed through his name. Hindu and Muslim wives often avoided mention of their husbands' names.

Plurality of names was common to Hindus and Parsis though neither could excel the patronymic exuberance of Arabian and Welsh names.

The custom of naming children after exalted personages and deceased ancestors was comprehensible as a mark of reverence, but only superstition could explain the choice of opprobrious names believed to ward off evil influences.

Changing one's name with a view to eluding malignant spirits was less common than a bride's adoption of a new name. Among certain American Indians name exchanging symbolised self-forgetting devotion. Friends exchanged names, implying sharing in one another's being. Among others, a man when his first son was born gave up his own name to be called thereafter "Father of So-and-so." The subject, Mr. Masani concluded, afforded a fertile field of interesting inquiry which could throw light on many obscure beliefs and practices.

Anniversary of the University College of Science

Ever since its foundation thirty years ago, the University College of Science has played a vital part in initiating a spirit of scientific research and enquiry and in promoting the cause of higher education in science in India. *Science and Culture* observes :

The picture of great pioneers like Sir P. C. Ray and Sir J. C. Bose, carrying on their original scientific investigations under very discouraging circumstances, was indeed a stimulus. Two Calcutta lawyers, Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehari Ghose, who had risen to great eminence from the middle classes, came forward with offerings of their lives' savings, amounting to 36 lakhs of rupees, for the cause of higher scientific education and research and these endowments enabled the Calcutta University to start the University College of Science.

Since Sir Asutosh passed away, no new large endowments excepting one from Sir P. C. Ray, which was spontaneous, have been secured for the cause of science in the Calcutta University.

Ever since the last World War, there has been a world-wide movement for the State encouragement of scientific research with a view to utilizing science and scientific methods for developing the country's resources, for helping industries and agriculture in particular. In every country, new laboratories have been constructed, and funds have been provided out of the public exchequer for helping research, training research-workers, and for utilisation of the results of research. Readers of *Science and Culture* are acquainted with the activities of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in the United Kingdom, of the National Research Council in the U. S. A., Japan, Canada, and above all in Soviet Russia. On account of this movement, funds on a far more liberal scale have been available for all laboratories of the world during recent years.

To give an idea of the way this movement has affected the activities of the individual laboratories, let us take the example of the Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge, which may be taken as typical.

The Cavendish laboratory was founded in 1877 for imparting higher instruction in physics to the students of Cambridge and for enabling the University professors to carry on research work.

The original donation was only £7,000 for building the laboratories and for equipment. The pay of the professors and the staff was met out of university funds. For over twenty-five years the laboratory received no further donation though the fame of the laboratory was spreading all over the world due to the work of the successive professors, Maxwell, Lord Rayleigh and J. J. Thomson. The latter records in his autobiography that it was only in 1905 that he could add a wing to the laboratory out of a saving of £2,000 from the laboratory grant and a gift of £5,000 which Lord Rayleigh, his predecessor in office, gave out of his Nobel Prize award. When in 1915 England discovered that on account of her neglect of science she was on the verge of a disaster, she set herself earnestly to repair the damage. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research was founded in 1916 and it distributed a State subsidy of 1 million pounds amongst research workers in the different universities. The Cavendish Laboratory then under Lord Rutherford got a substantial part of the grant and was able to finance a large number of research schemes on the fundamental problems in atomic and nuclear physics. But the newer development in the physical sciences soon rendered the equipment absolutely out-of-date. While in the original laboratory a power supply of 10 kw. was sufficient for the whole needs, by 1930, the need grew to be 500 kw., and it is now probably far larger. The Cavendish Laboratory has further developed a number of daughter institutions for investigations on new lines, viz., the Mond Laboratory on Low Temperature research, the Nuclear Physics laboratory and the laboratory for Radio Research with a station outside the city.

The need for expansion was so great that

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(in 1936) Lord Rutherford was thinking of issuing a public appeal for endowments when he received, through the good offices of the then Premier, a cheque for a quarter million pounds from an automobile manufacturer.

The performance of the professors of the scientific subjects can be judged in the international market alone and if one has to keep abreast in research as well as in education one must have the same equipments and same tools as professors in Europe or America have got. Otherwise it is impossible for the scientific men in this country to discharge the duties which are expected of them.

We have taken advantage of the anniversary of the foundation of the College to review the present situation and indicate the necessity for planned measures for the future. We need hardly add that we scarcely consider the present facilities available in the Science College commensurate with the needs of the times. We hope the Calcutta University authorities will be able to give their serious attention to the important question of expansion of the activities of the College and issue an appeal to the public for large donations.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Atlantic Charter

In the article entitled 'Can We Win Peace' in *Unity*, Edward H. Redman remarks:

The Atlantic Charter, until now, has been our chief means of knowing the extent to which the United States and Britain are willing to pledge themselves for building the future. We know, too, that this Atlantic Charter does not go far enough, does not pledge enough, to satisfy the longing for freedom and for a realistic establishment of enduring peace so strongly held by Russia, China, and India. The Atlantic Charter can be read and understood broadly or narrowly, depending upon the intention of the interpreter. It is therefore inadequate as a guaranty of peace and freedom, even though it is a start in the right direction. Whether it can be taken seriously will depend upon the speed with which the people of India are given their freedom from British rule.

A Free India Will Help the New World Order

Taraknath Das observes in the *Jewish Frontier*:

The heart of the British Empire is in India. It is evident that in spite of voluminous protestations by British officials there is every reason to believe that the British Government does not intend to give up its control over India now or after the World War. This will be clear to those who are unbiased and have carefully studied British parliamentary debates on India, since September 9th, 1941, when Mr. Churchill made it clear that the provisions of the Atlantic Charter would not apply to India, Burma and other parts of the British Empire. Furthermore, the British authorities instead of following the policy of establishing a National Government in India, through the Cripps Mission, has agreed in principle to partition India so that the provinces where the majority of the population is Moslem will have the right to secede from a United India and form a federation of Moslem states; and also Indian Princes will have the right to refuse to enter into a federation of Indian States. The British authorities have also suggested that before making any concession to Indian National demands, Indians will have to settle their communal disputes, which cannot be amicably settled as long as the British support the proposition of the partition of India, to use the Pan-Islamists against Indian national aspirations. It is not that the British wish to create a strong Moslem bloc of powers which would be composed of provinces or Beluchistan, Sind, the Punjab, the North-Western Province and Bengal; but they agree to the principle of the partition of India so that there would be no United India, and the Moslem World in India and outside of India would believe that the British are favoring them, and therefore be willing to side with the British.

It is a historical fact that the growth of the British Empire, adjoining India in all directions, was actuated by the necessity of controlling various buffer states to check the march of rival imperialist Powers towards

India. As long as India remains a British possession or colony, Britain will have to control the whole of the Near East and the Middle East and must try to have the Moslem States or some imperialist states as its allies. But the moment India becomes free and independent, her policies towards other peoples will be shaped in terms of Indian interest and Humanity and not by British imperialist nor pan-Islamist interests. It is my firm conviction that Free India will promote the cause of Freedom of all Asian States in the regions of South-Western and South-Eastern Asia, and adopt the same attitude as the United States of America does towards her neighbors. India's cardinal policy will be to be on friendly terms with China, Soviet Russia and U. S. A. and those states which will give up imperialist pretensions.

Today the British Government, in order to win Arab support and the support of a section of the Moslems of India, is ready to sacrifice Jewish interests in Palestine regarding the establishment of a Jewish National Home. A free India will not need to pursue an opportunist policy, opposed to the cause of human freedom.

Indian Freedom Campaign

The India League of Great Britain having been captured by Communist influences, new bodies have come into existence in England to further the cause of Indian freedom. Congressmen in London have formed a Committee of Indian Congressmen to propagate the Congress point of view in England. English sympathizers with India's demand for immediate freedom have launched an Indian Freedom Campaign under the auspices of the British Centre Against Imperialism. Chairman of this Campaign is Fenner Brockway (Independent Labor Party), and its supporters include Dr. Edward Thompson (Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford), the greatest independent English authority on the Indian problem; Lionel Fielden, who played a prominent role in the development of radio broadcasting in India; Reginald Reynolds, author and leading English expert on India, and his wife, Ethel Mannin, the novelist; Professor George Catlin, John McGovern, M.P., and Fred Messer, M.P.

Leaders of the campaign declare: "We are profoundly convinced that the deplorable state of affairs in India constitutes a basic test of the sincerity of the declared war aims of the United Nations. Difficulties will be increased by the present policy of 'masterly inactivity.' The onus for reaching a solution rests on the British Government. The only lines on which a new initiative can achieve success entail an explicit recognition of India's inalienable right to self-determination and a corresponding willingness to transfer the essence of responsibility, not at some future date, but now."

Professor Catlin, who is well-known in Washington, is hoping to link the campaign with similar movements in America, and has already been in communication with Mrs. Roosevelt on the subject.—*Worldover Press*.



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Unitarianism

In an article under the caption 'Our World-wide Fellowship' in *The Christian Register*, we read the following:

Within our ranks are hosts who are woefully lacking in any adequate conception of the range and strength of the faith they hold.

The situation is all the more anomalous when we consider that Unitarianism has proved so international-minded, not in the sense of proselyting missionary activity, but in sympathetic understanding and appreciation of the best in the world's great faiths. It thinks of religion in universal terms, and its adherents should take sustaining pride in a world-fellowship that is the result, not of coercion, but of the natural and spontaneous association of like-minded folk. The heartening truth is that there are fellows of ours in many parts of the globe—many of them small groups, scattered here and there, but also, in some places, gathered together in great churches and associations of churches.

In Great Britain there are just about as many Unitarian churches as we have in the United States and Canada—approximately 350—and the whole movement has a long and magnificent history, the British and Foreign Unitarian Association being established on the same day of the same year as the American Unitarian Association—May 25th, 1825—without either group knowing of the action of the other.

Also under the British flag are three Unitarian churches in New Zealand, four in Australia, one at Cape Town, South Africa, and a very significant Liberal movement in India. The romance of this latter cannot be more than hinted in so brief an article, but it is one of

the inspiring chapters of progressive religion. Its background is Hinduism. In 1828 in Calcutta Rajah Ram Mohun Roy started the Brahmo Samaj—"The Church of God"—which bears the same relationship to its parent religion that Unitarianism does to historic Christianity. It has attracted outstanding men in science and literature, and has had an influence on Indian life out of all proportion to its numbers—a mere 10,000 among 320 millions. Its ministers often prepare at Manchester College, Oxford, and at the Meadville Theological School, both of which provide special scholarships.

Paralleling this movement, although much younger, are the Khasi Hills churches in northeastern India, which were founded by Hajom Kissor Singh, in 1887, as a result of reading Channing and "The Unitarian," published by our minister, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Twelve small native chapels have resulted, besides day and Sunday schools, and a great work is being done among very humble but intelligent folk.

Bahá'í House of Worship Wilmette, Illinois

The completion of the exterior ornamentation of the Bahá'í House of Worship discloses a physical edifice impressive in size, striking in architecture, and superb in its clear white surface carved to the pattern of symbolic design.

In appearance the structure suggests to the western mind an oriental influence. To the easterner it conveys the effect of occidental tradition. The Bahá'í Temple blends and harmonizes, without artificial effort, many of the creative elements which characterize the historical

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Swami Premananda Ashram,
P. O. Jessore, (Bengal), B. & A. Ry.

cultures of mankind. What is familiar acquires new significance by association with what has been remote and strange. The essential spirit of this edifice is too universal to be confined within the form and mold of any race or creed.

Temples are the symbols of the divine uniting force, so that when the people gather there in the House of God they may recall the fact that the law has been revealed for them and that the law is to unite them. . . . That is why His Holiness Baha'u'llah has commanded that a place of worship be built for all the religionists of the world; that all religions, races and sects may come together within its universal shelter; that the proclamation of the oneness of mankind shall go forth from its open courts of holiness; the announcement that humanity is the servant of God and that all are submerged in the ocean of His mercy.—*World Order*.

THE AMERICAN NEWSFILE

The following items of information are reproduced from *The American Newsfile* published by the U. S. Office of War Information:

Shipping to India will be Greatly Increased as Result of Tunisia Victory

As Prime Minister Churchill confers with President Roosevelt in Washington, they have one vitally important change in the strategical situation of the United Nations which must be foremost in their thoughts—the effect on all our grand strategy of the reopening of the Mediterranean. The collapse of Axis resistance in

Tunisia makes it possible for fighter escorts and coastal patrols to protect convoys throughout the whole length of the Mediterranean; this does not mean that they can get through without danger or without fighting, and certainly it does not mean that they can get through as securely as they could if Sicily, Sardinia and Crete were in our hands. But they can get through, which means that for the same tonnage now employed on the long pull around the Cape of Good Hope we can double the rate of cargo deliveries to the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and India.

This may go far to explain the reason for the presence in Mr. Churchill's company of Field-Marshal Sir Archibald P. Wavell, British Commander-in-Chief in India, and the air and naval commanders in that area.

The strategic problems of the Far East are, as a whole, primarily naval and shipping problems. They form a part of the global problems with which we must deal in endeavouring to make the power generated in North America and the British Isles effective in such parts of the world as India, the Southwest Pacific, North Africa and the Middle East. The shipping factor being constant, there is always the primary question of its allocation. The reopening of the Mediterranean is, in effect, a gift of many thousands of tons of shipping; that is to say, many thousands of tons of additional cargo will be arriving month by month to every port from Alexandria to Bombay. This means that in all the areas served by all of these ports, from now on we can make much greater efforts and accomplish much greater results.

In Africa a subsidiary theatre of war has been eliminated, with all its drain on our resources; our lines of communications are shortened; more and more, as these processes continue, we are able to concentrate our forces against the vital centres of our chief enemies. We are about to make the Germans realise the difficulties and dangers of war on two fronts; the same achievements which make this possible likewise make it possible for us to present Japan with these same difficulties and dangers. It is doubtful whether Japanese strategists have ever given any great thought to Tunisia, but what has just happened in Tunisia may be felt in its results in Tokyo. This is truly a global war.—New York, May 14 (By Cable).

Indian Mathematician Makes Contribution to Astronomy

Doctor Chandrasekhar, 30-year-old mathematician from India, has contributed further to the knowledge of astronomy by demonstrating that the average life of the composition of a cluster of stars is between 3,000,000 and 5,000,000 years, it was revealed today. Doctor Chandrasekhar has been working for the past five years in the Yerkes Observatory of the University of Chicago.

By mathematical computation, Doctor Chandrasekhar reached the same conclusion regarding the life of the earth as geologists, who have established that our planet has been existing for at least 2,000,000 years.

Dr. Chandrasekhar explained to a packed lecture hall audience at the University of Puebla today that he had taken the Pleiades as the subject for his observations. He said: "My conclusion is, first, that friction is the predominant factor for the stability of the cluster and, second, that we have indications that the life of the galaxy does not very greatly exceed 5,000,000 years. This last conclusion is in agreement with the age of the universe which derives from the expanding universe theory of Einstein's general theory of relativity."

—Puebla, Mexico, May 6 (By Cable).

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NOTES

Wavell Declines to Discuss Policy

In reply to some very pertinent questions put by the London Correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard*, Viscount Wavell, the Viceroy-designate of India, frankly stated, "I cannot discuss policy." The following questions were put to him :

(1) Does the Atlantic Charter apply to India? There is a confusion in the minds of many Indians concerning this question.

(2) What are the possibilities of an Asiatic Charter to win over Asiatic peoples?

(3) The majority of our soldiers come from villages and how can they achieve the four freedoms : (a) freedom from disease and suffering; (b) freedom from tyranny of petty officials and (c) freedom from ignorance, (d) freedom from debt, hunger and insecurity of crops and food?

(4) What are the prospects of post-war reconstruction in India? Can we have a five-year plan? Will India be able to manufacture cars, lorries, radio sets, aircraft and engines?

(5) When can aircraft factories and ship-building yards be developed to fullest extent?

(6) How do you hope to make Indian art better known throughout the world?

(7) What are your views concerning the personalities of Mahatma Gandhi, Pundit Nehru, Maulana Azad and Mr. Jinnah?

(8) What are the chances of political progress before the end of the war?

(9) Is there any possibility of complete Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council and release of Congress leaders?

(10) How can the present deadlock be ended?

(11) There is still acute food shortage in some parts of the country. What can be done to bring food to the starving people?

Field-Marshal Wavell glanced at these questions put on a paper and promised to read them carefully.

The Soldier-Viceroy has lost little time to realise that the real right to make statements on Indian policy lies with the Cabinet. A Viceroy can no doubt outline a policy, but it does not lie with him to implement it. The latest example is Lord Linlithgow. On his arrival in India, he promised a paradise but the gift that he made to the helpless people of this unfortunate land, may, not unreasonably be compared to a hell. Matters have, of late, been more complicated by the stimulus that has come to dictate Britain's actions, viz., her egoism and self-interest. Britain is now ready to sacrifice everything to satisfy her egoism with a blind disregard for ethics unparalleled in history. The barren India policy of Great Britain brooks no other interpretation. It remains to be seen how London egoism runs smoothly and without friction on the planes of India when a military man has been installed in charge of the Indian Administration.

Bevan Dissects British Cabinet

Mr. Aneurin Bevan, Editor of the *Tribune* of London, published a biting but unsigned "Guide to the Government" in which a short paragraph was devoted to each of its 40 members. The following are some of the examples :

CLEMENT R. ATTLEE, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister.—"One of the most interesting examples in modern times of the political value of negative qualities."

ROBERT ANTHONY EDEN, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—"Attractive in the narrow, conven-

A BENGAL VILLAGE
By Paritosh Sen

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

tional sense. Always a possibility as a stop-gap Prime Minister."

SIR JOHN ANDERSON, Lord President of the Council.—"Said to be an excellent administrator and first-class committee-man. These must be true, because there is no other explanation that he is able to survive his own speeches."

OLIVER LYTTTELTON, Minister of Production.—"Came into politics with a reputation for efficiency which he has done his best to live down."

ALBERT VICTOR ALEXANDER, First Lord of the Admiralty.—"Bluff, hearty, reasonably able, and never likely to be dangerous to his political enemies."

LEOPOLD CHARLES MAURICE STENNETT AMERY, Secretary of State for India.—"Able, fearless and reactionary. He is short, husky-voiced, prosy, and has a most irritating habit of insisting that the commonplace should receive the same attention as the important. One of the voices of big business in the Government."

Of these, Attlee, Anderson and Amery are well-known in India. The criticisms in these cases will not in this country be ascribed to "indigestion, political frustration or just downright conceit" as the political opponents of Left Labourite Bevan in his own land might seem to think.

Will the British Commonwealth Endure?

The Sydney Morning Herald of Australia writes:

We are confident that the Empire will survive its most terrible ordeal. Survival, however, is not enough: we want to be sure that the British Commonwealth will endure as well. *It can endure as a civilising and peace preserving entity only if the nations which it comprises take thought betimes concerning its structure and its missions in the post-war world.* (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.).

That is just the thing India desired. The Indian National Congress wanted to know the war aims so that, with a clean conscience, that great organisation might call upon the people to associate wholeheartedly with the prosecution of war efforts. The reply came only in the form of a deadlock in the prison cell.

Famine in China

The News Review of London, in its issue of May 20, 1943, publishes the following news:

China is suffering perhaps the worst famine in its recorded history. It is raging in the Honan Province, bordering China's North-Eastern front line. The blighted area is approximately 20,000 square miles, with the worst affected districts along the Yellow River in the vicinity of Cheng Chow, only 12 miles from the Japanese lines.

According to Provincial Governor Li Pei-Chi, millions are absolutely indigent and will die before the next harvest, unless adequate aid arrives. The people in this area are already weakened by seven months of starvation, during which time they have been eating the bark of trees, millet husks, straw, cotton seeds and slimy weeds.

Together with the news, three heartrending pictures have been published with the comment: "These pictures show the terrible results of long starvation. They could be multiplied many times over."

No report of attempts made in England to alleviate this great national calamity of her Chinese ally who is bearing the main brunt of the war in the East, however, appears in the Review. Perhaps it was not worth recording! The International Food Conference recently concluded at the Hot Springs of America has confirmed the views of the Eastern peoples that the torch bearers of Christian civilisation are more eager to alleviate post-war suffering in Europe than to feed starving people who are fighting their war. India is interested to know what contributions the Christian world has made for the alleviation of the suffering of the famine-stricken Chinese people of Honan who have fought the Japs under the leadership of their Christian Generalissimo.

The Viceroy Can Veto Anything

The New Review, in its issue of May, 13, 1943 writes:

Few weeks ago India's Federal High Court noticed, to the Viceroy's dismay, that Rule 26 of the Defence of India Regulations was invalid. This meant that 9,000 Nationalists, including old Mahatma Gandhi, were illegally held in gaol. Legal functionaries began a frantic attempt to put the matter straight.

About this time, too, Muslim League leader Mohammed Ali Jinnah took up again his old chant for a separate Muslim State. Next, cultured diplomat William B. Phillips, President Roosevelt's personal envoy in India, was refused admittance to the Mahatma's prison-cell before leaving for the U. S. A.

In the turbulence caused by these events three new members were quietly appointed last week to the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Last week's changes left the Viceroy's Council with 14 members, 10 of them Indian. Of the Indians four are Muslims, giving that community equality with Hindus in that sphere at least. But Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League certainly did not stir themselves to rejoicing on that account. They remained united with the National Congress on one point—complete contempt for the whole Viceregal set-up.

Until 1909 the Viceroys kept their Council entirely British, saw no reason why it should be otherwise. But in that year the first Indian member crashed its gates, in the person of the late Lord Sinha. Suitably, he took the relatively non-controversial post of Law Member. In 1919, came a second Indian, and in 1920 a third.

In July, 1941, the Council was expanded, and five Indians added, making an Indian majority. Last August, the number was pushed up to 15, of whom 11 were Indians, and for the first time the Sikhs and the Depressed Classes were represented.

For the Imperial Government, whatever its other shortcomings, this is a fair record, but India's Nationalists are hard to please. Their point: the Viceroy can veto anything his Council decides if he chooses.

Not only that the Viceroy possesses an absolute power of veto, but he takes precautions in making such safe selections to his Council that the need for exercising his veto power may not arise.

Hindustan Times Contempt Case

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council consisting of Lord Atkin, Lord Thankerton, Lord Porter, Sir George Rankin and Sir Madhavan Nair has allowed the appeal in the case of the Hindustan Times in which the Managing Editor Mr. Devidas Gandhi, the Printer and Publisher of the paper and its Meerut Correspondent were convicted of contempt of court by the High Court of Allahabad. In giving reasons for granting the appeal, Lord Atkin said that in allowing it the Judicial Committee set aside the conviction and ordered costs and fines to be repaid. He said:

The statements made in the Hindustan Times did not amount to contempt of court. The news report stated that the Chief Justice had asked judicial officers in the province to assist in raising funds for the war effort and the editorial comment upon that was to the effect that if the statement was true, such a course of conduct would reflect upon the prestige of the High Court. With Mr. Devadas Gandhi were associated as defendants in the proceedings for contempt, the printer of the paper and the local correspondent at Meerut.

Lord Atkin said that cases of contempt which consisted of "scandalising the Court itself" were fortunately rare and required to be treated with much discretion. *There was here no criticism of any judicial act of the Chief Justice or any imputation in respect of the administration of justice.* The Chief Justice was alleged untruthfully as was now admitted, to have committed an ill-advised act in writing to subordinate judges asking them to collect for the War Fund. If the facts were as alleged, they admitted of criticism. "No doubt it is galling," said Lord Atkin, "for any judicial personage to be criticised publicly as having done something outside his judicial proceedings which was ill-advised or indiscreet. But judicial personages can afford not to be too sensitive."

A simple denial in public of the alleged request would at once have allayed trouble. *If a judge is defamed in such a way as not to affect the administration of justice, he has ordinary remedies for defamation if he should feel impelled to use them.* Their Lordships cannot accept the view taken by Court of the meaning of the comment: the words do not support the innuendo. In the opinion of their Lordships, the proceedings in contempt were misconceived and the appellants were not guilty of the contempt alleged.

Commenting on the Privy Council judgment the Indian Social Reformer observed that the general belief hitherto was that no appeal lay from committals for contempt of court. None has so far been made or entertained. The Privy Council has now dispelled that belief. The credit of moving the Privy Council—an expensive procedure beyond the means of many

Indian journals—belongs to the Hindustan Times of Delhi. The case was an extraordinary one. The "Contempt" now declared to be no "Contempt," did not refer to any judicial proceeding but to an extra-judicial action alleged to have been taken by the Chief Justice.

Exaggerated notions of self-importance are one of the principal reasons for corrupting the steel frame, it will be a pity if the same notion eats into the vitals of the Judiciary as well. Fortunately such cases of contempt are few and far between.

Education in India

A Reuter message states that education in India was discussed at question time in the Commons when Mr. Sorensen (Labour) suggested providing education facilities for all Indian children within ten years of the cessation of hostilities. He also wanted drastic reduction in adult illiteracy. Mr. Amery said that the desire for educational progress in India was fully shared by the Indian Government and the legislatures in whom the responsibility in this field was invested. When Mr. Sorensen agreed that this was no doubt true and asked for some evidence of a constructive plan to deal with this urgent question in the next few years Mr. Amery replied, "I believe all the Governments concerned are actively interested in promoting education as far as circumstances permit."

After nearly two centuries of British trusteeship, barely ten per cent of Indian children have succeeded to scribble. Even this achievement, if it might be called so, had been attained not under Government leadership but mostly through public effort unsupported by the Government. By associating Indians with the Central and Provincial Governments and by transferring the Education portfolio to Indian hands without, at the same time, transferring power, the British Government has reaped an advantage of shifting the responsibility of calculated inaction to Indian shoulders. Had there been a will to widen the avenue of education, there were thousand and one ways for its accomplishment.

India Cannot be Held for Ever

Sir Richard Auckland, M.P., Leader of the Commonwealth Party, outlined his idea about the Indian deadlock and India's claim for independence, to the London Correspondent of the Hindustan Standard, in the following words:

The situation in India has deteriorated more than people in this country realise. Mediation by the United

Nations seemed to be the best way to break the deadlock: Today that hope is gone.

The present policy of accepting the deadlock must inevitably be disastrous. It is a confession of bankruptcy of Tory statesmanship. The present deadlock can only be broken if a National Government representative of the Indian people is established and empowered to treat with the British Government on equal terms. The first steps must be to release political prisoners.

In the course of a manifesto issued by the Party earlier, it was stated:

If, as British Government insists, there is no practical difference between Dominion Status and national independence, we are allowing sentiment to conquer sense in refusing to allow independence to Indians. To withhold it until all differences of minorities have been resolved, is equivalent to direct refusal.

The Commonwealth Party believes, firstly, that all political prisoners are to be released and elected Legislative Assemblies in the Provinces should be re-established. Secondly, power should be transferred to Government either composed of 11 elected provincial Prime Ministers or formed by Indian leaders, such as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Thirdly, Britain should make treaty with this Government making necessary arrangements for control of armed forces in India.

People in England with a genuine sympathy for human rights and liberties have begun to realise that the British Government's policy to withhold Indian Independence until all differences of the minorities created by them have been resolved, is a mere plea and is equivalent to a direct refusal.

The question of parting power to India is nothing new. Exactly a century ago, in 1844, fourteen years before the responsibility of governing India was formally taken over by the British Parliament, an article was published in the *Calcutta Review* entitled "Military Defence of our Indian Empire" in which Sir H. M. Lawrence, Chief Commissioner in Oudh and Provisional Governor-General of India, said,

"We cannot expect to hold India for ever. Let us so conduct ourselves in our civil and military relations as when the connection ceases, it may do so, not with convulsions, but with mutual esteem and affection; and that England may then have in India a noble ally."

The essay with this comment was published together with his other writings in the year following the suppression of the Indian Mutiny.

China's Call to India and the World

On the occasion of China's six years of resistance against the aggressor, Dr. Amiya Chakravarty writes:

The resurgence of Chinese humanity is a challenge to India's heroic self-will, and we offer our tribute to a great neighbour because in fighting Fascism she has not turned Fascist but remained Chinese and human. Our peoples have realised through experience and example that India can best serve herself and others by remain-

ing herself. A broad, sustaining knowledge of India's inseparateness and continuity, along with regional knowledge and acts of such local service as we might be called upon to perform, will make it possible for us to answer China's challenge. The wave of patriotism which now fills our hearts, from the southern tip to India's snowy ridges, will be turned to great events and the most glorious acts of national self-expression, if we can keep our basic ideals pure, whatever catastrophes might impend.

Our Chinese neighbours have proved their inherent humanity which should form the basis of internationalism that is to come after this disastrous world war. This is China's call to India and the world. India has responded, let the world reciprocate and pave the way for the lasting peace.

Hindu Women's Rights

The *Indian Social Reformer* has made the following significant comment on the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill which has met with some opposition in the Indian Legislature:

The opposition to the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill now before a Joint Select Committee of the Indian Legislature, seems to be chiefly influenced by what we can only characterise as factious sentiments. The opposition is confined to one or two places. Some of the promoters seem to be inspired by jealousy of anything useful being done in the Legislature when the Congress members abstain from attending. The fault here is not with the supporters of the Bill but with the abstainers. Others like Bhai Paramanand profess to see terrible consequences to Hindu society as a result of passing the measure. As a matter of fact, the Bill mainly follows the practice in an increasing number of cases in which property is disposed of by wills. The points in which Hindu law as administered in Bombay is in advance of the proposals of the Bill are few. They can be incorporated in the Bill. The great benefit of the Bill, is that it provides a uniform code for all India. We trust that the Viceroy and the Law Member will not be intimidated by the representations addressed to them. Orthodox opposition is intelligible but there is not much of it. *The opposition of people who profess advanced views in politics and even in social matters, can only be treated as proceeding from interested motives or from mere factiousness.* (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.)

In a public meeting held in Calcutta on July 10, to voice support for the Bill, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"This public meeting of women in Calcutta strongly supports the principles of the Rau Committee's Bill relating to Hindu Intestate Succession, which is now before the Select Committee of the Central Legislature with regard to the establishment of one Hindu law all over India, the removal of sex disqualification and the abolition of the Hindu Women's limited estate, and recommends that at least two more women should be taken as members of the Assembly to represent the Hindu women's viewpoint and demands that the Bill be referred back to the Assembly for immediate passing into law and not shelved pending the codification of the entire Hindu law."

Sj. Atul Chandra Gupta, a lawyer of repute, after explaining the difference aspects of the Bill

pointed out that the Bill contemplated to bring into force one and the same law of inheritance throughout India. The consequences of the Bill had a far-reaching effect on the whole Hindu community, in that every one who professed to be a Hindu in India would be guided by the same principles of inheritance. He added that Hindu rights and privileges relating to the law of succession had undergone radical changes as and when necessitated by time-spirit. The speaker emphasised that to all intents and purposes *the law of succession had nothing to do with religion as such. He failed to understand why one's religion would receive a setback if a daughter was to inherit as in the case of the mother and the brother.* (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.)

Every individual professing progressive views will agree with the very reasonable opinion expressed by the speaker and, in and outside the Legislature, will give his wholehearted support to the Bill.

British Conception of Liberty

An Argentine journal, *La Prensa*, as reported in the *News Review* of London dated 15th April, writes:

Good government, or decent and clean government, as the English call it, is the result of considerable and careful preparation. It is the fruit of culture and what is learnt through the valuable experience of trial and error. Such a state of political civilisation is not attained lightly with improvisations on the surface and with men who take high office without showing of what they are capable or incapable. The idea of decent government goes hand in hand with liberty. This and no other is a government of fair play, clean play, loyal, dignified, which honours those who lose equally with those who win.

When a country has the good fortune to be governed by such a government it will never fear in peace or war that the legislative chambers and freedom of the Press will disappear. The British know that liberty can mean everything.

During the present world conflagration, however, Britain has given the Eastern people to understand that they have two distinctly separate conceptions of liberty—one for the white people and the other for the coloured.

The comment of *St. Galler Tagblatt*, a Switzerland journal, shows that this tiny cultured republic of Europe has also realised the inner meaning of Britain's professions of democratic liberty *vis-a-vis* coloured people. It writes:

Not force but a free union has held the British Commonwealth together in this war. England's armed power would scarcely have sufficed to enforce the "allegiance" of her Dominions—it would scarcely have managed to protect them against foreign enemies. But

the development of the British Empire to a federative democracy has upto now stopped short at the "Colour bar." (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.)

Conditions of the Indian Press

After relinquishing his duties as the Law Member for the Government of India, Sir Sultan Ahmed, the New Member for Information and Broadcasting, attended the meeting of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference held in Bombay on July 15. The meeting was presided over by Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor of the *Hindu*. Sir Sultan Ahmed, a new entrant in the field, opened his speech, with a general discourse on the subject of propaganda in the presence of veteran journalists assembled from all over India, and then said:

Your great concern is to preserve the freedom of the press. I believe you have it now; at least my own observation of what is written in the newspapers does not make me believe that whatever temporary handicaps the hard necessity of war may have imposed on your liberty, weigh very heavily on you. I am one with you in wishing to see this country maintain a free press: even in war time. But if I am to help you, you must help me. Liberty for the press, like liberty for anyone else, carries its duties as well as its privileges. I undertake to be a watchful advocate of your privileges. Do you be equally watchful in discharging your duties? If this is understood, you and I will get on famously.

If I have reminded you of the duties of the press, believe me I have done so in the friendliest spirit and it is mainly because I dread any slackening in the will to win. There are hard times ahead of us before our country is finally freed from the threat of attack, before China is liberated, before the Japanese are driven back to their own island. In this task the soldiers of India will play a prominent part. We civilians can play our part also by strengthening the determination of the country, so that the spirit of the soldiers may remain indomitable and the courage of the people at home undiminished. Here is a great task awaiting you, when you could influence public opinion in a moment of grave crisis. Confidence and steadfastness are with difficulty sustained on an empty stomach, and there are many people in India today who cannot get enough of the necessities of life and have to pay a wicked price for what little they can get. I can assure you that my colleagues in the Government of India fully realise the seriousness of the situation. We have not yet succeeded in solving the problem of mal-distribution here, of real shortage there, of inflated prices everywhere. Mistakes have been made, as you, gentlemen, have not been slow to point out. It is your duty to criticise, but have you no other duty? I think you have. The most perfect arrangements by the most perfect of Governments will not succeed in bringing sufficient food to everyone at a fair price as long as hoarding, profiteering, and black markets are rampant. These practices are anti-social; they amount to war by a section of the community on the community as a whole. In other countries they have been killed by public opinion, by co-operation of the citizens and the press with the Government. Here is your chance, as I have said, to show your patriotism and to demonstrate the influence of the press.—A. P.

The Press in India will not be inclined to be guided by the policy, enumerated by Sir Sultan, which he calls duties of the Press. Sir Sultan had admitted that Government's mistakes have promptly been pointed out by the Press, but he had nothing to say about the suggestions and criticisms offered by the Press being accepted by the Government. It would have been graceful for him if he had refrained from coming to the meeting to ask the Indian Press to support the constant bunglings of the Central and Provincial Governments in their food price control and transport policies which seriously affected the everyday life of the Indian people.

Mr. Srinivasan, however, gave a fitting reply to the Government spokesman. He said :

"On behalf of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, let me extend a cordial welcome to you to this meeting of the Standing Committee of editors and express our appreciation of your desire to speak to us on the work connected with the Department of Information and Broadcasting. This department, much to the regret of everybody, has been functioning ever since the lamented death of Sir Akbar Hydari, without a head; of course leaving out of account the few days Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was in charge.

"I am recalling this fact just to remind ourselves that this portfolio which is always looked upon as of vital importance in all well-ordered countries in times of war, came into being quite a long time after the war had begun, and further had the misfortune to be left to drift without the steering gear. The supervision and the working of the department, as we all know, came to be placed under the all-pervading Home Department, the natural legatee of all residuary responsibility—with what result we are all familiar. The functions of the Department of Information and Broadcasting were rapidly converted into a propaganda machine for launching a campaign of misrepresentation and vilification of India's leaders in Allied countries and stringent censorship was imposed on all news of a political nature.

"The latest Act in the series is the blanket censorship imposed on the writings of Mr. Louis Fischer. May I ask Sir Sultan Ahmed what assurance he will give us so that we may pursue our work as editors undisturbed by such irritating orders and instructions. We hope Sir Sultan will not tell us that is somebody else's responsibility and he should not be expected to stand surety for another department. Different spheres of responsibilities were created for efficiency; but it appears as though they are now intended to be put forward as excuses for a policy of do-nothing! A blatant instance, of recent occurrence, is the manner in which the Department of Information and Broadcasting dealt with the question of celebrating the Tunisian victory. Editors of newspapers were asked to issue a special supplement featuring the success of the Allies in Tunisia and when we inquired of the Chief Press Adviser whether he would get the necessary permission from the Allied Department of Civil Supplies for the issue of necessary permits to use newsprint for that purpose, the request was turned down; but, what is more, we were asked to take a day off by declaring a holiday and thus utilise that day's paper supply for the supplement. You cannot expect co-operation from us on these terms.

Sir Sultan has given us today a picture, a faint one though it be, of what his plans are. I must be frank enough to say that the Publicity Advisory Board which is to be set up shortly does not appear to be attractive to us and I would request Sir Sultan to leave editors out of it altogether. The Standing Committee of the editors meets at least four times a year and I shall invite Sir Sultan to attend its sittings and exchange views with us whenever he considers it necessary. As he knows, it is a responsible and representative body and I am sure he will find it of greater advantage to contact editors here rather than in the mixed gathering of all talents which is to meet once in six months.

You have made a passing reference to what you have described as an independent Cinema Industry and a Free Press in India. You have claimed that the Indian press is as free from restrictions as the press of any country can be in times of war. I am sure you do not expect us here to endorse that view.

This picture of the existence of a free press in India has been a long standing plank in the propaganda campaign of the officials in India and reached its climax when a party of Turkish journalists, after a conducted tour in India, have begun to write a series of articles telling the world what a paradise we live in. It is necessary to remind these friends that the model we have set before us is not the Turkish press but the British and American press who know of no restrictions except those imposed for security reasons.

Sir Sultan has put in a strong plea for the dissemination of truth as the supreme aim for which the Allies are fighting the war and condemned with unmistakable emphasis the practice of pursuing contradictory lines for different audiences. I would suggest to him to study the records of his own department particularly during the last twelve months and see for himself the protests which have been made by special correspondents in Delhi and the Editors' Standing Committee against the increasing rigours of censorship of both in-coming and out-going messages. With Sir Sultan's dictum that propaganda should never have recourse to distortions of the truth, we in the Standing Committee have no hesitation in associating ourselves.

In conclusion, let me say this : It has been recognised in all quarters that the press in India has shown remarkable restraint during these difficult years of war and internal strife. So long as the department of which Sir Sultan has recently assumed charge will strive to put into practice the high principles to which he has given expression, he may be sure of our unstinted and helpful co-operation and support, and thereby fulfil our responsibilities to the public.

A few days after Sir Sultan expressed his eagerness to ensure co-operation with a "free press" in India, the keeper of the *Hindustan Times* press was asked to deposit a fresh deposit of Rs. 2500, in addition to the security of Rs. 2000 already demanded from him as the publisher of the Hindi daily *Hindustan*. The security deposit of Rs. 500 had been forfeited for publishing an article entitled "Britain and British Empire" in the *Hindustan*. This is the Government of India's "free press" and only a Turkish delegation could be secured to bless this "free press" in India brought into being under the guidance and fostering care of the Linlithgow Government.

It is further to be noted that this Turkish delegation was composed of French-speaking Journalists only who must have been specially selected for their inability either to read or to speak in English or any Indian language.

People Wanted Food, But They Get Committees

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Bengal's Food Minister, in course of a statement in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, pleaded for his "great food drive" and said, "Frankly, I am greatly satisfied with the result." But what was that result? He went out into the villages in search of food, and returned only with an announcement of having set up one lakh food committees.

In that statement, Mr. Suhrawardy revealed that the Government had established a purchasing organisation to buy food grains from the Eastern Zone. He also dwelt on dealing with Calcutta's problem through the 400 Government shops already announced in his Rotary Club speech and said, "Until the question of free trade is settled it is not possible for me to give a promise for wholesale rationing of Calcutta unless I see supplies ahead of me." But this plan has also fizzled out. Within a few days of this announcement, free trade in the Eastern Zone has been closed. Mr. Suhrawardy should now tell the public what alternative arrangements of supply he has made.

The Food Minister explained, "We had to deal with two major factors : one, panic brought about by insistence on shortages, and the other greed brought about by speculative rise in prices. Both of them led to maldistribution and hoarding. These two complexes had first to be counteracted if we were to secure movement of food grains and make rice accessible to the people." Mr. Suhrawardy has failed to implement his "no shortage" slogan by supplies and for this defect this slogan however well-intentioned lost all its force and significance. He also failed to look the hoarder and the speculator squarely in the face. Irredeemable weakness had been betrayed by leaving out Calcutta and Howrah from his original "food drive." No subsequent action would compensate it.

Mr. Suhrawardy has expressed his sincere desire of bringing rice within easy reach of the people. Bengal, in the middle of a famine, wants him to act. Let him take courage in both hands and fix the maximum price of rice and paddy at least for the coming season without losing a single day. Let him approach the Government of India and the military authorities

to conform to that fixed price. Let him complete arrangements for compelling adherence to it. The effect will be salutary on hoarders and speculators. The famished people will find a ray of hope to lead them through the terrible five months that lie ahead. Mr. Suhrawardy must act with courage and conviction.

Bengal Government Without a Budget

A point of order of constitutional and legal importance was raised by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee on behalf of the Opposition in the Bengal Legislative Assembly in respect of the procedure adopted by the Government to place before the Legislature the portion of the Budget for 1943-44 which was not disposed of during the last session.

Before the consideration of the demands for grants was taken up, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, rising on a point of order, maintained that the demands for grants, as proposed to be presented before the House by Government, were not in order inasmuch as they were not in accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act and the Bengal Assembly Procedure Rules.

Dr. Mookerjee further pointed out that there had been a serious encroachment upon the constitutional rights of the Assembly inasmuch as the Governor suspended the legislature and took away its valued rights under Section 93, although the legal and constitutional position was that the ultimate sanction of the legislature was essential if the constitution was to function again.

The Premier, Sir Nazimuddin, could not advance any convincing argument in support of the procedure adopted by his Government. The Advocate-General, who had given his opinion that the procedure was legal, did not face the Legislature although he was a member of the House.

The Speaker, Syed Nausher Ali, gave his ruling on the day following. He upheld the Opposition point of order and declared that the demands for grants, as proposed to be moved by the Government, were out of order. The text of the ruling is given below :

The question for my decision is whether or not the motions for demands for grants as proposed to be made by the Government are in order. They have been attacked as out of order on the following grounds :

(i) That the budget is one unitary document and cannot be dealt with piecemeal as proposed by the Government.

(ii) That on the prorogation of the Assembly all previous proceedings relating to the budget lapsed automatically.

(iii) That the Governor's proclamation under Section 93 together with his authorisation of expenditure under para 3 of the said proclamation have the effect of wiping out all previous proceedings of the Assembly relating to the budget held in February-April session.

(iv) That the motions themselves being for indefinite sums contravene the provisions of the law.

It appears to me that the law contemplates the annual financial statement to be one single complete document to be prepared by the Government, laid before the Assembly, discussed and voted upon by it and authenticated by the Governor. I further think that the law also contemplates that the whole procedure should be completed in one session of the Assembly within the time limit to be fixed by the Governor in accordance with the rules framed by him under the proviso to Section 84 of the Government of India Act 1935. It is clear to me that the law is defective inasmuch as it has not provided for contingencies which could have been foreseen in view of the provision of Section 93 of the Government of India Act. It may be that the framers of the Act contemplated that even in cases where the Governor would assume responsibility for the administration in case of a breakdown of the constitution, the expenditure incurred by him would have to be placed before the Assembly.

This view however takes no notice of the fact that there may be cases where the operation of Section 93 would last for a very long time covering a period of one financial year or over. It appears to have been accepted in other provinces in India that the authorisation by the Governor for expenditure for the period during which Section 93 would be in operation is not subject to discussion or vote by the Assembly.

It may be noted in this connection, as admitted by the Honble Finance Minister, Mr. Tulsī Chandra Goswami, that it is the inherent right of this House to vote supplies. And the absence of any provision in the Act making the expenditure incurred by the Governor during the Section 93 administration even charged on the Revenue is very significant. It is also noteworthy that even charged expenditure is subject to discussion, though not to vote, of this House.

Thus where Section 93 has been in operation from before the beginning of a financial year and for a part of the financial year the procedure followed in Orissa and Assam has been that only that part of the budget which was covered by the period after the revocation of the proclamation under Section 93 was discussed and voted upon by the House.

The rules regarding the time for presentation of the budget, etc., could not for obvious reasons be complied with. Section 78 of the Act does not prescribe any time when the annual financial statement is to be presented, though rule 12 of the Governor's Rules does. It is only reasonable to hold that in extraordinary circumstances not covered by the law it should be permissible to place the annual financial statement even after the year has commenced or proceeded further.

I do not think there can be any serious objection to such a procedure. But the main question that arises for consideration by me on the present point of order is not about the time when the budget should be presented but the propriety or legality of dealing with the budget piecemeal in more than one session. There is no precedent for a case like this. It is contended by the Opposition that such a procedure is not permissible under the law. It is further contended that on the prorogation of the House all pending business of the session lapses except those which are specifically provided for.

It is said in the present case that on the prorogation of the Assembly by His Excellency the Governor on the 24th of April, 1943, all proceedings in that session relating to the budget lapsed so that a fresh budget for the whole year should have been presented and all formalities complied with afresh.

There is a good deal of force in this argument. Section 73 of the Government of India Act makes express provision for saving of Bills pending at the time of prorogation. There is no such provision with regard to matters relating to the budget. It has been stated that Rule 19 of the Bengal Legislative Assembly Procedure Rules speaks of all pending notices and that in this case Government have given notice of demands which according to them lapsed.

In other words, Government's contention is that the budget having been presented and discussed as provided for by the Act or the rules it has remained there unaffected in any way by the prorogation, completed partly and unfinished partly and all that was necessary for the Government to do was to put in fresh notice for the demands which were not voted upon for the consideration of the House and nothing more was needed. Whereas it has been contended by the Opposition that all proceedings relating to the budget in the previous session were dead and gone immediately on the prorogation of the session.

THE SAVING CLAUSES

The presence of saving clauses in the Government of India Act relating to Bills and the absence of similar provisions relating to the budget in the Act or in the rules coupled with the provision in the proviso (b) to Section 84(1) of the Government of India Act and the rules framed thereunder indicate, to my mind, that far from contemplating that the budget could be dealt with piecemeal in different sessions the law contemplates that the whole thing should be done in one session within the time limit prescribed by the rules.

That is why there appears to be provision for what is called 'guillotining.' I doubt very much if the budget can be considered piecemeal in more than one session. The provisions of Section 78 to Section 84 of the Government of India Act and Rules 12 to 15 of the Governor's Rules framed under the proviso to Sub-section (1) of Section 84 of the Government of India Act seems to indicate this. But it is not necessary for me to give any definite opinion about it in view of my opinion relating to the other grounds.

Assuming for the sake of argument that such a piecemeal treatment of the budget is permissible under the law there appears, in my opinion, another difficulty in the way of the Government. On the 31st of March, 1943, the Governor issued the proclamation under Section 93 of the Government of India Act suspending the constitution. In exercise of the powers taken under para 3 of the said proclamation the Governor on the same date authorised a budget which is exactly the same as the budget which was originally presented including that part which was actually voted upon and passed by the legislature.

It is clear, therefore, that even before the prorogation of the Assembly by the Governor the budget demands already assented to by the Assembly had been treated by him as not completed to be acted upon and in my opinion this was rightly done.

The Government's contention now is that on the revocation of the proclamation on the 24th of April, 1943, the Assembly was restored, in spite of the said authorisation for expenditure and the subsequent prorogation by the Governor, to the position in which it stood on the 29th of March, 1943.

They, at the same time, maintain that the Assembly must not consider the expenditure incurred by the Governor between the 1st of April, 1943, and the 24th April, 1943 even in respect of the demands for grant which were still pending for consideration of the Assembly on the 29th of March, 1943.

This, to my mind, appears to be an untenable position. You cannot blow hot and cold at the same time. In one breath you say that in respect of the budget the Assembly has been restored to the position in which it stood on the 29th March, 1943 and in the same breath you say that the Assembly stands in the position where the Governor left it on the 24th April, 1943. Either of the positions may be tenable but not both. If piecemeal treatment of the budget is permissible under the law, about which I have grave doubts, the Government must either place a new budget for the demands which they now propose to make for the period from 1st April, 1943 to the 31st March, 1943 or they must totally ignore the authorisation of expenditure by the Governor under these heads during period from the 1st April, 1943 to 24th April, 1943, and place the entire unfinished portion of the budget for the consideration and vote of the House. It is not for me now to advise the Government as to what they should do. But there appears to be no escape from this position.

In my opinion there is a good deal of force in the contention of the Opposition that the motions as intended to be moved are too indefinite and vague for consideration of the House. Government have not given any indication whatsoever as to the amount of expenditure between the 1st April, 1943 and the 24th April, 1943. They maintain that it is not possible. I am sure it is not practicable to give the exact figures but I have grave doubts whether or not an approximate amount can be given. In fact budget means estimates of probable receipts and expenditure. I think there are ways out of the difficulty, but when Government maintain that it is impossible, it is not for me to give them advice. In this connection it may be mentioned that approximate figures were supplied by the Assam and Orissa Governments when they presented the budget in the middle of the year on the revocation of the proclamation by the Governor.

The motions as they stand without the slightest indication as to the amount of expenditure incurred during the period between the 1st April, 1943 and the 24th April, 1943 are, I am afraid, inadmissible and not in order.

I think, therefore, that I have got no other alternative but to uphold the point of order raised and I rule that the motions for demands for grants are out of order.

The Assembly has been prorogued after the Speaker's ruling, but the Administration is carrying on without a Budget sanctioned by the Legislature. Large numbers of students of constitutional law from Britain and America, who are now in Calcutta as members of the Allied forces, have had an opportunity to witness the kind of democracy practised in India under the bulkiest of constitutions ever produced in the world.

India Government's Evasion of Food Problem

Government of India's Food Member, Sir Muhammad Azizul Huq, has announced the

Government's decisions on measures to meet the food situation. The decisions were:

Rationing in urban areas to be taken up in a progressively increasing measure and almost immediately:

No statutory fixation of maximum prices at the present stage but every possible step to be taken to bring down the general level and to stabilise the prices of all commodities.

Provinces and States to be left free to take administrative measures to bring prices under control within their regions.

A merciless attack on the hoarder and the profiteer to be launched immediately throughout India by all provinces and States.

Free trade not to be considered except as an objective for the return of normal conditions.

Procurement operations in execution of the basic plan to be carried out either directly by Government or by agencies under the full control of the provincial or State Governments.

Deficit provinces and States to be free within the limits of their basic quota to make a direct approach to surplus areas and wherever possible make direct transport arrangements with the railway or shipping authorities.

Government of India to do their best to see that the present shortage of consumers goods is corrected as soon as possible.

Problems of long range planning to be discussed by representatives of States and Provinces in a conference to be convened early in September.

A glance at the decisions would convince anybody that the problem has been evaded behind carefully coined phrases. Even Mr. Amery, the greatest champion of the Central and Provincial Governments in London, failed to congratulate the Linlithgow Administration for their handling of the food situation. The Central Government has, of late, announced their decision to stop any further export of rice; but is it out of sympathy for the famished and starving masses, or because the prices have soared too high even for them?

Burma and Rice

Mr. S. Natarajan, writing in the *Indian Social Reformer*, has sounded a serious note of warning which the Government of India would do well to pay heed to. He writes:

It is reported that the Collector of a district told the people who had not enough rice to eat, that they should all join the Army and reconquer Burma and then and only then would they get enough rice. The idea underlies the Government of Bombay's *communique* announcing a further reduction in the rice ration in Bombay city and suburbs. It begins with the preamble that, owing to the rice from Burma having ceased to come, Government is obliged to cut down the ration from three-quarters to one-half. Burma was not conquered in order to provide rice for India. Scrutiny of the State papers relating to that adventure, does not reveal that the rice of Burma was the main cause of the conquest of that country. In any case, the people of India were not responsible for the conquest and they are not responsible for its loss either. We are not sure

that its reconquest would improve the rice situation in this country. Anyhow the introduction of Burma in the *communiqué* was irrelevant to the point of absurdity. The other reason in the *communiqué* is that the supplies expected from other provinces have not come in the quantities expected. Why is this? Is the Government of India which has now the control of food supplies, favouring some provinces at the expense of others? It has been urged by official spokesmen that the foodstuffs exported to other countries, is only a small fraction of the total Indian production. But it is that last small quantity which determines the prices and determines their distribution. The first duty of a Government is to see that the people have enough food. This comes even before the duty "to govern." *Already there are signs to show that the Indian masses are giving up their traditional fatalism and becoming restive after the manner of western mobs. It is not easy to preserve law and order among a starving people. The worst of it is that the man in the street begins to ask what is the return which he can hope to get from the sacrifices to which he is subject in consequences of the war. That is a line of enquiry which a prudent Government of India must seek at all costs to prevent from extending.* (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.).

The Government will take a grave risk if they suffer this warning from a sober journalist like Mr. Natarajan go unattended.

Is Conscription Possible in a Subject Country in Unrest?

Sir Roger Lumley, speaking in public for the first time in London since his retirement from the Governorship of Bombay, said :

So much has been heard in the past few years about political difficulties in India, about Congress rebellion and matters of that kind, that the impression appears to have gained some ground that India is so much absorbed in political discussion and turmoil that there is little time or desire to join in the prosecution of the war.

I certainly would not minimize the great importance of these political events, nor underestimate either the depressing influence they have had on the war effort or the gravity of issues which they have at times presented the Government in India. But it would be completely inaccurate to suppose that there are not large masses of the people entirely loyal to the cause for which the British Commonwealth and Empire and our Allies are fighting. Much devotion and enthusiasm are given to the war effort and with truly remarkable results.

Side by side with, and in marked contrast to, the Congress Party's attitude a great contribution was being made in India to the war power of the United Nations. More than 2,000,000 men have enlisted in the armed forces. No national service scheme, no conscription has called them up. They have come as volunteers, every one of them. Often the flow of recruits has been greater than the equipment available.

There would be little gratification to find only 2 million men recruited in a country inhabited by 400 million souls. The number of recruits would have been multiplied several times, had the National Government of Great Britain had foresight enough to make up with

the Congress. The question of conscription in a subject country like India in unrest does not arise.

Sir Norman Angell on India

Sir Norman Angell, discussing the problem of India in the July issue of the series of publications entitled "United Nations in the Future," says :

"India has been offered Dominion Status and Dominion Status carries the right of secession but we may hope there will be enough wisdom in London and Delhi to utilize the habits of co-operation which the 200 years of association of Britain with India may have produced to use that experience in post-war reconstruction."

Speaking generally of the British Empire he says, "In the world threatened with disintegration such integration as history has left us should not be lightly torn apart and should instead be made the nucleus of larger integrations—associations wherein none can dominate but all would be partners."

The British people have come and stayed in India but never lived here. In their association with the Indians, every Briton unmistakably demonstrated that he was a ruler and not an equal. The Colonisation Scheme of the early nineteenth century was vehemently opposed but Britishers would acquire an equal status with the people in this country, and in course of time through elimination of superiority complex, become their equals. The Imperialist die-hards could not, and in fact did not, permit it. If Sir Norman sincerely desires that an association between the two nations should develop wherein none can dominate but all would be partners, he should first address his own politicians.

Release of Political Prisoners

The release of political prisoners was demanded by the Congress Party in a non-official resolution moved by Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. The release of all persons detained or restrained under the Defence of India Rules and Regulation III of 1818 and convicted of offences connected with the movement following the August resolution of the Congress was demanded.

Mr. A. R. Siddiqi of the Muslim League remarked that to demand release of persons involved in the movement following the August resolution was to demand something impracticable. He, however, recommended in a typical bureaucratic language, release on review of individual cases.

The leader of the European Group also opposed the motion and warned the Government

"not to indulge in the luxury of general release" although such warning was premature and unnecessary. The Nazimuddin Ministry had already been overcautious in their policy of release.

Mrs. Sen Gupta's resolution ran as follows :

"This Assembly is of opinion that the Government of Bengal should take immediate steps to—

(a) set at liberty all persons detained in prison or restrained under Rule 129 or Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules or under Regulation III of 1818 for their political views or activities;

(b) release all persons convicted for offences connected with the movement following the arrests of Congress leaders in August, 1942;

(c) appoint a tribunal consisting of at least two persons of the position of High Court Judges to review all cases of political security prisoners and convicts after giving full opportunity to the persons concerned to meet the charges against them, if any, in case Government fails to release the persons immediately; and

(d) appoint a non-official committee composed of all parties in both the Houses of Legislature to advise Government on the amenities and treatment provided for in the jails and detention camps for different classes of political prisoners and detenus."

In moving the resolution, Mrs. Sen Gupta said :

"I am not going to plead or urge or appeal for the release of these persons," she went on to say. "I know it is useless. But I am going to say that you must release these people. How long you can go on keeping them locked in jails? The High Court has given its judgment that the detention of these boys under Rule 126 is illegal, but does it make any difference? The judgment gave them freedom, but what has happened? Before they could even breathe the fresh air of freedom, they were rearrested and taken back to the jail."

9325 persons had been in detention under D. I. R. 26 and 129 upto January last, as revealed in a statement of the Government in the Upper House of Bengal Legislature in reply to a question put by Mr. Lalit Chandra Das.

Ten days after the discussion on the resolution, Sir Nazimuddin outlined, in a statement to the Press, his Government's policy regarding political prisoners in the following words :

"We undertook to adopt a sympathetic policy and to make a national approach to the whole question of persons detained in the interests of security or convicted of so-called political offences. Upwards of 130 security prisoners have already been released and in contradiction of insinuations and allegations made by Opposition leaders. I can state that in not one of these individual cases had specific orders for release been passed by the previous Ministry. Moreover, I am informed that no such order, passed by the previous Government, remained unexecuted at the time when I took office. As regards amenities to security prisoners and the maintenance of their dependents, we have doubled the diet allowance, increased family allowances by 50 to 100 per cent. as well as granting allowances on a generous scale in some cases where they had not previously been given and are permitting prisoners on release to take away with them clothing bought for them at Government expense during

the past twelve months. I should add that the cases of security prisoners are under continuous review and that our policy of releasing all persons who can be set at liberty without serious risk is being vigorously pursued with almost daily releases of additional prisoners."

He takes pride in having released 130 prisoners out of a total of 9325. The names of these prisoners, so far as have been published, have confirmed the public belief that only those fortunate persons who have the means of instituting *habeas corpus* proceedings have been released. It is apparent that no uniform policy has been followed in ordering for release. Some of the M.L.A.'s have been released while others were not. The Managing Director of one daily newspaper has been released while the Managing Director of another daily still remains in prison. The release has been far more general in some other provinces, notably Bihar. 511 convicted prisoners and 59 from Patna camp jail have been released.

The diet allowance of the prisoners has only been doubled when the cost of living has gone up four times. Besides, it is difficult to believe that Sir Nazimuddin has no idea of how much of this doubled allowance really goes inside the jail.

Sir Nazimuddin has made only vague references about the grant of family allowances. He has avoided giving any definite information about the number of detenus enjoying maintenance allowance for the family and the amount of any such grant. He speaks of having doubled the amount, but doubling of what? Five rupees to ten rupees, or ten to twenty? Serious allegations about the amounts of family allowances granted and the inordinate delay in granting it have been made in the Press. Sir Nazimuddin has not replied to them.

The Problem of Fertiliser

Addressing a meeting of the Indian Chemical Society at the University College of Science, Calcutta, Dr. H. K. Sen, Director of the Indian Lac Research Institute, threw a flood of light on the problem of fertilisers in India. According to the report published by *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Dr. Sen developed the subject of his address starting with statistical informations available on the acreage under cultivation and the crops produced in British India. The chief crops using synthetic manure, he said, are at present sugarcane, cotton, coffee and tea, and occasional manuring is used for wheat and other crops. The 82 million acres of land under paddy cultivation, however, do not use any manures as

curiously paddy fields manure themselves if adequate water is supplied. This particular crop, which is the largest in this country, wheat coming next, has lately been found to be better for manuring as substantiated by the lowest yield of rice per acre in this country as compared with that in other countries.

Whilst the outturn of rice per acre in India is taken at 1357 pounds, continued the speaker, that in Italy is of the order of 4601 pounds, in Japan 2,767 pounds, in Egypt 2,356 pounds and in the U. S. A. 2,112 pounds. The figures for wheat similarly are 652, 1,241, 1,508, 1,688 and 937 pounds in the respective countries. In the United Kingdom the figure for wheat is 1,812 and in Germany 1,740 pounds. He calculated from known quantities of synthetic nitrogenous dressings required for different crops, barring rice fields, that India requires at least 17 lakh tons of ammonium sulphate per year for this purpose. If the paddy fields are also taken into consideration, this figure would be multiplied several times.

Examining whether this fertiliser could be produced at a rate substantially below the import cost, which is in the region of Rs. 90 to Rs. 100 per ton in peace time, the speaker said that 18,000 tons only are at present manufactured in the country from the coke ovens and 76,000 tons are imported annually from abroad. He adduced reliable figures of manufacture and held that ammonium sulphate, whether from the fixation of nitrogen or from by-product recovery, could be produced in this country at half the imported price and in special cases with calcium sulphate and carbon dioxide as the fixing agents for ammonia, the cost of production would range between Rs. 22 and Rs. 39 per ton of ammonium sulphate according to conditions prevailing. This low cost would undoubtedly place in the hands of the cultivators cheap concentrated fertiliser for use in addition to the farmyard and compost manure available in relatively smaller quantities. This combination would not affect the characteristics of the soil for superior production year after year.

The question of providing fertilisers for Indian agriculture raised in the midst of a terrible food crisis all over the country must not be allowed to go unheeded. This important commodity has remained a monopoly of foreign traders to the detriment of Indian agriculture. The manufacture of fertilisers as a national industry must begin *during the war*, it should not wait till the end of hostilities. Not only Dr. Sen but Sir Phiroze Khareghat has also told

the country in unmistakable terms that this industry *can* be established *immediately*. Returning from the United Nations' Food Conference at Hotsprings, Sir Phiroze told the *Associated Press* at New Delhi that a matter of interest to India which was decided at the Conference was that the countries generally should help producing countries to obtain the seed, fertilizers and machinery they needed. The decision was of great advantage to India because under rice, for instance, if India could get fertilizers and teach her cultivators to use them, she could within two years wipe out the deficit of 1,500,000 tons a year. Nor was there any reason why fertilizers should not be manufactured in India, if she had the machinery for the purpose.

Dr. Sen has emphatically said that quite a considerable portion of the machinery required could be improvised in the country and lease-lend scheme could procure those which cannot be manufactured here.

The Government of Bengal has recently observed a "manure week" with a view to popularise the use of manure, but has it been able to bring the commodity within easy reach of the cultivator? Would it not be better for them to take the lead in establishing fertiliser factories in Bengal, the worst sufferer in respect of food today?

Attempt to Review Congress Policy

Mr. Gopinath Srivastava and Mr. K. M. Munshi, two of the important Section of Congressmen more inclined to parliamentary politics, have recently expressed a desire to move for the withdrawal of the August Resolution of the Congress in a meeting of the A.-I. C. C. convened by its members now at large. The proposed move however has met with general disapproval from Congressmen all over the country, more particularly from Bombay, Punjab and Bengal.

The August Resolution was passed by the Congress but was not acted upon. The mere passing of a resolution led to the wholesale arrest of all leaders of the Congress. If a question of rescinding the resolution comes up, fair play in public life demands that the leaders who were party to the resolution should have an opportunity to express their views on it. To attempt its withdrawal in the name of the A.-I. C. C. without hearing the leaders who have made the highest sacrifices for the cause of the Congress and the country, will be betraying the cause of the nation. Besides, the two astute Parliamentarians should also have taken into consideration the fact that an A.-I. C. C. meeting is normally

summoned by the Working Committee of the Congress, and no serious situation has arisen to make any departure from this practice.

Burdwan Floods

The news of Burdwan floods, although meagre, is sufficiently disquieting. A semi-official report states that as a result of breaches in the Damodar embankment, 70 villages, spreading over 7 unions, have been submerged. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* gives the estimate of a local relief worker who has visited the flooded area and says from his personal knowledge that about 100 villages spreading over 11 unions under two police stations have been flooded. In comparing these two accounts the *Patrika* has rightly concluded that "this difference in estimate may, however, be accounted for by the difficulty that is being met by the local officials to contact all the affected areas." Another serious breach has occurred in the Ajoy embankment flooding, according to official estimates, about 50 villages. Though the loss of human life has been few, the loss in property, crop and cattle has been high; and the magnitude of the calamity is certainly awful. The District Magistrate has estimated that the monthly expenditure on relief work will be about Rs. 150,000 a month. The people have promptly responded. It is now for the Government to act.

Paucity of boats constitutes a great obstacle to relief work. With the tide of the war turning in favour of the Allies, the Government will not be taking a great risk in ordering the release of all boats detained for fear of Jap invasion. This should immediately be done.

Corpses on the Calcutta Streets

Corpses on the Calcutta Streets have become a daily feature. People from the villages are flocking to Calcutta and other district towns in quest of food. Half-naked starving men, women and children, mothers with suckling babies are floating about in the streets in utter helplessness. No wonder that these people will die on the streets.

The Bengal Government have miserably failed to render help at this hour of unparalleled national crisis. The Central Government, which did not hesitate to export rice from the country in the midst of this terrible calamity, have stopped it only a couple of days ago.

They did nothing to alleviate the suffering of a people who have made tremendous sacrifices for the war effort even to the extent of vacating their ancestral homesteads without any

attempt to revolt. A large portion of the accumulated sterling in London to the tune of about 600 crores of rupees, which directly helped British war finance, have in reality and in the last resort been contributed by these impoverished masses in the form of taxation and increased prices. The return in their case has been starvation due to a man-made famine, the terrible hardship and humiliation to stand in front of a ridiculously small number of controlled shops in never-ending queues for one seer of rice and to die on the city streets.

These heartrending scenes certainly do not inspire respect for the self-appointed trustees unable to feed a people of whom they had taken charge in the name of God. The Calcutta street scenes are serious blots on any Government claiming to be civilised.

Food Crisis in Hospitals

Dr. B. C. Roy told the Calcutta Corporation that patients in Calcutta hospitals might have to go without food. Government grant of permit to hospitals to purchase rice at controlled rates would expire on July 31st. No such permits would be granted since 1st of August except in the case of Government hospitals.

This is startling. The Government have done nothing to supply rice to the masses. They have asked the employers of industrial labour to make their own arrangements to feed their wage-earners. Now they come forward to stop rice to the helpless hospital patients. Is it not a case for intervention by the International Red Cross?

Lowering the Income Tax Limit

A proposal is in the air to further lower the Income tax limit bringing it down to Rs. 1200. The recent tendency in the Central Government's Finance Department to collect taxes through easy channels, regardless of the welfare of the people, have made the people nervous. They believe that today's proposal may become tomorrow's law. This action of the Government, if taken, will be a gross injustice to the middle-class people particularly those with small income in Bengal. It is impossible to believe that the authorities are unaware of the real economic conditions in the country, specially in Bengal. Computation of any cost of living index for middleclass people who depend on retail purchases has so far been avoided. Had it been done, it would certainly have shown at least a fourfold increase in today's cost of living.

It is difficult to expect sympathy for the

people from an alien government. If they had the best sympathy for the suffering middleclass, the income tax limit would by this time have been raised by at least a thousand rupees.

Burial of the Atlantic Charter

Mr. Churchill gave the Atlantic Charter a decent burial when he replied "No Sir" to a suggestion in the House of Commons that negotiations should be started for the ratification of the Charter by the American Congress. Important American Senators had earlier pointed out that the Charter remained a mere statement of Presidential policy and had no binding force unless ratified by the Congress. Mr. Churchill, in reply to the suggestion mentioned above, described the Charter as a statement of certain broad views and principles "which are our common guide in our march forward." He made the significant declaration that the Charter did not require ratification or formal endorsement of a constitutional character on either side of the Atlantic.

Power-Crazy, Money-mad Imperialist To Go

Reuter reports that the United States Vice-President Mr. Henry A. Wallace launched a strong attack on "power-crazed, money-mad imperialists" in a speech here to-day. He raised the banner of social reform in the United States and condemned isolationists seeking to bring about America's second retreat from her responsibility in world co-operation.

Mr. Wallace made no reference to the dispute between himself and the United States' Secretary of Commerce Mr. Jesse Jones, which recently led to a severe rebuke from President Roosevelt.

"We shall not be satisfied," Mr. Wallace declared, "with a peace which will merely lead us from concentration camps and mass murder of Fascism into an international jungle of gangster Governments operated behind scenes by power-crazed money-mad imperialists. We seek a peace that is more than a mere breathing space between the death of the old tyranny and the birth of a new one."

"There are powerful groups who hope to take advantage of the President's concentration on the war effort to destroy everything he has accomplished on the domestic front over the last ten years." Mr. Wallace said: "Sooner or later the machinations of these groups would inevitably be exposed to the public eye. Our choice is between Democracy for everybody or for a

few. Fuller democracy for all is a lasting preventive of war. We cannot fight fascism abroad and condone race riots at home."

"Three outstanding peace-time responsibilities as I find them to-day are firstly, the enlightenment of the people. Secondly, mobilising peace time production for full employment. Thirdly, planning world co-operation."

The Vice-President declared: "We know that we cannot close the doors on other nations and not expect them to close their doors on us. In that knowledge we can create co-operation or conflict. We must continue our splendid team work with the British Allies. We can live peacefully in the same world with the Russians if we demonstrate to ourselves and the world after the war that we have gone in for an all-out peace production to bring about the maximum of human welfare. The Atlantic Charter provides a broad base of general principles to safeguard our decisions. The American people intend that it shall work and that it shall endure."

This outspoken speech from the second citizen of the Arsenal of Democracy is expected to produce at least some reaction at the stronghold of Imperialism on the other side of the Atlantic where the Atlantic Charter has been buried. It will be watched with interest. A peace that is sought to be more than a mere breathing space between the death of the old tyranny and the birth of a new one cannot be achieved without the liberation of India and all other subject peoples of the world still lying under the heel of the old Imperialists.

Indians in Occupied Territories

The Government of India's Oversea Member Dr. Khare stated in the Central Legislature, in reply to a question regarding news about Indians in Japanese occupied territories and evacuees from Burma, that it was estimated that 7,45,000 Indian civil population were left behind in Malaya (including Singapore) and 5 lakhs in Burma.

Dr. Khare said, the responsibility for providing information rested on the Japanese Government. So far 7662 enquiries had been forwarded and information had been obtained in 1164 cases. He said, the establishment of a machinery to ascertain how many evacuees from Burma had been provided with an occupation in India was now in hand. *During the last financial years 143 lakhs was spent in connection with arrangements made for the reception, dispersal and maintenance of Indian evacuees and this year a sum of one crore has been pro-*

vided to meet expenditure on the maintenance of Indian evacuees and dependents of Indians stranded in enemy-occupied territories.

Will Dr. Khare give an account of how these crores of rupees on evacuees relief have been spent and how many Indians have received them? It remains to be explained how 143 lakhs of rupees were spent for an unfortunate population practically left at the mercy of the Marwari Relief Society and the Navavidhan Relief Mission on their arrival at the Indian frontier. It is public knowledge that the Government's hands were full in arranging for the relief of the Europeans from Burma and looking after their comforts. Has that expenditure also been included in the Indian account?

India Challenges British Finance

An important article by Mr. Herbert L. Mathews, has been published in the *New York Times* as a dispatch from Calcutta. Mr. Mathews writes:

"Finance is a battlefield between the British and Indians and Calcutta, where Clive began the long British tradition, is seeing what may be the last stand of the powerful forces that have played a great role in the domination of India. . . . Calcutta is Britain's industrial stronghold. . . . Managing agency is the channel through which the British dominate a large part of Indian industry. . . .

"There is plenty of Indian money invested through shares and theoretically the shareholders could get together and assert themselves, but the managing agents run the whole show and most of them are British."

"The coal, jute and tea industries are controlled upto 80 per cent. by British agents. Indians are strong in textiles and steel. Exchange banking is entirely British, but there are big Indian banks for internal financing."

"These managing agents are immensely profitable concerns and the British want to hang on to them. At the same time their Indian rivals want to get their business away from them, and in that struggle much is involved, political as well as financial. . . .

"Here in Calcutta the practical businessmen are greatly worried by the prospect of independence, although they do not expect it will come for some years after the end of the war. They point to the fact that big Indian firms like the Birla Brothers of Bombay finance the All-India Congress. Therefore, it is argued the Congress will have a debt to pay to them and that the payment will result in the elimination of British business interests."

[In a later dispatch from New Delhi to the *New York Times*, Mr. Mathews refers to *The Hindustan Times* as "an important Delhi newspaper edited by M. K. Gandhi's son and owned by Birla Brothers, powerful Indian industrialists."]

"Mr. Birla is out openly to oust the British and he subsidizes the Congress heavily. The Indians talked to (including Mr. B. M. Birla, Sir Badridas Goenka and Mr. J. C. Mahindra) are not afraid that Jawaharlal Nehru's socialistic ideal will gain the ascendancy. Even if he runs the show, the Indians believe he will be "sensible."

"Another thing the British fear is that Mr. Birla and others talk of buying out their interests after the war. Mr. Birla wants to use India's sterling credits, which now are 6,000,000,000 rupees and within a few years will doubtless reach about 9,000,000,000 rupees, to acquire the British holdings. . . .

"Another objection the Indians have is that the British do not stay here and do not keep their money or profits here. They come to make their fortunes and then go home. As one Indian said, it would have been all right if, like the Parsees from Persia, they had become Indians, absorbed in the country's structure, instead of remaining foreigners who exploit the country for Britain's benefit."

I went into the Indian accusation that the British have prevented the proper Indian industrialisation of India. The British admit that this was true, but that since the fiscal reforms of the early 1920's it had been changed. . . .

"The Indians say their gravest charge is not that the British deliberately obstruct industrialisation but that they will not help the Indians industrialise the country. Any virgin field like this, they say, needs tariff protection, subsidies, preferences and priorities, all of which the British are withholding or granting in a most niggardly fashion."

"The textile and steel industries, according to them, were established against British desires and only by fighting at every step against British obstruction. Since the British run India, these Indians hold, it is up to them to foster industrialisation, which they are not doing."

"Indian businessmen say that cannot hope to industrialise this country until they and their fellow Indians run it. Patriotism and financial interests run parallel, leading them to the logical conclusion that the British must get out."

Mr. Mathews has successfully probed into the inner conflict of British and Indian politics in this country, with the characteristic American directness.

Exploitation of Bengalee Jute-growers

The Indian Jute Mills Association which represents British-managed jute mills in Bengal has fixed Rs. 19/-, Rs. 17/- and Rs. 14/- as maximum prices of jute, Top, Middle and Bottom respectively. The Association has secured from the U. S. A. orders for 70 crores of yards of hessian at Rs. 26/- for 100 yards. 35 seers of jute are required to produce 100 yards of hessian so that quantity for quantity jute is purchased at Rs. 12/4/-, Rs. 14/14/- and Rs. 16/10/- and manufactured jute is sold at Rs. 26/-. The wide margin of profit is in keeping with what the mills have been earning for decades. The cultivator will get the lowest price in the history of jute as at no time has he had to part with one maund of jute for the price of half a maund of rice. The average of the three prices of jute is Rs. 17/- while the price of rice is not below Rs. 34/-. The price of anything in Bengal has to be considered in terms of the price of the staple food of the people.

The present Ministry tries to absolve itself of responsibility for this unabashed exploitation of Bengal's jute-growing peasantry by issuing a statement that the above prices have no statutory authority. Some years ago when a few Indian-owned jute mills were working as many hours as the Factory Act allowed and not so many as the British-managed jute mills desired, the Indian Jute Mills Association twice appealed to the Government of Lord Willingdon but in vain. The Government definitely refused to intervene in private trade. A group of British-managed jute mills then decided to secede from the main body and the practical dissolution of the Association was but a question of days. At this time with the inauguration of the Government of India Act Huq-Nazimuddin Ministry was formed. What a foreign Government considered unfair to Indian interests the Ministry unblushingly did. An ordinance was issued compelling all jute mills to obey the mandate of the Association. The present Ministry is practically the same as the first and can not, therefore, shirk responsibility for exploiting Bengal's jute-growers, mostly Muhammadan, in a crisis unprecedented since 1770.

SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

Why the Britishers are Anxious to 'Protect' Native Princes

His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominion is the Premier State in India. What the conditions of the Nizam's Government were in 1908-1909 will appear from the following extract taken from Lt.-Col. Owen Barkley-Hill's unconventional autobiography *All Too Human* (London: Peter Davie 12s. 6d.), pp. 88 *et seq*!—

"In those days the Nizam's Government contained a great number of Europeans, many of whom were more or less adventurers. The Nizam (the father of the present Nizam) was very popular. He was kindly and shrewd and treated those whom he considered deserved well at his hands in a very generous spirit. He took to motoring very keenly and had a European named Dolphin in charge of all his cars. There was no speed limit in Hyderabad. Every policeman was instructed to blow his whistle whenever he saw a car coming as a warning to pedestrians to look out for themselves. In spite of this somewhat crude type of traffic regulation, there were very few accidents, but of course, there were very few motor cars. Dolphin, the Nizam's head chauffeur, told me that the Nizam was very fond of driving at night and at a high rate of speed. Dolphin always drove him, no matter at what time of the night

he might select to go out for a drive. Like so many men of his type, Dolphin soon grew too big for his boots, not seeing how well off he was. One day, he was extremely impertinent to the Commander-in-Chief, Colonel Sir Afsur-ul-Mulk, with the result he was immediately dismissed.

Colonel Sir Afsur-ul-Mulk was an entirely "self-made" man. He had been an ordinary sowar in some Indian Cavalry regiment in his young days. His career began when he was deputed to teach the Nizam to ride. Being a very clever and shrewd man, he rose higher and higher in the Nizam's services, until he reached the post of Commander-in-Chief. He occupied a beautiful house and had a numerous family. He was reputed to be very rich. I can well believe it.

Another remarkable man was the Nizam's astronomer. He was an Englishman, but no one seemed to know what were his qualifications for the post. He had a very nice house on the outskirts of Hyderabad near the Observatory. Portions of what was reported to be a magnificent telescope, still in the cases in which they had arrived from Europe, lay around in the vicinity of the Observatory. They remained in this condition for months. Every one wondered when the packages would be opened and the telescope erected. Public opinion became rather hot on the topic, unpleasant things were said about the astronomer. At last under pressure from various sources the cases were unpacked and the pieces of the telescope assembled.

In the course of a few more weeks people learnt that the famous telescope was now complete and installed in the Observatory. The desire to look through it rose to be almost a frenzy. The astronomer published a notice in the Club at Secunderabad that he would be delighted to show the heavens to any person who would care to visit the Observatory between twelve midnight and one a.m. on a certain date.

At the time appointed quite a large crowd of people assembled at the Observatory and waited for the astronomer to come and exhibit the telescope. They waited and waited, but the astronomer was conspicuously absent. The crowd became fretful and some one suggested going over to his house and knocking him up. After waiting a little time longer a few exasperated individuals went across to the house and battered on the door. In a few moments who should appear at an upper window but the astronomer clad in his pyjamas and obviously just aroused from sleep.

"What's all this?" he shouted, surveying the expectant multitude gathered beneath. "What do you mean by knocking me up at this time of night? Go away—go right away, everyone of you!" With this pronouncement he shut his bed-room window and disappeared.

A roar of fury broke forth. Some wanted to break open the house and bring the astronomer by force to the Observatory. Others voted for even more drastic procedure, but nothing happened. By twos and threes the exasperated throng of would-be star-gazers dispersed to their respected beds.

Is it because the Native States provide a happy hunting ground for British adventurers that the British Imperialists are so keen about preserving the 'treaty rights' of the Princes?

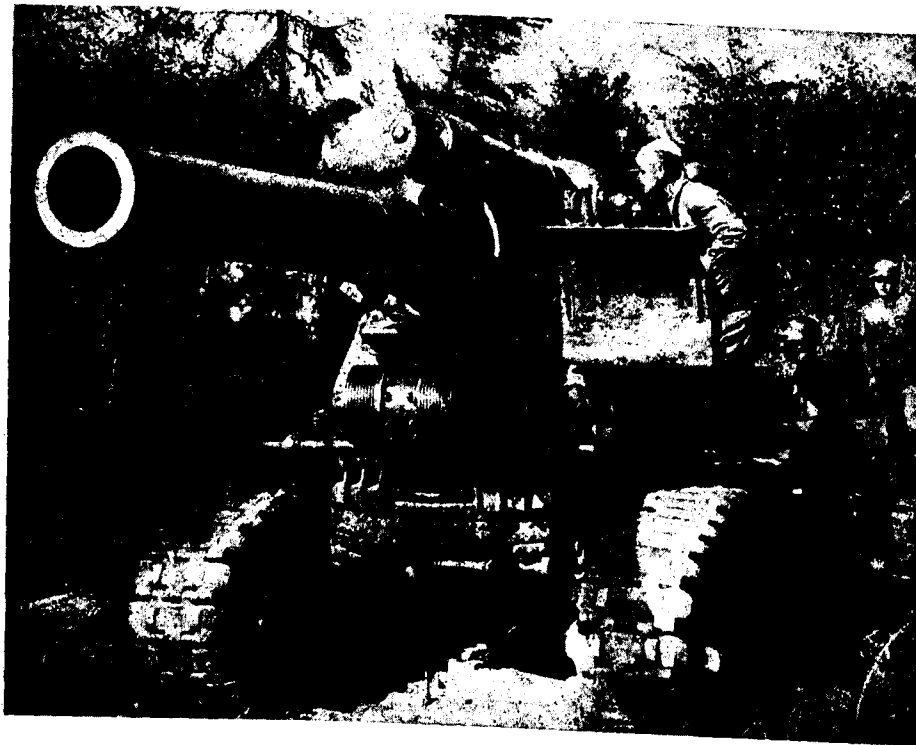
J. M. DATTA



A Chinese anti-aircraft crew swinging its giant plane-detector towards the horizon to catch the deep whirr of the motors of Japanese bombers bent on the murderous destruction of Chungking



These grim-faced soldiers of China are determined to avenge unprovoked attacks on their country by the Japanese



Soviet artillery on firing position



Soviet infantry supported by tanks attacking enemy's fortifications

INDIA'S MILITARY DECLINE IN THE 18th CENTURY

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

THE art of war in a country changes as a reaction from some foreign system introduced into it by invaders, or as the consequence of the deep reflections of its potent thinkers. The natives, after repeated defeats by the new system or new arms in the hands of foreigners, at last begin to think about it and try to adapt their method to that of their enemies, so as to meet it on more equal terms. A revolution in tactics is bound to follow from the invention of new kinds of arms or some new agent of transport. In this way, a revolution began in Indian warfare in 1526 when fire-arms were first employed on the Indian soil, and another in the 18th century when European-drilled foot-musketeers with mobile artillery became the dominant fighting arm.

The effect of these two changes was : (1) the disappearance of the elephant as a regular arm of the battle line, (2) the gradual failure and ultimate disappearance of the indigenous cavalry, both light and heavy, as an effective force in action, (3) the promotion of infantry to the first place in battle and (4) the general weakening of India's military strength through incapacity to adopt the new system properly.

I

In the old Hindu system of war, coming down to us from the epic age, a full army consisted of four arms or "limbs" as they were called (Sanskrit, *chaturanga*), namely chariots, elephants, horse and foot soldiers. Of these, the chariots were meant for the chiefs and other commanders, and the infantry were despised as of hardly any better value than camp-followers. The chariot disappeared from our wars long before the coming of the first Muslim invaders in the 8th century after Christ. In Alexander's battle with Poros on the Jhilam river, there were 150 chariots drawn up in front of 2,000 cavalry on each wing of the Indian army. That was 325 years before Christ. But we lose all mention of chariots as a regular arm in battle after the beginning of the Christian era. On a rough ground, horse and elephant were more effective and safer mounts than chariots, and also on soft or sandy soil. Hence, chariots came to be discarded when wars were not decided by pitched battles fought on level plains and preceded by the slow marshalling of

the ranks and the long exchange of mutual challenge and taunts between the rival chiefs before they came to grips, such as we read of in classical literature, both Greek and Sanskrit; but warfare of more rapid movement and more variable fortune succeeded, and in this the cavalry became supreme. I venture a guess that it was the Scythian and Parthian invaders who caused the extinction of the chariot in the Indian armies in the first two centuries after Christ.

The elephant, however, remained as an effective arm in fighting as late as the middle of the 17th century, and it continued to stay with the Indian armies as the most convenient means of transport for two centuries afterwards, i.e., till the end of the Sepoy Mutiny and the coming of the railway train. But the death of the elephant as a combatant was doomed by fire arms of increasing range and precision, such as the muskets which could shoot off their drivers before they came to close quarters and the mobile field artillery which found sure targets in the vast body of the animal.

The elephant was used in our warfare not from any Oriental love of pomp. During its domination of war, the elephant had five great advantages : It was a local product; the biggest and best elephants were born in India alone, and they were fully amenable to discipline and training in clever tricks, unlike their untameable African brothers. They were most useful in transporting officers and baggage, and even light guns, over broken country and muddy roads, and also in crossing all rivers except very large ones or strong currents. One January morning in 1760, the Jamuna was crossed at Barari *ghat*, ten miles north of Delhi by a Ruhela force which ferried light guns over the river by tying them to the two sides of their elephants and making the beasts swim the river which was then fordable in most parts. Thirdly, the seat on the back of a lofty elephant gave the supreme general a good view of the entire battle-field, like the high turret of a modern man-o'-war. Elephants with metal shields protecting their heads were the most successful battering rams used in India in crashing down the heavy gates of our forts. On a field no horse or man could stand in the direct line of their charge, and a line of tall Bengal elephants, rushing forward

close abreast and goaded by their drivers, could most easily resolve any deadlock between opposing ranks of cavalry or foot. In short, our elephants were highly mobile tanks, but owed their success solely to shock and not to any missile discharge from their back. Such elephant charges are often described in our mediæval Persian battle accounts. Tukaroi (1575), Haldighat (1576) and Samugarh (1658) are three good examples.

II

It will help us to understand the change in our art of war better if we bear in mind the essential difference between North India and Southern India (the Deccan). Generally speaking, North India consists of wide plains, good rivers flowing all the year round, a fertile soil, populous cities and thriving villages close together, and yet the soil is not soft or swampy except in lower Bengal and the Terai foothills. It presents an ideal terrain for the movement and effective handling of large bodies of armour-clad heavy cavalry; the men and their horses can often get their accustomed food and other necessities for several weeks locally on the route, and have not to carry large transport trains. Not so Southern India, which is cut up by raging rivers and wild hills into dry plateaus and small isolated corners, with broken ground, covered with jungle, generally sterile and very thinly populated. Heavy cavalry and first-class horses can neither operate with success nor subsist long in most portions of the Deccan. Only the small hardy local ponies can forage for themselves on the wayside here, and also carry out ambushes and surprises favoured by the nature of the ground. Hence, the Deccan has been the home of the predatory light horse, expert only in guerrilla fighting and looting the villagers and traders, but unable to make a stand-up fight.

In the Deccan, an invading army of the civilised type would require very long lines of supply, which, from the nature of the country, would give the local light horse many fine opportunities of cutting off convoys and starving the invader out without a pitched battle. Our history gives many examples of this.

It is only in long campaigns and regular sieges that the grand army of the Indian Mughals—and later of the English Company—was hampered by huge trains of followers. As an English officer noted in 1792: "The followers of an army in India, on being reckoned at four times the number of fighting men, will appear to be a moderate estimate on considering

the particular circumstances and customs of the country.... There are no towns to be depended upon for supplies; and an army in India not only carries with it most of the means of its subsistence for several months, but also a variety of necessities, which are exposed daily in the bazars like merchandise in a fair: a scene altogether resembling more the emigration of a nation guarded by its troops, than the march of an army, fitted out merely with the intention to subdue an enemy." (Dirom's *Narrative of War with Tippoo Sultan*, 242-43)

III

India's greatest military weakness was in respect of cavalry. The indigenous breed of horses are poor in size, temper and teachableness. The horses of the Central Asian and Arab breeds are the best in the world, and they were imported by ships to the Deccan and by the Afghan land-route into Northern India. These sea-borne horses came in the ships of the Arab and Portuguese traders from the ports of the Persian Gulf. The Hindu kings of Vijaynagar (1350-1565) used to secure their best army remounts from these foreigners, and the loss of the port of Chaul on our west coast in the 16th century did great harm to the Hindu kingdom in this respect. But the number taken was small, as these Hindu kings put their faith in elephants. Far larger droves used to come to us through the Afghan passes; and in the best days of the Mughal empire, as many as ten thousand remounts from central Asia were purchased by the State every year.

India breeds ponies only. Many of these animals are very hardy and capable of foraging for themselves anywhere; but no heavy cavalry, no mail-clad fighter can be mounted on them. The Indian ponies, especially those bred in the sub-Himalayan tracts and called *gunt* or *tāngan*, are excellent beasts of burden and mounts for traders, civilians, women and children, but they cannot be expected to stand the shock of battle. Thus, the Maratha light horse served only to carry robber bands, each soldier taking one spare horse, sometimes two, with himself for carrying his loot. Thus they could make prodigiously long marches by shifting from a tired pony to a fresh one; but they used to vanish like smoke before artillery, or walled villages held by musketeers, or heavy cavalry advancing to combat.

It is this heavy cavalry in which the Muslim soldiers of Northern India excelled, and which

was the choice profession of their aristocratic and higher military classes.* Here they only followed the tradition of their Turkish predecessors. In South India Haidar Ali (and after him his son Tipu Sultan) alone maintained such costly well-mounted heavy cavalry, with whom they swept through the country over every obstacle except forts. The myriads of light horse on local ponies, called Pindaris and Lootis, who followed the protective shield of these mail-clad horsemen, completed the work by devastating the country far and wide, and always retired behind the regular army when a battle threatened. This was the nature of the terrible invasion of the Madras Carnatic by Haidar Ali (in 1780), the scene of which Burke has painted in words of fire in his speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts.

This light horse, which was our only indigenous cavalry, was the weakest link in the chain of the Indian army, and has contributed to our defeat from the invasion of Alexander the Great in 325 B.C. down to the battle of Assaye in 1803 A.D. These troops were dangerous only to the helpless peasant and the unarmed trader, and their part was played out when, in the closing quarter of the 18th century, fire arms in the hands of trained infantry began to dominate our warfare. Thenceforth the light horse served only to harass lines of supply and cut off stragglers far from their army.

IV

Our only missile weapons, up to the second quarter of the 16th century were arrows and spears. In the case of spears, our men lacked the long previous training in camp and the power of concerted discharge for which the Roman legionaries, handling the *pilum* or short javelin were famous and who turned it into a most effective weapon. Nor could the Indian spearmen approach the marvellously well-disciplined Macedonian phalanx and the pikeman of Cromwell's infantry, who presented the sight of "a forest of spears," very long, thick and

* How the Muslim cavalry in India had degenerated by the end of the 18th century was best illustrated by the Nizam's cavalry, popularly known as the "Mogul Horse," which was beneath contempt on account of its inefficiency in battle. Major Dirom shrewdly noticed this:—"Those fantastic figures in armour so common among the Mahomedans in the Nizam's army; adventurers collected from every quarter of the East, who, priding themselves on individual valour, think it beneath them to be useful but on the day of battle, and when that comes, prove only the inefficiency of numbers, unconnected by any general principle or discipline." (*Narrative*, p. 8)

held in stout trained hands that pushed and recovered their weapons all at one time like clockwork, with deadly effect, though these were not missiles. With our men, on the other hand, the hurling of javelins was individual, sporadic and hence comparatively indecisive in effect, except in the rare cases when a chief on the enemy's side happened to be transfixed and borne down to the ground by a javelin.

Arrows continued in regular and effective use in Indian warfare as late as the end of the 16th century. And two hundred years afterwards, bowmen are found as a portion of the Maratha army that joined Lord Cornwallis as allies in the war against Tipu Sultan in 1792. Much later even, a Highlander wrote home to express his surprise at being assailed by arrows when he was advancing to storm a rebel village in Oudh after Sir Colin Campbell's capture of Lucknow! That was in 1858. Even now in the hilly tracts, wild tribes like the Santals, Gonds and Bhils make a good use of their bows against snakes and tigers.

Before the musket entered the arena, the bow was practically the only weapon when the fighting was not hand to hand; and it was used with deadly effect and often with decisive influence on the combat when plied by the mounted archers of Central Asia and Persia. These were the descendants of the Scythians and Parthians, whose system of warfare they brought into India and other countries with marked success. They were mounted on large superb horses, trained to break off contact in a moment, pretend flight, then rally, wheel back, and renew the fighting after re-forming themselves in small independent groups. No Indian cavalry or infantry of the old type could cope with such clever self-contained enemies possessed of marvellous mobility and rapid hitting power.

V

At a later age, when the musket replaced the bow, these Parthian tactics could not be so well practised from horseback, because the cumbrous old matchlocks took a long time to load and fire and missed all chances of accuracy from the excitement of the horse. Then, in the early 18th century, especially in Persia under Nadir Shah, the camel came in. Swivel-guns or long matchlocks, with the middle of the barrel resting on a prong fixed in the "gun-carriage" and therefore capable of being turned right or left, were mounted on a sort of wooden triangle or wheelless frame, strapped to the back of the camel, and fired by a soldier seated behind,

These were known by the Persian names of *Zamburak* and *shutarnals*.

The camels were well trained, to amble in a line of 150 or 250 to the required point, halt while the fire was being delivered from their guns, and immediately afterwards trot back to the rear for reloading. When not in action they were made to kneel down beyond musket shot, and their front knees were tied together with strings to keep them stationary. These troops formed the most effective mobile artillery known in India in the 18th century. As these long swivel-guns carried a heavier bullet and had a

longer range than the old type of infantry muskets and cavalry carbines, their fire was deadly, while the camels themselves and their riders were practically invulnerable, except by a chance shot from the enemy's line. This peculiar weapon and this modernisation of the old Parthian tactics, contributed most to the irresistible advance of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durrani in India in 1738 and 1761. Many Persian manuscripts written by eye-witnesses give graphic descriptions of the battles of these conquerors and the deadly effect of their fire into the crowded ranks of their Indian enemies, at Karnal and Panipat.

THE CONTROL OF ALIEN CAPITAL

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

INDIANS recognising the correctness of the opinion of Friederich List that "a nation which only carries on agriculture is like an individual who in his material production lacks one arm," demanded protection as a means of developing their industries and some kind of control over foreign capital for developing their commerce. They were aware that the protective policy of Cromwell and of Colbert had laid the foundations of the industrial advancement of Britain and France, that for a long time past Germany, France, the United States and the British colonies had definitely adopted such a policy and that, after a century of free trade, even Britain was definitely moving towards it.

The Indian demand for protection was entered in order that we might promote indigenous enterprises with Indian capital and under Indian control. It was never meant for the benefit of non-Indians by permitting them to establish industries with non-Indian capital and under non-Indian control behind our tariff wall raised at the cost of Indians. Indians also felt that they had little chance of developing commercial concerns so long as alien capital was permitted free entry. These two sets of facts explain the Indian demand for the control of non-Indian capital.

STAGES IN THE INDO-BRITISH CONTROVERSY

The controversy between India and Britain with regard to the unrestricted entry of alien capital in our economic life may be compared to an unfinished story in five chapters.

It begins with the appointment of the Fiscal Commission late in 1921, followed by that of the External Capital Committee early in 1925. The demands made by the Indian witnesses examined by these commissions were met in what most Indians consider a rather unsatisfactory manner and gave rise to feelings of irritation and discontent to which public utterance was given freely. These probably had some influence in making British business conclude that it would be wise to safeguard its position through legislation in view of what it was disposed to regard as racial animosity. These feelings found expression in the demand for safeguards embodied in the memorandum submitted by it to the Simon Commission which may be considered as its reaction to the Indian demands. This is the second chapter of the story.

Realising the necessity of allaying such suspicions as might have been aroused as also that of guaranteeing the continuance of legitimately acquired British interests in India, the All-Parties (Nehru) Conference made a statement of its views on the question, which is the third chapter.

But even then, the guarantees offered by this responsible body of Indian public men were not regarded by British business as sufficient and it, through its representatives at the three Round Table Conferences, reiterated its demands for statutory safeguards where we have the fourth chapter.

The proposals put forward were accepted by the British Government and later on incor-

porated in the Government of India Act, 1935. In addition, this piece of legislation made definite provisions for the future unrestricted entry of British capital into our commercial and industrial life. And here ends the fifth chapter of the story for the time being. But there can be little doubt that another and a final chapter will be added though no one can prophesy what form it will take and when it will be written.

THE FISCAL COMMISSION AND THE EXTERNAL CAPITAL COMMITTEE

The demand for the protection of our industries led to the appointment of the Indian Fiscal Commission which, according to the terms of reference, was "to examine with reference to all the interests concerned the tariff policy of the Government of India, including the question of the desirability of adopting the principle of Imperial Preference, and to make recommendations." It laid down certain conditions under which only an industry could claim protection and recommended Imperial Preference, matters with which we are not concerned here. It was realised in the course of the investigations it conducted that in order to make its enquiry a complete and a satisfactory one, it was necessary to consider certain suggestions bearing on the free entry of foreign capital into our industries which India has persisted in regarding as reasonable. This was incumbent on it as the acceptance of protection and even of Imperial Preference was certain to encourage the starting of industries behind our tariff wall with alien capital and under alien control in order to reap the advantages contingent on the adoption of such a policy.

After considering the matter from all points of view, the Fiscal Commission made its recommendations on this matter in Chapter XV of its Report.

When the Steel Industry Protection Bill was under discussion in the Central Legislature in 1924, Pundit Motilal Nehru pressed Government to incorporate in it the somewhat slender safeguards recommended by the Fiscal Commission for the protection of Indian interests and his proposal was accepted. It has to be stated here that this was the first occasion when the policy with regard to the entry of alien capital into our industrial life was accepted and given effect to through legislation. It was in the course of the discussion thus raised that Sir Charles Innes, then Commerce Member and, later on, Governor of Burma, observed:

"I am aware that there are sections in the House which would like to incorporate in the Bill specific provisions regarding the proportion of foreign capital. I am prepared to take up separately the examination of questions of that kind and in that examination I am prepared to associate with the Government a Committee of the Legislature appointed *ad hoc* for the purpose."

The External Capital Committee came into existence as the fulfilment of this pledge and, according to the terms of reference, it was asked "to consider the question of the flow of capital into India from external sources." Among other things, it investigated the case for and against the encouragement of alien, and its replacement by indigenous, capital as also the restrictions which, under certain circumstances, might be imposed on the former.

Like the Fiscal Commission, the External Capital Committee considered the suggestions coming from Indian interests and made its recommendations giving reasons for them. For purposes of criticism, the suggestions as well as the recommendations are taken together and discussed in the following pages.

INCORPORATION OF ALIEN CONCERNS IN INDIA WITH RUPEE CAPITAL

The first suggestion from the Indian side was that non-Indian concerns should be incorporated and registered in India with rupee capital. In this connection, attention is drawn to the opinion of the External Capital Committee that

"It is more advantageous to India that its requirements for new capital should be supplied from internal rather than from external sources, so far as internal capital is forthcoming. The real solution of the problem of external capital lies in the development of India's own capital resources."

If the view put forward above is correct, it follows that the adoption of the measure suggested by India is calculated to encourage Indian and, at least to some extent, to discourage foreign investors. If non-Indian concerns have sterling capital, some among the better off Indians might invest their savings in companies incorporated outside India, but it is doubtful whether the less well-to-do classes whose savings are limited could be expected to take the risks of exchange, with the mysteries of which they are not familiar, by investments in concerns incorporated in a foreign country and in a foreign currency. Even if this is done by middle class people living in large commercial centres like Bombay or Calcutta, it is debatable whether those living away from such places who constitute a majority among them would enjoy the necessary facilities for the purchase and sale

of their holdings and the conversion of their dividends in sterling into Indian currency. These factors alone would militate against anything like an extensive participation of the less prosperous classes in investments of this type.

It is not denied that the acceptance of the suggestion is likely to have a deterrent effect on some among foreign investors which is exactly what the Indian would like to see. The only argument against it is that the necessary amount of capital may not be forthcoming easily. That at least nowadays no difficulty is experienced in securing capital from Indian sources where the concerns in question inspire public confidence is so well-known that any reference to this fact appears superfluous.

INDIANISATION OF THE DIRECTORATE

With the same end in view, the "Indianisation" as far as possible of these non-Indian concerns, it was suggested that the Boards of Directors should be located in India with the implication that the head offices should be in India. The purpose of this and the previous suggestion as well as the demand that a certain percentage among the directors should be Indians is to do everything possible to identify non-Indian concerns as intimately as possible with India. This was the position accepted and recommended by both the Fiscal Commission and the External Capital Committee where non-Indian concerns enjoy concessions. Indians have yet to find what they consider a satisfactory explanation for making a distinction, so far at least as these suggestions are concerned, between the two categories of companies.

The Fiscal Commission disapproved of the suggestion that a certain proportion of the directors should be Indians on the plea that it would imply the introduction of communalism or rather racialism in business. This criticism would be fair only if the Indian directors were elected by Indian share-holders. The presence of Indian directors in the boards of non-Indian concerns was recommended by it and accepted by Government in the case of companies to which concessions are given by Government. The Indian demand merely sought to widen its scope. The communalism or rather racialism complained of would be practically eliminated if all the directors are elected by all the shareholders with the proviso that a certain number of directorships should be reserved for Indians. This would correspond to the joint electorate system advocated by Indian nationalists for election to the different legislatures. Force is lent to this de-

mand by the fact that non-Indian concerns have of late come to realise the wisdom of this policy and are giving effect to it to a limited extent.

Another objection to the presence of Indian directors on the boards of non-Indian companies not in receipt of definite concessions from Government is based on different grounds. In paragraph 24 of its report the External Capital Committee says:

"Our objection to a statutory minimum of directors is based on the right of share-holders under ordinary circumstances to have an unfettered control over their own directorate, and the principle that it would be unbusinesslike and uneconomic to compel companies to labour under a proportion of directors whose business qualifications were only a secondary consideration."

Continuing, the External Capital Committee quotes with approval the opinion of the (European) Burma Chamber of Commerce which in its reply to the questionnaire issued by it had observed that

"Capital demands the choice of its own directorate, failing which its cost will be raised or its supply entirely withheld."

Here certain things are taken for granted, the first of which is that all directors in all non-Indian concerns are qualified to occupy the positions they do by reason of their experience as businessmen, that a majority of the Indian directors are not likely to possess this experience, that the supply of properly qualified Indian directors is limited and, lastly, that Indian directors are not likely to command the confidence of the shareholders.

The present writer while disclaiming any knowledge of business has heard of "guinea-pigs". He is aware that the services of members of the English aristocracy and of the Houses of Parliament and of prominent men, not all of whom have business experience, are sought and obtained by promoters of companies. He also knows that members of the Indian Civil and other All-India services who, so far as an Indian may judge from such information as is available to him, are quite innocent of first-hand business experience have, after retirement, blossomed out not only into directors but also into Presidents of the Boards of Directors of large and prosperous British companies operating in India. He has heard that here, as in committees etc., is general, the lion's share of the work is nearly always done by the few experts the Boards contain and that the rest are there to represent the views of the ordinary man who claims the possession of common sense only.

Today we see Indian businessmen launching out by themselves in industrial and commercial

that the profits of such industries (and also of commerce) should remain in the country."

TRAINING OF INDIAN APPRENTICES

While Indians admit that the desire to reduce the cost of production or of working expenses has induced foreign capital to train up Indians to fill up subordinate positions, they maintain that it has hitherto failed to give effect to this policy where the more remunerative and more responsible positions are concerned.

In Paragraph 290 of its report, the Fiscal Commission referred to this grievance of Indians when it stated that

"Foreign capitalists take no trouble to train up Indians and do not give them a reasonable chance of rising to positions of responsibility, with the result that enterprises under foreign control produce far less benefit in increased employment and training of Indians than theoretically they should produce."

The Fiscal Commission felt that compulsion exercised in this direction is not likely to yield the desired results. It therefore suggested that advantage should be taken of the keen competition for Indian orders and that

"whenever important Government orders are placed with firms outside India, one of the conditions of tender should be that the firms should, if required, agree to afford facilities for technical training to Indian apprentices sent by the Government of India."

It is obvious that the above suggestion does not recognise the fact that the placing of orders under such a condition implies compulsion though in an indirect way. Then again, this provides for the training of Indian apprentices in certain industries only and fails to take into account and suggest methods for ensuring the training of Indian youths in banking, commerce, etc.

The Fiscal Commission, however, pointed out that as circumstances are gradually compelling foreign capital to identify itself more and more intimately with Indian capital, "the training of Indians for posts of greater responsibility will proceed apace without recourse to the doubtful expedients (legislative enactments) that have been suggested to us."

The Indian position was made clear in the Minute of Dissent, the signatories to which suggested that legislation for compelling both Indian and non-Indian concerns to train Indian apprentices should be passed and that the powers granted under it should be used only when there was obvious failure to give effect to this policy. Indians believe that though, at the beginning, the firms concerned might not relish what they might be inclined to regard as Government interference with their internal management, they would, in

enterprises on fairly large scales. To suggest that such men would be a drag on their non-Indian colleagues in the boards of non-Indian concerns is hardly warranted by facts. Equally incapable of proof is the assumption that the supply of trained Indian businessmen is so inadequate that it will run short if any undue demand is made on it by the inclusion of Indian directors in such non-Indian concerns as may be started after this demand is conceded. That Indian directors of the right type do command the confidence of the shareholders is evident when we remember the eagerness with which shares are taken up by Indian and non-Indian investors resident in India whenever a sufficiently attractive proposition emanates from them.

Rightly or wrongly, Indians have come to believe that the reason, may be subconscious, for the unwillingness to accept this suggestion is due either to the desire of reserving all the advantages contingent on the possession of inside knowledge in business of a certain type or, in the alternative, to the honestly but wrongly held opinion of the Indian's incapacity for commerce and industry.

While the Fiscal Commission admitted that the adoption of the above suggestions would be advantageous it, at the same time, disapproved of them, because in its opinion,

"Such business concerns as did not wish to comply with these conditions would be encouraged to carry on as private companies instead of forming themselves into joint stock companies and this we would regard as an unfortunate result." (Paragraph 291).

As against this, Indians maintain that, ordinarily, it is not likely that all the capital required for starting large-scale industrial and commercial enterprises can be provided by individuals forming themselves into private companies. Such a contingency is likely to arise only where the profits are so very high that the people concerned do not relish sharing them with the people of the country where they are earned which, obviously, is unjustifiable. If non-Indians persist in exploiting our resources in this way, Indians would insist on special legislation to check this tendency. And in doing so, they would remind their critics of what Sir Frederic Nicholson, Member, Indian Finance Commission, Member, Board of Revenue, who framed elaborate proposals for the establishment of agricultural banks in India, said,

"I beg to record my strong opinion that in the matter of Indian industries, we are bound to consider Indian interests firstly, secondly, and thirdly. . . . I mean by firstly, that the local raw products should be utilized, by secondly, that industries (and by implication, commerce) should be introduced, and by thirdly,

time, reconcile themselves to it till at last the training of Indian apprentices would become a normal feature of their day-to-day activities.

RESERVATION OF SHARES FOR INDIANS

Suggestions were made freely by a large number of witnesses examined by the Fiscal Commission that

"It should be provided by law that a certain percentage of the share capital should be held by Indians, or at least that Indians should be given a fair chance to subscribe to such companies (that is concerns floated by foreign capital) on their initiation."

The Fiscal Commission disapproved of these suggestions as they would "not only discourage the investment of foreign capital, but would also injure the interests of the Indian investors." It held that

"Such reservation could only be secured by practically preventing the transfer to Europeans of shares held by Indians, whilst permitting the free sale of shares held by Europeans."

It may be observed first of all that the reservation of a certain percentage of shares for Indians is not likely to discourage foreign capital which obviously seeks investment for profit provided it is convinced that this can be secured without its being compelled to face more than the normal risks involved in trading. Restrictions of this type should, ordinarily, be no bar to the entry of non-Indian capital so long as these two conditions are fulfilled. And there is nothing to show that the imposition of these conditions is likely to be regarded in this light.

Under statute, Indians would be entitled to hold a certain percentage only of the shares the rest being held by either them or non-Indians. It is of course admitted that the end and aim of this proposal is the association of Indians in ever-increasing numbers in industrial and commercial concerns as shareholders. Once its desirability is admitted, there should be no objection to the gradual transfer of the shares of these concerns to Indians. The non-Indian cannot complain of injustice so long as no compulsion is exercised on him to part with the shares held by him for their sale would be a voluntary one.

The Fiscal Commission drew attention to the difficulties to which it believed the Indian shareholders would be put and the injury inflicted on them by the adoption of the suggestion in the following terms:

"Two markets for the shares would thus be created, a limited one for Indians and an unlimited one for Europeans, the former consequently being unable to realise full market value for their holdings."

The External Capital Committee was, to all intents and purposes, repeating the same objection when, in paragraph 23 of its report, it stated that

"The interests of the Indian investor will best be served by giving him the widest freedom of choice as to the character of his investments and the most open market in which to sell them when he so desires. It should be emphasized that the real criterion of the value of a stock is not only its dividend but also its marketability. A capitalist will require a much higher rate of interest if he does not feel confident that he can realise his principal when he wishes, and any measure which limits the number or the resources of potential purchasers will reduce the value of his holding."

Granting, for the sake of argument the correctness of this view, we believe that today we have sufficiently large numbers of Indian investors willing to invest their capital in enterprises even though restrictions such as these may have the immediate effect of reducing the market value of their holdings by a statutory limitation in the number of prospective buyers.

Then again, an opinion such as this presupposes that European buyers will always be more and Indian buyers less numerous and that in a free market better prices are more likely than in a restricted one. The present writer is not in a position to say whether today the volume of business done in this direction by Indians is smaller or larger than that done by non-Indians. But there cannot be much doubt that, with the passage of time, Indians will gradually participate more largely than in the past in this type of business and that the smallness of the amount of money involved in such transactions would probably be more than counterbalanced by their numbers. At the worst, if the difficulty envisaged does arise, it is not likely to be permanent. Then again, competition among Indian buyers will automatically lead to the obtaining of fair prices for there is nothing to show that Indian buyers of shares held by Europeans or their own countrymen will offer a price below the market value which is ordinarily determined primarily by the yield. It is admitted that ease in disposal, when a share is used as a counter for speculation, undoubtedly adds to its attractions. This is bound to come with time.

It was also urged that restrictions on the distribution of shares as between Indians and non-Indians would be evaded. The opinion of the External Capital Committee on this matter which appears in paragraph 24 of its report is as follows:

"Restrictions on the transferability of shares could be evaded by the large capitalist and would only penalise the small investor, both Indian and non-Indian,

by increasing the difficulty of finding purchasers, for which brokers would naturally also charge an enhanced commission."

Indians do not deny that these difficulties may arise. They, however, do not believe that the evasions referred to will be on anything like such a large scale as to stultify the purpose aimed at specially if those guilty of illegal transactions are penalised. No complaint regarding the narrowness of the market available for the disposal of shares is justifiable if we remember that the people concerned will make their investments with full knowledge of the difficulties contingent on these restrictions. Then again, Indians believe that it will not be necessary to impose restrictions on the free transferability of shares permanently for, sooner or later, the people of this country will learn how to take care of their financial interests by investing their savings in flourishing commercial and industrial undertakings. They have to be led to it and this is one of the means, though not an ideal one, for doing so.

Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his note of dissent to the Report of the External Capital Committee suggested that in order to encourage Indians to invest their capital in concerns started by aliens, it was desirable that "at least half of the share capital should be reserved to Indian subscribers for a definite period of time."

The strongest argument which can be put forward in favour of a suggestion such as this is that we have to admit its necessity once we agree to the view that Indian capital should be afforded the largest possible facilities for investment in Indian industry and commerce and that non-Indian capital should, as a matter of principle, be allowed to supplement it only in order to quicken the pace of our economic advance.

The External Capital Committee in its criticism of this proposal of Malaviyaji said that some witnesses had held that this period should not be less than six months which, in its opinion, would unduly delay the starting of actual work, a view with which the present writer is in full agreement. He does not, however, believe that if the proposition is sufficiently attractive, there need be this unconscionable delay.

Later on, it was suggested that this 50 per cent of the shares reserved to Indians should be kept for them for a minimum period of 30 days only which seems a more reasonable proposition specially as the opinion of Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya as recorded in his note of dissent was that

"If after that period Indians have not subscribed their share, the company should be free to acquire the remaining capital where it could."

The External Capital Committee made a suggestion which it regarded as unobjectionable from every point of view and this was that

"In the event of a list being oversubscribed, Indians might receive on allotment the total amount of their applications up to 50 per cent. of the total issue."

But even this proposal, reasonable from every point of view, the External Capital Committee condemned because

"It would be a simple matter for non-Indian investors to arrange for their applications to go through an Indian. Such measures might deter the small external investor but it would be a very simple matter for the larger capitalist to get round them by employing an Indian agency."

It is suggested that if, under war conditions, it is feasible to ration a whole nation and to regulate the daily life of every individual member of it, the detection and punishment of the far from creditable trickery of this type should not be difficult always provided the will to help India is there.

In this connection it is worth remembering that though the Fiscal Commission and the External Capital Committee had disapproved of measures to secure the presence of a proportion of Indian shareholders, Lord Reading, ex-Viceroy, who participated, in the discussions of the Minorities Committee of the Second Round Table Conference said on the 19th November, 1931:

"I quite follow the argument that where, for example, in future public utility undertakings of public concerns in which public money is to be invested or used, the Government of India may say: 'Well, we think that a company which is to get the benefit of the subsidy that we shall give or of the advantage that we shall give by some direct payment or use of money, must be a registered company in India with rupee capital, with a moderate reasonable proportion of Indian directors, and with a reasonable and moderate proportion of Indian share-holders.' It may be that I go further than some of my colleagues in thinking that that is not an entirely unreasonable proposition for the Government of India to put forward."

Indians have no desire to exclude alien capital from operating in India but if it wishes to do so under the favourable conditions rendered possible by protective tariffs which constitute a self-imposed indirect taxation of Indians, it must be prepared to carry on its activities under such terms and conditions as are acceptable to us. If it refuses to do so, it will secure the necessary permission but in that case it will be liable to penal taxation which would approximately amount to the pecuniary advantage derived from the adoption by us of the policy of protection.

It may not always be easy to assess this

amount but surely rough justice can always be shown to the offending concerns which are not likely to be very large in number. A systematic adherence to this policy is bound to discourage the incorporation of concerns of this type. If the profits which may be earned in India by alien capital are sufficiently attractive, as

appears to have been the case hitherto, there cannot be much doubt that insistence on the observance of the conditions demanded by Commercial, Industrial and Political India would not deter it from seeking a field for its activities in India.

(To be continued)

RE-EDUCATION FOR WORLD CITIZENSHIP

By HORACE G. ALEXANDER, M.A.

It is difficult to picture the conditions in which the present world war, whether in the East or the West, may be brought to an end. Presumably sooner or later there will be some opportunity for peace-making; but it is doubtful whether this will take the form of such a peace conference as met in 1919. The peace-making process may possibly be divisible into stages: First, perhaps, immediate measures of economic assistance and relief to areas where famine conditions prevail; then some attempt to resettle the boundaries between States—whether in Central Europe or in Eastern or Southern Asia. Finally, and most important, will come the attempt to create some system of world order or federation, to end once for all the anarchic system of State Sovereignty and national armaments.

But these things can only be if there is in the world some great new moral incentive, together with a widespread conviction that political and economic power are not the chief ends of State activity, but that the State should be regarded primarily as an organ for promoting human welfare both within and beyond national limits. If States continue to compete for imperial power, if the so-called "Have-not" States are chiefly concerned to "Have" not merely equal economic opportunity with the rest, but imperial and economic power over their neighbours, all talk of world order or world federation must remain mere idle prattle.

World Order can only be achieved through radical social change; but it depends still more on a change of outlook. There is a lot of talk in England today about the "re-education" of the Germans: but it is not only the Germans who need re-educating. Every nation has fallen victim, in greater or less degree, to the poison of power politics. Every nation needs to be re-educated. And this re-education involves something far more radical than a re-writing of the history text books used in schools, or other minor reforms (however important) of educa-

tional syllabi. It means the substitution of a new scale of values. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that today most men in most countries grow to manhood assuming that their first duty is to get a good job for themselves, and to put the advantage of their own nation and very often their own class or caste above all other loyalties. It is taken for granted that personal success, personal power, are the natural pursuits of man: "each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." Unless these fundamental assumptions can be changed, there is little hope of creating a world community. And they can only be changed if every great section of mankind—Chinese and Japanese, Russians and other Slavs, Indians and Malays, Latins, Teutons, Anglo-Saxons, Africans and others—all contribute what they can from their ancient or modern wisdom.

To turn from the general to the particular; I want to suggest the kind of way in which this re-education of the human spirit can be, or is being, undertaken.

Gerald Heard recently wrote a pamphlet under the title "A Quaker Mutation," in which he called attention to a small Quaker educational experiment at a place called Pendle Hill in the United States. I have not a copy of the pamphlet before me, and I have not read it for two or three years; but as far as I recall it the thesis is something of this kind. Communists and Nazis have realised that if you want to turn men and women into devotees of their particular faith, you must educate not only the conscious mind but the sub-conscious too. That is to say, you must not only teach them what you want them to learn, but you must place them in an environment where hour after hour and day after day they are exposed to influences which imperceptibly but almost irresistibly permeate their whole beings with the truth (or it may be with the falsehood) that you want to take possession of them. The songs they sing, the

pictures they see, the combined exercises they perform, the way they do their day's work, even the very food they eat, must all contribute to the moulding of the perfect Communist or the perfect Nazi. Both in Russia and in Germany this process of indoctrinating a whole generation in such a way that the young men and women joyfully yield themselves, body and soul, to serve a particular ideal, has been achieved with amazing success, in an amazingly short space of time. Is it possible for a similar process to be employed for the creation of a generation of men and women who will be, not the mere slaves of a limited philosophy, or of a single class or nation, but free, critically-minded and yet ready to give themselves with full abandon to the service of mankind? Gerald Heard believes that it can be done, and he believes he has seen it in action on a small scale in Pendle Hill.

At Pendle Hill men and women live and work together. In a small community of thirty or forty students and teachers you will find white American and Negroes studying together; Germans and French, Chinese and Japanese, Indians and English, all are welcome and all are accepted into a single family. They work in the garden together, or in the kitchen; they meet together morning by morning for silent meditation; class-work has a minimum of lecturing, a maximum of common research. The directors take it for granted that mankind is all of one family, and that spiritual and intellectual values count for more than material values—not that the urgent needs of social and economic reform, of material betterment, are overlooked: but the emphasis is on the liberation of the human spirit, and on the paradox that man finds his fullest liberty in service of the community. These are not mere notions that are taught: they are convictions that are shared. And the result is that men and women who pass through Pendle Hill go out into the world again with the assurance not only that these values are intellectually defensible, but that they will work, and that where they work life is immeasurably enriched.

But why go to America to find such a "mutation"? The same thing is being achieved along parallel lines within a hundred miles of Calcutta. There can be very few students who pass through Santiniketan without undergoing a radical change in their view of the world. Even if a Santiniketan student still expresses with his lips words that conform to the ways of the world, something in the hidden depths of his consciousness will for ever deny the accepted values. He

has seen and known and felt the world as it might be and ought to be: the world as it is no longer claims his final loyalty. He has known what it is to live in a world where beauty, rhythm, harmony, love of truth, tolerance, reverence for human personality prevail. He has submitted himself to the influence of saints and seers: not plaster-saints, but the kind who know how to laugh and be laughed at; not arm-chair seers, but those who have learnt wisdom by walking and working with simple men and women.

Such are the influences by which Santiniketan and other centres of light and learning in East and West may mould men to become true world citizens. If India will teach the world how her greatest gurus and her noblest ashrams have exerted their influence; if China will teach the world what her sages have learnt of the way of moderation; if each people in the world, according to its own genius, will develop means of educating the whole man for world citizenship, a world order will become possible.

In August, 1942, after I had been in India for a few weeks, I sent the following message to the Society of Friends (Quakers) in England:

"One of the most remarkable effects on the mind of living in India just now is that the whole world takes on a different sense of proportion. Instead of living in an Anglo-Saxon world, cut off from the rest by a great block dominated by Hitler, here we are in the heart of Asia, menaced both from the north-west and south-east by dark powers of aggressive force, and conscious that the two great centres of ancient wisdom, China and India, are being drawn together. Both are at heart peaceful countries which for centuries have known and cultivated a deep peace of the soul, of which the restless west knows little or nothing. Both have been left behind by what we call modern progress, like two great sleeping giants. But today both are aroused from their slumbers, and each has, I believe, a deep sympathy for the effort the other is making to assert its right to a life of its own in the modern world, and to show the West, torn by frightful forces of evil, that the ancient cultures of the East, if reinterpreted to fit the modern age, might help to rescue the world from race suicide. Cannot those in the West who still believe that the forces of the mind and spirit are mightier than military and economic power speak a word of comfort and hope to the leaders of these eastern peoples—not a political word, but something that will strike a chord in the hearts of men who believe in truth and in human brotherhood?"

In endorsing the general spirit of what I had written, the English Quakers wrote:

"We recognise that we need a new world, founded on the fellowship of all cultures, and we look to the people of India and China, as also to those of Japan, to help us bring a new vision, a new and vital sense of spiritual realities."

The lust for power in the heart of man can only be overcome by some mightier force—by a devotion of his whole being to truth, to justice and mercy, to beauty and harmony.

BY PRINCIPAL KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, M.A., D.Phil. (Heidelberg)

GOETHE'S well-known dramatic work "Faust" is also the greatest poem in the German language. Indeed its essence lies in its being a poem. It is essentially a piece of art and not just a drama delineating faithfully the interactions of ordinary human passions and depicting the play of common human psychology. As a "text-book for gathering wordly wisdom" therefore it is bound to be disappointing. Such lessons as it inculcates it does so not through the faculty of mere reasoning but mainly through our feeling and (spiritual) experience, for 'Gefuehl ist alles.' *Faust* does not lay down rules of commendable conduct, for, the function of art is not to evolve a system nor to sermonise but to create and give expression to the Beautiful, and yet nothing can bear the stamp of real and lasting beauty unless it also carries with it the message of a Truth. The strength of this truth in art does not, however, lie in its arithmetic precision but in its power to lift up the soul from the depth of despondency and inspire it with the aspiration for a higher existence,—*"zum hoechsten Dasein immerfort zu streben."*

Faust purports to delineate the inner history of the soul stretching from the depth of despondency, passing through the tumult and excitement of temptation and passion and finally reaching the glorious height of upliftment which comes to a life dedicated to service and love. *Faust* is a Soul-Drama. The subject-matter of a soul-drama is the struggling, aspiring, ascending human soul. The language of the market-place cannot do justice to such a theme, hence the necessity of the medium of poetry. The commonplace scenes and characters cannot provide a proper setting for unfolding the evolution of the soul. The transactions of the body are limited to this world but the soul transacts in this world as well as in others whose maps and regulations we do not know. The poet in his intuitional vision can get glimpses of unknown or half-known and unseen worlds with which the soul has commerce, but to express his vision in language he has to take recourse to hints, suggestions and analogies and hence the necessity of symbols. *Faust* is the symbol of the "type of human intellect faced by the problems of human life" and Mephistopheles is the embodiment of scepticism and temptation to which man is subject until he realises himself through action directed towards that end.

The work is named after the sixteenth century charlatan and magician *Faustus*, who, according to legends, gained supernatural powers

as a result of a compact with the devil. The story of *Faust* which underwent changes in the hands of subsequent writers (like Marlowe, Lessing and others) finally took the following form in the hand of Goethe:

It is Easter Eve. The celebrated master scholar Heinrich Faust is musing in his dimly lighted study. A great despondency has overtaken him. He has toiled incessantly for a quarter of a century in pursuit of knowledge in all its branches and now in his middle age he finds that he has learnt nothing so far as the knowledge of the underlying principle of life is concerned. He is bitter at the thought of the emptiness of intellectuality and this feeling of bitterness is intensified by the further thought that while engaged in this futile task of gathering wisdom (through the intellect) he has missed life. But if he must live now, it cannot be for the wordly pleasures whose futility is too obvious to a man of his erudition. It strikes him that the proper way to live for him lies in communion with super-human life, in which he gets initiated by mastering the book of Nostradamus, the the alchemist. In this way he gets some spiritual experiences, which however, leaves the core of his heart dissatisfied and in utter despair he contemplates suicide, from which he is saved by the timely sound of the joyful Easter bells and the paschal hymns.

On Easter day Faust, accompanied by his pupil Wagner ("an eager boy in whom Faust sees his lost youth") wanders among the festive crowd which for a while lightens up his mind. But his restless inquisitive mind finds no lasting peace in anything and again he returns to his study in deep dejection, bringing with him a stray dog (as his pet) which starts growling soon after its arrival. Faust threatens to apply potent spells and thereupon the dog transforms itself and turns out to be Mephistopheles, the spirit of temptation and doubt ("der Geist, der stets verneint"). Mephistopheles tempts Faust with the wordly pleasures but the latter sees it through. The long-standing starvation of the emotional side of his nature, however, reacts and seeks some satisfaction and this affords an opportunity for Mephistopheles to strike a bargain. It is stipulated that Mephistopheles would serve Faust in this world and Faust would serve Mephistopheles afterwards and the latter is to guide the former through the pleasures of the world. Accordingly, Faust is led by Mephistopheles to the Witches' Kitchen where he (Faust) regains his lost youth with the help

of a magic drink under the influence of which he begins to see a Helen in every woman.

"Du siehst, mit diesem Trank im Leibe,
Bald Helenen in jedem Weibe."

Next, Faust (through the connivance of Mephistopheles) falls deeply in love with an innocent girl, Margarete. He is now intoxicated with the passion and urge of sensual pleasure and worldly enjoyment. Under the influence of this newly awakened urge Faust enters one night Margarete's chamber and meets her under circumstances in which it becomes impossible for her to refuse him while the drug administered by the lovers to Margarete's mother to make her sleep soundly, being poison, kills her. As a result of this secret union a child is born to Margarete, whom she, in a delirium, kills in order to hide her shame, and in consequence she is confined to a cell where she awaits her execution on the scaffold. Faust, meanwhile, gives himself up to the wild merry-making of the Walpurgis Night.¹ In the midst of this wild excitement however his moral sense awakens anew and without caring for personal dangers he rushes to save Margarete from the condemned cell. She, however, rejects his helping hand partly because she is in a state of raving madness (caused by the death of her mother, brother and child) and partly perhaps because she wants to seek an escape from an unbearable existence in death. While Faust is still persuading Margarete to come out of the cell Mephistopheles realises that it is going to be too late for Faust (who may be detected by the warder if he lingers on), consequently he rushes in, drags away Faust out of the prison and disappears, while the fading voice of Margarete is heard from within the cell crying, Heinrich! Heinrich! Here ends the first part.

In the opening scene of the second part we find Faust seeking the possibility of a higher life with ardour and zeal. He seeks this possibility in vain in the showy atmosphere of the King's court. At this time moreover, he himself lacks the inner urge or inspiration which alone can enable one to undertake great tasks. This

1. Walpurgis night is the night before May-day and is also known as Witches' sabbath. St. Walpurgis was a historical person of English origin, who went (about 750 A.D.) with some other nuns to found religious institutions in Germany. Subsequently she became the Abbess of the Benedictine nunnery at Heidenheim in the diocese of Eishstätt, where her relics were buried in a hollow rock from which "exuded a kind of bituminous oil afterwards known as Walpurgis oil and regarded as of miraculous efficacy against diseases. She is regarded as the protectress against Magic arts."

necessary inspiration he gets from the "Region of Mothers" whence he conjures up the image of Helena, the model woman (Musterbild) to satisfy the King's curiosity. To the wide-awake and open-eyed Faust she appears to be the very symbol of the Beautiful in all its aspects. He feels that in order to live further he must get her and be able to live with her. Homunkulus, the wise, knows the means of getting her back from the land of the dead (Unterwelt). After sojourning the land of Greece with him, Faust comes to the Demons of the antic world, and then to Manto, the seer (Seherin), who leads him to the underworld, whence he gets permission for a fresh and short lease of life for Helena, who lives with him for this period. Her companionship uplifts and elevates our hero morally and spiritually, but Helena's time expiring she leaves Faust all of a sudden one day.

Returning to Germany, a great idea (Plan) seizes his mind: Constructing huge and powerful dams in the sea he would wrest from the mighty flood a wide expanse of earth surface which would be developed for the good of all. By lending help to the king in the next war Faust gets from him the enfeoffment of the sea-coast and the remainder of his long life is dedicated to this great task, which he fulfils till he is full hundred-year old. But even now his indomitable spirit knows no rest; newer and bigger plans suggest themselves to his thoughtful mind and his mental vigour does not diminish even though he is old and blind. As a *Karmayogin* he has realised the aim and purpose of human existence:

"Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
Der taeglich sie erobern muss."

Faust dies and from heaven the testimony is given unto him that he is worthy of redemption (Erloesung), because through errors, difficulties and temptations he has ceaselessly and unflinchingly striven for it.

The basis of this drama is the upward struggle (towards perfection or goodness) of the human soul (represented by Faust). In the midst of its struggleful career it (the soul) has to wade through many doubts, difficulties and temptations. The evolution of this career can be divided into four stages: (i) First, a feeling of frustration arising out of the realisation of the futility of intellectuality as a means of realising the meaning and underlying principle of life, (ii) secondly, a natural reaction against intellectuality and attraction towards the

2. That is, he alone deserves freedom and life who must daily struggle for them.

pleasures of life and the resultant deterioration of the moral life, (iii) thirdly, the awakening, assertion and triumph of the moral principle over the forces of temptation, and (iv) lastly, at the end of the struggle the realisation of satisfaction and bliss which comes to a life dedicated to service and love. Step by step the soul ascends from the intellectual to the emotional and from the emotional to the spiritual stage of existence and on each occasion the transformation comes through the mediation of a woman (Margarete and Helena). The drama throughout is resonant with its key-note, namely, that man is the architect of his own fate which he fashions by his own aspirations and strivings.

This acknowledgment of man's ability to achieve his own salvation by his own striving (Karma) stands in wide contrast to the doctrine of sin, the remedy of repentance and Divine grace and in fact is a great departure from traditional methods of salvation as prescribed by Christianity (or rather the Church). In a religion like Christianity it is impossible to derive the satisfaction which comes from the consciousness of a divine immanence based on a pantheistic monism because there is a wide separation and a standing distance between the Christian God and his creation. God lives in an imaginary heaven away from the sinful world which (paradoxically enough) he is responsible for creating. Christ's mediation and surrender to man are not acts of spontaneous joy (which accompanies union) but they manifest themselves through an act of excruciating torture. What a spiritual pathology! What a dismal philosophy for the guidance of life on earth! All this must be discarded if one would fulfil the mission of a great poet which lies in reconciling life with religion (the here with the hereafter), that is just the reversal of the process in which Christianity has been engaged since its inception. This is why Goethe deviated from the Christian traditions and not only did not deny salvation to Faust because of his 'slips' but appraised him worthy of redemption because he is "irrend aber stets strebend, niemals der Verneinung und der Traegheit verfallend."³

In this Goethe appears to have been acting as an instrument (perhaps unconscious) of historical forces whose real progenitors were the humanists who made the first effective protest

against the Christian denial of life and beauty and the painters of the Renaissance period who carried the protest right up to the altar at the Vatican. Indeed, the accumulated protest against the narrow dogmatism of the medieval Church as recorded in the subsequent movements like the Reformation and the scientific revolution culminated in such a vigorous reaction in favour of accepting life that in the eighteenth-century Europe Rousseau's Naturalism almost succeeded in re-establishing man in ancient primitivism. But Naturalism or Realism, as an inspiration or force in art has its limitations and this limitation was reached when it arrived at a stage whence to move forward would have meant the sacrifice of that discipline or restraint without which no art can thrive. At this stage poetry, painting, drama searched for newer media for their expression and this was found in Symbolism which found such eminent exponents in Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Andrejev, Burne Jones, Gordon Craig, in Europe. This new Symbolism, therefore, is a result of twofold reaction,—one against the doctrine of original sin and such other religiosities of medieval Christianity and the other against the eighteenth-century Realism which, according to some critics, began to "degrade art into photography." Goethe seems to have been one of the pioneers of introducing this symbolism in art at least in Europe.

The Faustian symbolism, however, was not bold or mature enough to cut off all connection with (organised) religion as was the symbolism of the later soul-dramas, say, of Maeterlinck or Tagore. That is why, though, Faust, in its essence has, like the soul-drama that it is, tried to unfold the innermost struggles and aspirations of the human soul, has still maintained, to a certain extent, the outward form or atmosphere of Christian religiosity,—a personal God presiding in heaven, the angels, the saints and the virgin Mary. Indeed, the Prologue in Heaven and the closing scene are to my mind unnecessary appendages which have, to an extent, lowered the merit of this otherwise classic work. Did Goethe really believe in the theological traditions of Christianity? There is nothing to justify such a surmise. On the contrary, his writings afford enough proof of a belief in a monistic universe where the soul, born in freedom, earns its salvation through its own actions and efforts and he appears to have been more inclined to a rather "Hindu view of life." In the *Faust* itself occur such expressions as "Die Tatist alles, nichts der Ruhm" or "Geniessen macht gemein,"—expressions so reminiscent of those

3. That is, erring but always striving, never given to despondency and inaction.

of the Gita or the Upanishads (such as "karmanyevadhikaraste ma phaleshu kada-chana," or "tyaktena bhunjita, ma gridha" etc). Elsewhere in his writings we come across such passages as :

"Versuche, deine Pflicht zu tun, und du weisst gleich, was an dir ist" or "Siehst du Gott nicht? An jeder stillen Quelle, unter jedem blühenden Baum begegnet er mir in der Wärme seiner Liebe," or "Ich glaube, dass wir einen Funken jenes ewigen Lichts in uns tragen, das im Grunde des Seins leuchten muss und welches unsere schwachen Sinne nur von ferne ahnen können. Diesen Funken in uns zu Flamme werden zu lassen und das Göttliche in uns zu verwirklichen, ist unsere höchste Pflicht."

Or was it only to retain its appeal among Christian readers? If so that had been a very sad decision to be taken with regard to a work whose appeal otherwise is so universal. These inclusions give it the touch of a drama of the Christian soul and has the soul a communal bias or political boundaries? The point I am trying to emphasise will become clear if we just compare *Faust* with Tagore's *Raja* or *The Post Office* or Maeterlinck's *The Blue Bird* or *The Betrothal*. A truly soul-drama is one in which the mystery of the innermost recesses of the soul is unfolded without the introduction of religious stimulants.

The second difference of Faustian symbolism from the symbolism of later soul-dramas is its emphasis on the Will rather than on the Soul. In this Goethe appeared to have been influenced by the Schopenhauerean philosophy of viewing Will as the supreme force and the cosmic cause. (In this connection it is noteworthy that Schopenhauer's "Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung" appeared in 1819 and the second part of *Faust* was completed in 1831). Perhaps to their minds Will and Soul meant one and the same thing,—the motor force behind life, but the choice of the name makes a difference in the complexion of the philosophy one is going to evolve. Will is active, aggressive, dynamic; Soul is (not inactive) but tends to attain an equilibrium amidst life's forces and as such poised and peaceful (rather poise- and peace-loving). The emphasis on Will may save one

from the lethargy associated with Hamletian introspection (or brooding) and may lead man from victory to victory (in Life's battle) which is thus a helpful asset during an earthly career but when that career is about to terminate what is the worth of such achievements if the fever of activity is not transformed into a poise that comes from a sense of unity with the source of all life. Without this poise one may get redemption (whatever that may mean) but not the joy of reunion with the Lord of our Being. It is however to be noted that the Faustian Will is not the Nietzschean will to power but the will here is so directed as to realise the highest in life so that at the end the spirit may attain the highest bliss.

With these preliminary remarks on the philosophical background of the drama if we now try to enter into its appreciation we find before us a great poem in which a master mind has unfolded the panorama of man's spiritual life with consummate skill, so that the experiences of a limited life-time are, by the magic touch of a poet's genius, heightened and "expanded to a theme which illumines eternity. The rays of that sublime light are scattered over the whole poem and lend to it the colour of the symbolic." As suggested before, it would be wrong to try to appreciate such a poem (with its unfamiliar phraseology and mysterious names) with the aid only of the intellect or reason. That is not to suggest that it is an unintelligible and incoherent jargon but that is only to emphasise that in appreciating such works there is such another thing as intuition, which can help us to go beyond intellect and today, after Henri Bergson (and his school of thought), who will question the validity of this attitude (however westernised or modernised his mind)? Its appeal is to our feeling, to our spiritual experiences, for, "Das Schaudern ist der Menschheit bestes Teil." Taking us beyond the limitations of time and space (Zeit und Raum) it unveils before us the human soul as a "battleground, where various forces struggle for mastery." But the human soul which Faust represents is not the soul in ignorance and torpor, but the wide-awake, well-informed soul which alone craves for self-realisation and feels dissatisfied without it. The Faustian discontent is a universal human phenomenon and even in our own times enlightened spirits experience the same conflict of "ideas, desires and loyalties, of subconscious depths struggling with outer circumstances, of an inner hunger unsatisfied." Indeed, this is also the theme of the Gita and

4. Try to do your duty and you know at once what you are.

5. Don't you see God? At every quiet spring, under every blossoming tree he meets me in the warmth of his Love. (So reminiscent of Gitanjali, e.g.—"Have you not heard his silent steps? He comes, comes, ever comes. . . . In the fragrant days of sunny April through the forest path he comes, comes, ever comes.")

6. I believe that we bear with us a spark of that eternal Light, which must illumine the depth of our Being and of which our mind has only a faint perception. To grow this spark in us into a flame and to realise the Divine in us is our highest duty.

an Indian reader of *Faust* cannot but be struck by the similarity of the remedy prescribed (in both the "Gita" and "Faust") for this restlessness of the aspiring soul, viz., non-attached or disinterested performance of duty.

But performance of disinterested duty, however, cannot be made possible by rejecting life or confining oneself to the seclusion of one's study. That is barren intellectuality, rejection of life and can only deaden our emotions. But life has to be lived and what is needed for the fulfilment of life and realisation of self is not the deadening but the ennobling or sublimation of our emotions, and this, according to Goethe, can come to man only through his contact with women, for,

"Das Ewig-Weibliche
Zieht uns hinan."

But to bring such an one as Faust in contact with women (and society in general) is not an easy task and so the instrumentality of the devil and of a magic drink (from the witches' kitchen) were necessary to quicken in him the emotion of love. To the unsophisticated girl Margarete however, love comes in natural spontaneity. Her song by the spinning-wheel is one of the finest and simplest which has given expression to the pathos of a woman's love-lorn heart.

"Meine Ruh ist hin,
Mein Herz ist schwer,
Ich finde sie nimmer,
Und nimmermehr.
"Wo ich ihn nicht hab',
Ist mir das Grab,
Die ganze Welt
Ist mir vergaelt.
"Mein armer Kopf
Ist mir verrueckt,
Mein armer Sinn
Ist mir zerstueckt.
"Sein hoher Gang,
Sein edle Gestalt,
Seines Mundes Laecheln,
Seiner Augen Gewalt,
"Und seiner Rede
Zauberfluss,
Sein Haenderdruck,
Und ach! sein Kuss."

She has lost the peace of her mind, her heart aches and she has also lost her reasoning owing to a short separation. She longs for a reunion, for, without him the world to her is only a grave. She longs for his smile, his speech, his touch and his kiss which have for her magical efficacy. It is almost an echo of Radha's songs of separation.

Margarete's love releases Faust from barren intellectuality but he fails to utilise this freedom for higher and nobler purposes owing, perhaps, to his lack of experience and knowledge of the efficacy of love from which he has been

so systematically and unnaturally dissociated by his one-sided intellectual gymnastics. Freed from one bondage (of thought) therefore, he falls a victim to another, the bondage of enjoyment. He loses his moral balance as a result of which he becomes (directly or indirectly) responsible for a series of tragedies—the death of Margarete's mother, the death of her brother, Valentine (who hearing of his sister's shame comes to fight with Faust a duel in which he is fatally wounded), the birth and death of her illegitimate child and the imprisonment of Margarete. But wordly pleasures and merriment of Walpurgis night are unable to influence his mind permanently. His conscience awakens and we find him rushing into the cell in which Margarete is condemned for saving her from the gallows. He fails in his mission but henceforward his aspirations for higher and worthier life take more concrete shape and he steadily grows in his moral stature.

But if Margarete's contact transforms our hero's barren life to an emotional and ethical one, his short companionship with Helena leads him to a moral and spiritual level of existence and fills him with an inspiration which enables him to dedicate his life to the service of humanity. Helena, the model of the classic beauty of Greece, is conceived by Goethe as the very type of woman, who inspires man in noble action and who by the strength of her power and position commands from man his submission (Neigung), love (Liebe), and devotion (Anbetung). A Bengali reader of *Faust* is struck by certain similarities in Tagore's conception of Urvashi and Goethe's conception of Helena (though without being partial, it must be admitted that nowhere in his description of Helena does Goethe reach the same poetical grandeur and felicity of expression as does Tagore in his matchless "Urvashi"). Like Tagore's Urvashi who is 'eternally young' 'beloved of the universe' who "by her magic glance obliges gods and saints to give up their meditation and offer at her feet the fruits of their penance" and 'maddens the heart of man and makes his blood bubble in his veins' Goethe's Helena is also the model (Musterbild)

7. अनन्तयौवना

8. विदेव प्रेयसी

9. मुनिगण ध्यान भाङ्गि देय पदे तपस्यार फल।

तोमारि कटाक्षवाते त्रिभुवन यौवनचंचल ।

10. अकस्मात् पुरुषे वक्षोमांसे वित्त आत्मद्वारा, नाचे रक्षणम् ।

of womanly beauty, who maddens the world (die Welt verwirrt), who is desired by demi-gods, heroes and even demons (Halbgoetter, Helden, je Daemonen) and so infatuates the hearts of men (ueberall der Maenner Busen so zu betoeren) that they work, strive and fight for winning her. She is the symbol of inspiring energy in man ("Regung aller Kraft"). Here too Goethe has only borrowed the name from the past but has created a new character just as he has done with his Faust and Mephistopheles.

These two women, Margarete and Helena representing attractiveness and elevativeness in woman's love, were both necessary for the moral and spiritual regeneration of Faust and it is noteworthy that Faust's union with both is brought about by the agency of the devil of temptation, indicating the presence of temptation in human love unless and until it is purified in the fire of suffering and bathed in the sunshine of sincerity. But this temptation is unable to drag one down permanently because that would be against the philosophy of life which Goethe has tried to inculcate through his masterpiece, viz., man, if he is sincere and good, by the innate force of his character and actions emerges victorious in the life's struggle and becomes entitled to a higher existence in spite of his errors and pitfalls. Goethe's Faust, unlike the heroes of earlier Faust stories, shows no sign of repentance (in the Christian sense) for his mistakes, but by the dynamic force of his will and character rises to greater and greater heights and ultimately finds the one right path, for,

"Es irrt der Mensch, so lange er strebt," but,
"Ein guter Mensch, in seinem dunklen Drange
Ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewusst."

Goethe's Mephistopheles fails to ruin Faust morally and spiritually and two reasons are ascribed by critics for this failure. First, Goethe's Mephistopheles is not a fallen angel but simply a spirit of scepticism and as such he has no resolute will to spoil man. Secondly, while entering into the contract with Mephistopheles, Faust is fully aware that he is but a poor devil (armer Teufel) and is "confident that nothing that such a poor devil can offer him could give him that supreme satisfaction for which he craves." As such, as the hero acquires mastery over his wild passions Mephistopheles is more and more reduced into a subservient from an obstructing agent. From the nature of the thing this is bound to be so, for, as Mephistopheles himself declares about his own nature,—he is only

"Ein Teil von jener Kraft,
Die stets das Boese will und stets das Gute schafft."

In plain prose it means that an enlightened man very well knows that what the temptations of the world offer cannot be the source of supreme bliss and joy and sooner rather than later his cravings and passions are sublimated so that they no longer remain base and degrading but are transformed into nobler virtues like sympathy, service and love in which lies the real salvation of the human soul.

The message of *Faust* is the message of hope embodied in the philosophy of action (Karma) of which the necessary corollary is the rejection of idle brooding, despondency, faint-heartedness, inaction and acceptance of life.

"Doch in Erstarren such' ich nicht mein Heil."

It emphasises the fact that man by his very strivings can make his own right way¹¹ and that he is not to beg for salvation from God or Heaven or Fate. Not only therefore temptation but even troubles and anxieties (Sorge) of life cannot deter him from his high purpose; for he is the architect of his fate. That is why when towards the close of his life he is asked by the old woman "Anxiety" if he had never known anxiety, Faust answers that he has aspired and fulfilled and that however strong the powers of anxiety he will not recognise them.

"Doch deine Macht, O Sorge, schleichend gross,
Ich werde sie nicht anerkennen."

and though physically blinded by the curse of anxiety (which perhaps no man can avoid in old age) he gained the spiritual insight

"To see a World in a Grain of Sand
And a Heaven in a Wild Flower,
Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand
And Eternity in an hour."

That is why addressing the fleeting moment just before his death he could say "Verweile doch, du bist so schön" (tarry a while thou art so beautiful).

Rest eternal is the reward of a spirit who having thus fulfilled the law of his being (or the Will of God) in this life finds at the moment of his death the highest bliss ("Geniess ich jetzt den hoechsten Augenblick") and when such an ideal is consummated it is verily time for spring to blossom forth in "purpur and gruen," for, when else can we expect

"Rosen, ihr blendenden,
Balsam versendenden
Flatternde, shwebende,
Heimlich belebende,
Zweiglein befluegelte,
Knospen entsiegelte,
Eilet zu bluehn?"

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11. Cf. Tagore's चलाय बेगे पायेर तलाय रास्ता जेगेछे।

Not quite long ago, Surat was reckoned as a great industrial and commercial centre in India. Its industries and trade, as a matter of fact, were thriving very well and strongly attracted the British and other European nations when they first landed in India. It was renowned throughout the entire civilised world for its manufacture and trade in rich silks such as atlases, velvets, taffeties, satins, etc., among various other products.

Even to-day, Surat is the home of the greatest number of art-crafts in the Bombay Presidency. Some of these are the weaving of



A weaver weaving a Kinkhab piece on pit-loom. Both hands and feet are used in this type of loom.

kinkhab and other rich silks, manufacture of laces from gold and silver thread, embroidery works, sandalwood carving and inlaid work. Weaving is probably the most important industry. There are two types of cloth woven in Surat. Firstly, we have the highly specialised and very rich cloth such as kinkhab or jari-georgette saree; these are hand-woven. Secondly, we have the modern cotton coatings and shirtings; mostly, these are woven on small-scale power looms.

As 'Aliah is a gold-woven royal cloth of separation.

Margarete's love reest product of handloom intellectuality but he faileed in great varieties dom for higher and nobe are natural designs perhaps, to his lack of experieanimals as motifs. of the efficacy of love from w

Geometrical designs, designs with religious motifs, and designs of the ancient kings are also equally common. For ages, this rich cloth used to be a very favourite apparel with the rich. Even to-day, Surat sends this cloth not only to various places in India, such as Sind, the Punjab, Bombay and Ahmedabad, but also exports considerable quantity to East Africa, Arabia, Persia, Ceylon, Burma (before it became an enemy possession), etc.

An independent artisan requires about ten days to prepare a piece of kinkhab. The finished product fetches him about Rs. 12/- depending on the artistic quality of the cloth. In other words, he earns Re. 1/- to Rs. 1/8/- per day. The present-day kinkhab, unfortunately, is not so beautiful as that made say a hundred years back. The decay has set in because of cheap imitations. Competition has compelled the artisans to use aniline dyes instead of vegetable dyes, and to use imitation white and yellow metals. The result is that this most artistic product of the handloom is deteriorating into an ordinary handloom product.

Besides kinkhab, jari-georgette saree is an important handloom product of Surat. It is woven with silk yarn and gold or silver thread. Occasionally, a border is also woven along with the cloth itself. If the raw materials used in the manufacture of these sarees are genuine, they cost anything from about Rs. 8/- to Rs. 15/- per yard. These sarees have a very rich appearance and are highly prized for their exquisite translucency. Saree-borders are yet another product of Surat handloom industry. The breadth varies from about one inch to ten inches. Some of the artisans manufacturing these borders are indeed very skilful. They can weave any given design in the borders; they can even weave any given portraits in these borders. The weaving frame becomes very complicated when the design to be woven is highly intricate.

To-day there are about 200 handlooms in Surat on which kinkhab and other silk weaving is done. Most of the weavers are Momins and hail from Benares. There are also some Ghola weavers. These are natives of the city itself. Theirs is a hereditary craft, and so they have their training right from the childhood. At the same time, we must admit that they are ignorant about the modern trends in textile designs and about the modern methods of production. The present deterioration in this craft may be check-

ed to a certain extent by providing facilities to the children of the artisans for training in modern textile designs under the School of Arts. Among the various other handicaps of the artisans, mention may be made of the middleman's profits, want of publicity and want of proper selling agency. Most of the weavers do work on labour contract for merchants in Surat. In this connection, we are glad to note that the Bombay Government Industries Department,



Jari-georgette saree weaving. The horizontal threads are silk; these are woven with silver or gold thread. The final product has a very rich appearance.

through its sales depots at Surat, Bombay, etc., is giving more and more publicity to the art-ware of Surat. We hope that through the diligent work of the Government District Industries Officer at Surat, this Department will soon be very popular both with the artisans and the general public in Surat.

There are some 4,500 small-scale power-looms in Surat. Formerly, silk-weaving was done exclusively on these looms. Later on, silk was partly replaced by artificial silk and staple fibre and spun silk. However, artificial silk could no more be imported after Japan's entry into the War, and so these small-scale power-looms took to cotton weaving using Indian mill yarn. With the hectic rise in yarn prices, the weavers had to change over from fine counts to medium and low counts. About a year back, they were using 2/60 and 32s yarn; to-day they are using mostly 2/32 and 16s. This change over is due to the fact that the prices of Surat

cloth did not keep pace with the high yarn prices.

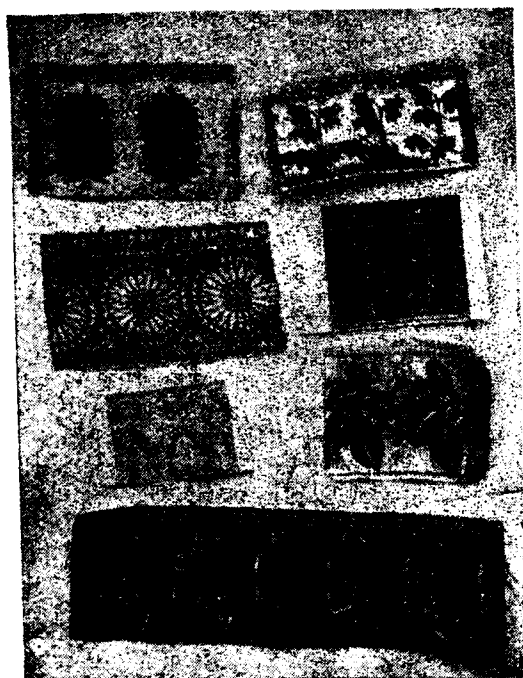
At present, these looms are very much prospering. They specialise in the products of rough counts such as shirtings and coatings. On account of the specialization of the design and the quality of the cloth produced on these small-scale power-looms of Surat, the large-scale mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad cannot compete these small-scale power-looms. Similarly, it would be uneconomical on the part of these power-looms to produce cloth like dhoties, sarees or fine white coatings and shirtings; this is the domain of the Bombay and Ahmedabad mills, for here, large-scale production is very profitable. The small-scale power-looms of Surat are run mostly on electricity or oil, while occasionally coal is also used. Their products are becoming more and more popular day by day throughout the country. In spite of being woven on power-looms, the cloth has a peculiar



A section of small-scale power loom. Popular coatings and shirtings are mostly woven on such looms in Surat.

look of having been woven on handloom. Hence, it is popularly known as hand-woven Surat cloth. The yarn is mostly brought into Surat from Bombay. There is little or no indigenous production of yarn.

At present due to the War, there is a brisk demand for any cloth. Unfortunately, to reduce the cost of the manufacture, the dyed yarn of fast colour is replaced by dyed yarn of direct colour. If this short-sighted policy is continued, it would be very difficult for Surat to find foreign



Some specimens of saree borders which are hand-woven in Surat. Some of the artisans can copy any given design in the border, or even any given portrait

markets after the end of the War. Once the War is over, a factory having a complete dyeing, bleaching and furnishing plant should be established in Surat. If necessary, the Bombay Government Industries Department should give financial loan to the enterprising entrepreneur who undertakes to establish such a factory in

Surat. After all, the prosperity of small-scale power-looms will enable Surat to emerge once more as an important textile centre of a class in itself.

There is a bright future for small-scale power-loom weaving industry of Surat. There should be a post-war programme of proper organisation and rationalisation of this industry. For obvious economic reasons, it will not have to face any large-scale mill competition, so long as it confines its activities to the production of cloth of rough count. Probably, there will be foreign competition; but this, we believe, can be successfully faced by appealing the people on grounds of Swadeshism and by being very keen on improvements in texture, durability and design of the products. The entrepreneurs in this industry would do well to refrain from following the short-sighted policy of fleecing the customers and profiteering—the very common defect of most of the industries in our country. For the sake of the industry—and ultimately for their own sake—they must incur considerable expenditure on research and laboratory.

We believe the small-scale power-loom weaving of Surat to be the logical development of its hand-looms which made it so very famous throughout the entire civilised world in the old days. And, if there is proper guidance and organisation, there is little reason why Surat with its products of small-scale power-looms cannot be as famous (if not more) to-day, as it was when it used to manufacture and sell the highly artistic products of hand-loom.

VIDYA BHAWAN

The School of The Future

By DR. MARGARET SPIEGAL, Ph.D.,
Lecturer, Elphinstone College, Bombay

DR. Mohan Sinha Mehta (now Minister of Education and Revenue, Udaipur) founded a progressive school in Udaipur in 1934 which is known as Vidya Bhawan. The difficulties underlying such a project are clear—one may say, rather far too many for an individual to cope with. But Dr. Mehta happens to be a man of unusual calibre. He has the most modern European outlook, but at heart he is a true Indian, this is the secret of his personality. He is calm, cool, patient. He foresaw every diffi-

culty; but instead of being beaten by it, he determined to fight it like a brave man and eventually be succeeded. In a country stricken by poverty, full of communal, racial, cultural and political dissensions, he wanted to start a school with no political bias, no religious dogma, and no communal, racial or cultural prejudices, where children could be taught to look upon the whole of mankind as one big family and the whole of the vast earth as their playground. Dr. Mehta's first requirement in this connection

was a really efficient Principal. This he found in Mr. K. L. Shrimali. He is an expert psychologist and knows how to guide each child to its full individual development.

Besides the inspiration of these two men, nature itself is the most inspiring factor in Vidya Bhawan. The school is situated in the country, 2 miles from Udaipur, surrounded by hills, only 5 minutes' walk from the Fateh-Sagar Lake. Vidya Bhawan has the character of a boarding school, even those children who are not boarders, remain at the school from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. The environment at home is often harmful for the child, so the school substitutes the home.

The children are divided into groups consisting of different ages for their activities outside the class work. These groups are organised—like Scout groups, in order to develop social responsibility, esprit de corps, loyalty, leadership. The groups, arrange camps, games and festivals where the boys perform plays, recite poems and read out stories written by them.

A special feature of Vidya Bhawan is the Open Air Session. In winter the whole school, except the highest class and the youngest children, is transferred to a camp for a fortnight. The time-table is changed and the syllabus is adjusted to the surroundings. The boys study the art, literature, geography and history of the place, the social conditions of the people, village industries, they make pottery and furniture. Thus the children are collecting material for the making of history of Mewar on a scientific basis.

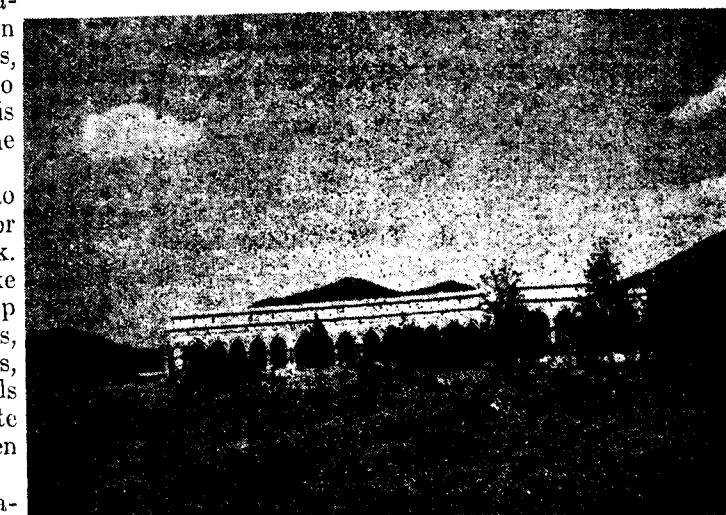
The children have a Boys' Own Hour. In this period, they follow their own hobbies, such as carpentry, book-binding, spinning, leather-work, art and music.

Once a month the boys and the teachers work in the field; they dig the ground and remove stones in order to get better playgrounds. This work is meant to teach them the dignity of labour.

On Sunday mornings there is a talk. A teacher speaks about some problem of life generally in the form of a story to make the subject more interesting for the children. Then a discussion follows. There was one talk on Gandhiji's fast, another on the caste problem and yet another on Hindu-Muslim unity.

In order to get in contact with the parents the Parents' League was founded. The League publishes a monthly Hindi magazine *Balhit* on modern education and child psychology. It is edited by the Principal.

The school is divided into 3 sections,—Nursery, Junior Section up to Class V and Senior Section from class VI to X. Vidya Bhawan High School prepares for the High School



Vidya Bhawan, Udaipur

Examination of the Board of High School and Intermediate Education for Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior.

The school admits girls, but there are only a few girls and only in the lower classes, for Rajputana with its purdah system is not a favourable place for co-education.

The School enjoys the benefit of a psychological laboratory. The backward and difficult children are attended by Mr. Shrimali who also happens to be a practising psycho-analyst.

The Basic School has recently been opened by Vidya Bhawan in a neighbouring village.

In order to propagate the educational ideals of Vidya Bhawan in Rajputana and in the whole country, a Training College for Teachers was established last year. It is affiliated to the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior for the Teachers' Training Certificate examination. The course lasts for one year.

Vidya Bhawan has been doing pioneer work not only for Rajputana and India but for the whole world. Professor Pierre Bovet, Director of the J. J. Rousseau Institute for Educational

Sciences, Geneva, who visited Vidya Bhawan as a delegate of the New Education Fellowship, compares Vidya Bhawan to the Odenwaldschule, one of the leading modern schools in Germany under the Republic which was closed by the Nazis. Vidya Bhawan stands for the same ideal as the modern schools under the German Republic, and Bedales School and St. Christopher's Sitchworth in England, Santiniketan of Bengal and Raj-Ghat School of Benares. All these schools have been striving for the same goal, to develop the individual capacities of the child harmoniously, to enable him to become a useful citizen of society.

I wish that every Indian child could be sent to schools like Vidya Bhawan. I wish every child in the whole world could be sent to schools like Vidya Bhawan, for only then society will be changed. There will be better understanding between different social groups, classes and nations and there will be no more war. But the difficulty of such institution is finance. Therefore, all those who want to make India independent, all those who are striving for social and international understanding, should encourage them.

When I first saw Vidya Bhawan in 1932 there was only a very small part of the present school building. I was surprised to see how

much it had grown within 10 years. Now there are 4 hostels, a nursery-school and a Training College for teachers. I am afraid Vidya Bhawan has been growing too fast, for it has not got enough funds.

Children as well as teachers are overworked. There are too many activities. Children and teachers badly need time for their own studies, especially the big boys. Only one period a day is too little for them. A permanent staff is the most necessary requirement for a school, and it will be extremely difficult to get one as long as teachers are overworked and under-paid. The school will only get young enthusiasts who will leave after a few months. The school is however, fortunate in having on its staff a band of devoted life-workers who are serving this institution at great personal sacrifice.

That which strikes me most about Vidya Bhawan is the spirit of the children which is the product of the atmosphere. It is a pleasure to live among them because they are so natural. They say what they think and feel because they are not suppressed and they are always free to criticise whatever they feel is wrong or requires improvement. This is the most important thing of all. They have got rid of that slave mentality and hypocrisy which accept everything without criticism.

THE LATE MR. VALOD OF TRANSVAAL

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

I HAVE learnt with much regret the death of Mr. Mahomed Ebrahim Valod, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress and one of the Vice-Presidents of the South African Indian Congress. It will indeed be a great loss to the Indian community of South Africa. His death removes from our midst one of the most distinguished Indian leaders and one of the foremost advocates of Indian education in South Africa. During the fifteen years I knew him, I had the fullest opportunity of getting to know him from every angle. His noble example to his countrymen compels admiration. His steady and persistent participation in all good work in the community's interest was a wonderful thing. The passing away of our friend Mr. Valod leaves a gap in the Transvaal which cannot be filled.

He was born in Gujrat about 45 years ago and went to South Africa in his youth. He was a businessman and a partner in the firm of Mahomed Ebrahim & Co. at Johannesburg. He was keenly interested in the educational work and founded an Indian school and hostel at Standerton which will ever remain a monument of his educational enterprise in the Transvaal.

I cannot, in this short tribute, speak of the innumerable services that Mr. Valod rendered as the

President of the Transvaal Indian Congress. Mr. Valod was a man of great abilities and remarkable gifts and it was not surprising that he should have been engaged in so many public activities and connected with so many organisations, but I doubt if there was any work which was dearer to his heart than the work of the Transvaal Indian Congress. I always respected him, because he was a gentleman and a man of character. His innate modesty and gentlemanliness prevented him from practising the art of self-advertisement. In his own quiet way, he worked to advance in every direction the cause of the Indian settlers of Transvaal.

His premature death will be more and more felt by the struggling Indian settlers particularly at this critical period of their existence, when his leadership was most essential to combat the notorious Segregation Act of South Africa, but none could stay the hands of Parmatma. A finest fellow I saw him in the shape of a co-worker; handsome as he was brave, determined, cool and clever. To the great Parmatma, who loves all alike, we can safely leave the departed soul, there to reap the reward of his exemplary life of service and sacrifice.

TAXILA

A Meeting Ground of Nations

By WAHIDA AZIZ

THOUGH the Punjab was the earliest seat of Vedic civilisation, archaeology has hitherto failed to discover any monuments or traces of the Vedic or the epic period. It is strange that not a single relic of the Meccedonian invasion has been brought to light, and, as in the rest of India, the oldest monuments in the Punjab are the Asoka inscriptions.

Of these, two were inscribed on pillars which now stand at Delhi, where they were re-erected by Firoz Shah in about 1362, one having been originally erected at Topra in the Ambala district, and the other near Meerut in the United Provinces. Both the inscriptions are in the ancient Brahmi script, which is found in all the Asoka inscriptions excepting those at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra in the North-West Frontier Province.

The vast ruins of Takshasila (Taxila), now known as Shahdheri, remain to show the extent of the capital of the great Mauryan province which comprised the modern Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. South-east of Taxila is the tope of Manikyala, identified by General Sir Alexander Cunningham as one of the four great stupas mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, who visited the place in about 400 A.D. and again by the Chinese pilgrim, Huen Tsang, who halted there about the years A.D. 630 and 643.

It is the largest stupa, in Northern India, and is believed to have been built to commemorate the sacrifice of the Bodhisattva, who gave his body to feed a starving tigress. Nearby, there is yet a smaller one, which contained a slab with a Kharoshthi inscription recording its erection during the reign of Kanishka early in the Christian era.

ANCIENT HISTORY

According to the Ramayana, when Rama ruled in Ayodhya, the Gandharvas used to live in the country on both sides of the bank of the Indus. Towards the end of his rule, Rama, at the request of Yudhajit, King of Kekaya and maternal uncle of Bharata, sent an army for the conquest of the Gandharvas who lived there.

It is said that the army was led by Bharata who was accompanied by his sons, Taksha and Pushkala. On hearing their approach, Yudhajit (whose kingdom appears to lie to the east of the Indus adjacent to the country of the Gandharvas) joined them with a large follow-

ing. The valiant Gandharvas came out to fight when they found their country attacked. A terrific battle ensued, but the Gandharvas were defeated.

Bharata, to commemorate this victory, built two cities which were named Takshashila and Pushkalavatta, after the names of his sons, who later established themselves in the two cities. The towns were full of riches and precious stones; they were adorned with gardens and vied with



A relic casket of lime plaster painted and studded with gems and other exhibits housed in the museum

one another in beauty and splendour. There were many beautiful temples; also trees, such as Tal (palm), Tamala, Tikala, and Bokula.

The Gandharvas who are described as such good fighters were also famous as good musicians. Kalidasa refers to their musical talent when he describes the conquest of their country by Bharata in his *Raghuvamsam*. His description is short but poetic.

The identity of Pushkalavatta, where Bharata's second son was installed, does not appear to have been fixed yet. Historians believe that it was somewhere near Peshawar,

which was the country formerly known as Gandhara.

Similarly, we also find mention of it in the Mahabharata, where it is recorded that King Janamejaya conquered it and performed the great snake sacrifice. From the Buddhist Jatakas we learn that in the 3rd century B.C. and during the centuries following Taxila was a renowned university town, famous for its cultivation of wits and sciences.



A Buddhist Stupa discovered during excavations and preserved in the museum. It is one of the finest workmanship in stone

SEAT OF A UNIVERSITY

The university worked under a system of Yoga synthesis, or unity, which was doubtless a dominant feature of the Indian culture. It was a self-sustained colony and a centre representing the community's life under various aspects, economic, intellectual, and spiritual. The professors and students, not only studied there, but did manual work. The thirst for the universal spirit, or the universal love, was a marked feature throughout. The doors of the university were open to strangers who showed some special taste for any branch of science.

The modern terms—'race psychology' and 'race dominance,' favourite expressions of the

civilised West—were quite absent in their old dictionary. Knowledge, 'Vidya,' was pursued with great avidity and zeal. Foreigners and strangers were respected for their learning, without the least animosity, irrespective of any difference in creed or religion.

The students in the university led a very simple life, full of mirth and jollity as a preparative for communion with nature. The community, as a whole, lived a life of self-control and self-discipline attained not as a result of constant whipping and slapping, but through the inspiration of human fellowship in the service of the ideal.

The combination of the aesthetic and the spiritual made them understand that what is beautiful is sublime, is Divine. Thus the university embodied truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, the highest ideal of life in any civilised and highly intellectual country.

A HISTORIC MEETING

The very site of Taxila explains, perhaps, its rise and fall. Situated in the valley of the mountain chain that ends in the Hathial Range on the banks of Haro river, Taxila flourished once as a trading centre on the great road that



Specimens of pottery found at Taxila

linked Hindustan with Western and Central Asia. This road served too, as a route for conquerors who came, conquered, ruled or destroyed the city. The same road that gave it prosperity brought, too, her destruction.

It was in the year 326 B.C. that Alexander the Great swooped down on the fertile valley of the Punjab. The then reigning king Ambhi of Taxila was at this time at war with two neighbouring kingdoms—those of Porus and Abhisara. With a view to strengthening himself against these enemies, Ambhi readily made sub-

mission to Alexander and helped him with troops against Porus.

A great battle, victory to the Greeks, and Porus a prisoner were the consequences. Racine in his *Alexander le Grand* has immortalised this scene; the meeting of the victor and the vanquished. A handsome person of majestic stature, Porus, wounded in the battle, stood before Alexander the Great.

'How shall I treat you, Porus?' asked the Greek.

'Treat me, O! Alexander, as befits a king.'

So Alexander admitted Porus into his circle of friends, and restored to him his kingdom. And this happened not far from Taxila, about 326 B.C.

Soon after Alexander's death, Chandragupta, the King of Magadha, completely annihilated all Greek influence east of the river Jhelum and annexed Taxila and other Punjab states to the Magadha empire. Later, Asoka ruled at the place as viceroy on behalf of his father.

THE WHITE HUNS

Asoka died about 231 B.C. and soon after the Magadha empire broke up and with the decline of the Maurya power, Taxila once more asserted her independence, although it was very short-lived. There were fresh invasions from the Bactrian Greeks who regained possession of Taxila.

The Greeks ruled over it for a little over a century when they were ousted by the Sakas (Scythians) from the West who became masters of the kingdom of Taxila. Subsequently, Taxila was united with Arachosia under a Parthian King named Gondophares.

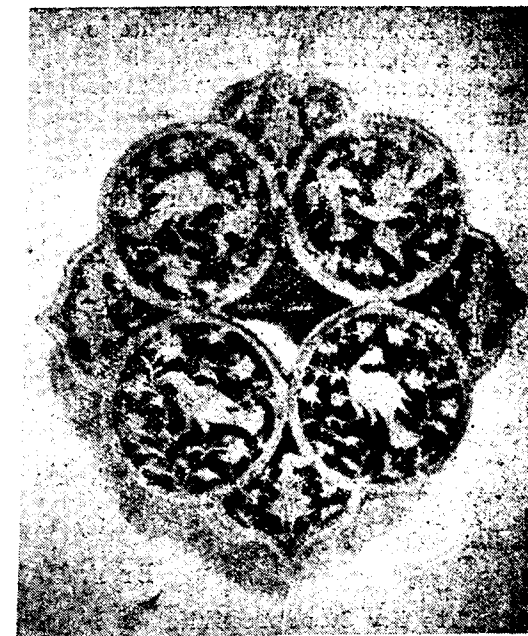
Between 60 and 63 A.D., the sovereignty of Taxila was again transferred from the Parthians to the Kushans who originally belonged to the extreme north-west of China. Their most famous king was Kanishka, who made Purushpura (modern Peshawar) his winter capital. After the death of Kushan King Vasudeva, the downfall of the dynasty began until, in the 5th century A.D., they were completely extinguished and Taxila destroyed by the barbarians known as White Huns. It seems that Taxila never recovered from this disaster and was found, in the 7th century, to be a dependency of Kashmir by Huen Tsang, who visited it.

Today, Taxila is an insignificant village of that name which bears in its bosom the faded memory of its past glory.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

The archaeological remains lie to the east

and north-east of the railway station of the same name and are spread over an area of about twenty-five square miles. They contain three separate sites. The earliest of them is situated on an elevated plateau known as the 'Bhir Mound.' The excavations reveal the different cities that once stood here. It was here that a fragment of vase with the head of Alexander the Great was found. At the time of its glory, it was obviously a flourishing city, with streets and



A pendant in gold with birds and human figures cut in a very artistic fashion (a museum exhibit)

dwelling houses, with temples of the Buddhists,—a haven where they taught, meditated and prayed.

The second city known as 'Sirkap' is situated beyond the Tamara Nala on the western spur of the Hathial Hill and was built by the Bactrian Greeks in about the 2nd century B.C., and continued to have been occupied by the Scythians, Parthians and the Kushans, down to the time of Vima Kadphises (end of the 1st century A.D.). An Aramaic inscription and some pottery were, besides others, the noteworthy objects found there.

The third city known as 'Sirsukh' appears to have been built by the Kushans probably in the reign of Kanishka and flourished for some five or six centuries. It is interesting from the point of view of fortifications and reveals improvement in the construction of the bastions and 'whether these new features were the out-

come of developments in military engineering in India itself... is a problem that has yet to be solved by archaeologists.

STUPAS AND MONASTERIES

Besides the three cities, there are many other outlying monuments mainly Buddhist stupas and monasteries, the most important among them being the Dharamarajika Stupa known as 'Chir Tope,' the 'Kunal Stupa' and monastery, and the stupas and monasteries at Mohra Moradu, Pippalan and Jaulian further to the east. At Jandial, almost opposite to Sirkap, there is a spacious temple with ionic pillars dedicated to fire-worship; and further north to it is the lofty Bhallar Stupa situated at the end of the hills bounding the valley on the north.

At the Dharamarajika Stupa built in the time of Asoka, besides the main structures, the chapel in the north-east corner with the feet of a colossal image of Buddha, a small apsidal Chaitya on the west side of the main stupa, and a chapel not far from it, where relics of Buddha accompanied by a Kharoshti inscription on a

silver scroll (of the year 136 of Azecs—A.D. 78) were found, may be seen in particular.

The Stupa of Kunal is said to commemorate the spot where Kunal, the son of Emperor Asoka, was blinded through the guile of his step-mother Tishyarakshita.

At Mohra Moradu the main stupa is chiefly remarkable for the stucco relief of Buddha and his attendants still surviving here and there. At Jaulian the fine stucco and clay reliefs adorn the stupas. Here a relic casket of lime plaster painted and studded with gems, and a half-charred birch bark manuscript in Brahmi of the Gupta Age were recovered from one of the smaller stupas. Many other objects of art are worth seeing at the museum, which have been recovered and kept there from ravages of the time.

Once a seat of culture and learning, capital of many a kingdom, prey to hordes of invaders, the face of Taxila still bears that expression so characteristic of the images of the Buddha that had lain buried for centuries.

BRITAIN'S BOY SCOUTS AID TO THEIR HOMELAND

Quarter Centenary of Service

By F. HAYDN DIMMOCK

The Boy Scouts Association was founded in Britain twenty-five years ago. Today its members, trained in citizenship and service, are rendering gallant service to their country.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, the late Lord Baden-Powell founded the famous Boy Scouts Association, a youth organisation which exists to encourage physical and mental development, and to teach its members to be self-reliant, useful and observant citizens.

At the outbreak of the present war, the training which these boys had received made them eminently suitable to carry out many non-combatant but essential duties in the war effort. Their contribution has been magnificent, and more than 60,000 Scouts in Britain have gained their National Service Badge.

Here, for instance, is the story of one brave Scout, John Bethell, who is sixteen and has been on duty in every raid on his city. Because of his consistently good work since joining the Messenger Service, Scout Bethell was appointed Senior Cyclist Messenger, which meant that he had to accompany the Head Warden to all incidents, taking more than ordinary risks.

One night there was a particularly heavy raid. John turned out immediately the alert sounded, and reported to the Warden's Post.

Bombs were falling as they set out from the Post. They had not proceeded far before they came upon an "incident"; a bomb had partly demolished some houses. People may have been buried under the debris, and the Warden had to find out. John could wait in comparative safety, leaving the Warden to carry on alone, but he refused to stay behind.

From one "incident" to another they went, helping in the rescue work, fighting incendiary bombs. It was hard, nerve-wearing work, but they kept on with dogged spirit. At last the round had been completed and they were making their way back to the Post, when a couple of explosions occurred close at hand. Suddenly John realised that they were in danger of falling debris. "We'd better dive for shelter," he shouted, and a second or so later, as they

reached cover, a shower of bricks crashed down upon the spot where they had been lying.

They waited just long enough for the danger to pass; then they were off again in search of a new "incident." Suddenly the Scout halted, his whole body tense.

"Quick! Down!" he yelled. His keen hearing had detected the faint swoosh of a falling bomb. The Warden obeyed instantly. There was a devastating explosion, and for a time it seemed that the whole world was coming to an end. Thankfully they realised that they were unhurt, but the Warden knew that, had they turned the corner ahead of them, they must have been killed. John's warning had saved them both.

"We shall need help, lad," said the Warden. "That was a big fellow, and by the look of things a lot of houses are down. Hurry! I'll go on."

John did not hesitate. He knew where he could get the help that was so badly needed, and he was back on the scene with a party of men within an incredibly short space of time.

What had once been the comfortable homes of happy people were a heap of splintered wood and rubble. John discovered two women partly buried in the debris of their houses and his promptness saved their lives. No

sooner had they been rescued than the whole house collapsed.

The "All Clear" sounded at last. Tired and dirty John made for his home.

Next day he was out with his Patrol, taking their trek-cart round and helping the bombed-out families to move their salvaged belongings. Is it any wonder that the Warden says of John; "His is the spirit that will win this war"!

Another courageous Scout was Patrol Leader Dennis Melville. He was just sixteen, and gave his life in the line of duty. One afternoon, whilst at work, an air-raid warning sounded, and within a few minutes incendiary bombs were raining down. Dennis at once



A group of Scouts at work putting out an incendiary bomb with stirrup pump and sand-bags

volunteered to help the fire party, and they were glad to have his help because they knew that his Scout training had taught him to fight fire bombs. He succeeded in putting out several bombs and was tackling another when it exploded. He was fatally injured.

It was only after this act had been brought to notice that the full story of Dennis's fine service work was revealed. He always turned

out when bombs fell in the district in which he lived, carrying his first-aid bag, which he kept well equipped out of his own pocket money. He was one of many thousands of Scouts who are doing heroic service, but of whose exploits little is heard.

Dennis's mother wrote of him—"Service to others was his whole life. He was helpful,



A Scout is showing a Home Guard how to take advantage of all the available natural cover when out on manoeuvres

cheerful and outstanding in everything he did." That is the spirit of the true Scout, wherever he may be.

Altogether the boys in this world-famous Association are carrying out something like two hundred different forms of service. Not all of them have the chance of active work during air-raids, though a vast number carry out these fire-guard or messenger duties night after night. The Scout in Britain today stands prepared for any emergency.

When the "All Clear" sounds over a blitzed town, another army of Scout workers comes into action, and there is much work to be done. People may be trapped under debris, there are injured people needing attention, bombed-out victims to be taken to shelter and given food

and refreshment. Many of these tasks are carried out by young Scouts, and in almost every big town there is an organised squad of Scouts, mostly under sixteen, who stand by waiting for the "All Clear."

This squad would not be of much use if the boys were not trained. The first-aid which they have learnt in the Troop Room now comes into service. Their knowledge of the district enables them to act as guides and messengers. Their trek-carts become useful for transporting salvaged furniture and effects from bombed homes. They are useful in any number of ways.

The Boy Scout uniform has become the symbol of service. Every Scout knows that to be of service he must be efficient, so he carries on with his Scout work side by side with his job of service for the country.

When the Scoutmasters are called away to the fighting services, the Patrol Leaders take over the Troops and carry on. The training goes steadily forward. New recruits are coming in, keen to learn, keen to be efficient to serve their country. The spirit of Scouting runs high in Britain today.



Two Cubs (the name given to the youngest members of the Scout organisation) are helping to collect scrap paper which will be turned into cardboard bomb packing cases

Since the war began, the Boy Scouts Association had made 130 awards to Scouts for bravery during air-raids, but there are many hundreds of whose gallantry we do not hear. Whole troops have given such splendid service that it has been impossible to single out any one member for distinction, and in those cases the award has been made to the Troop; fourteen Troops have been awarded the Silver Cross, and His Majesty King George VI has personally decorated twenty-three Scouts.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE Russian offensive which started on the 5th of July is still being maintained at a high pressure. The Allied assault on the island of Sicily has come up against strong opposition after about two-thirds of the island had been occupied. The Mediterranean route is reported to be open now to the Allied Sea-traffic. In the Far-East sporadic assaults are being made on the Japanese. The aerial offensive against Germany, occupied Europe and Italy is being maintained with great force. The Battle of Atlantic is experiencing a quiet phase, but it is not yet certain whether the U-Boat menace has been really mastered yet.

The Russian offensive, which began with a peculiar series of elastic thrusts and counter-thrusts, that started in the Orel-Byelgorod sector about the 5th of July, later developed into a full-scale major offensive of a magnitude that has eclipsed even those of the Russian campaigns of 1941 and 1942. Although very scanty details are now coming through the news, what has already been announced suffices to give an idea of the forces involved. The figures of German losses given out by the Russians, even if they be accepted at a much lower value, indicate the strength of the German opposition. The strength of the Russian forces engaged in the assault can also be gauged by the statement of the Germans that "600 divisions are now locked in a mortal combat." The battle-line has further been lengthened and now stretches from Lake Ladoga to the Kuban bridgehead in the Caucasus area. Nine or ten millions of soldiers, thousands of aeroplanes, and tens of thousands of armoured vehicles, besides countless guns of all calibres have now been thrown in by the opponents in this most terrible of all armed show-downs in the history of human warfare! Geographically speaking the results up-to-date have not been very apparent, there has been no spectacular break-through, no encircling or "pincers move" involving thousands of square miles. This is now developing into a war of extermination which goes on either till the weaker collapses through loss of men and material or a halt is called by both through sheer inability to keep up the tempo of the battle.

Although the losses of the Germanic forces have been terrific, they are still putting up an extremely fierce resistance. Uptil now they have

contested every inch of the ground and met every thrust with a counter-thrust, without showing any signs of weakened strength anywhere. Very naturally no announcement has been made of Russian losses, though considering the terrain and the nature of the battle, the Soviet losses must be equally high. But on their side the Soviets have not diminished the fury of their assaults, on the contrary, they have extended the frontage over which the thrusts are being delivered. Mass movements have been made in fresh areas and all along the twelve-hundred mile long battle-front, every inch of the German defence-lines is being tested with force, to find any weak spot that there may be.

It was evident in June that the Nazi High Command contemplated some drastic alterations in their war-strategy. Western commentators had hinted that Hitler was no longer dominating the War-council and that the professional war-technician was gradually assuming control. It was assumed that a long period of defensive-offensive fighting may be initiated by the German Supreme War-council, and it was also pointed out that in warfare of this nature, the Axis may prove formidable. An enemy that can manoeuvre its opponent into an assault on prepared positions, is likely to be able to inflict more losses on its opponent than it suffers itself, and thus in the long run can wear down the aggressor who suffers ever-mounting war-wastage. The beginning of the present offensive, which started with both sides claiming to be fighting a defensive battle seemed to indicate that the Nazi High Command was feinting in order to draw the Soviets into an assault of the nature indicated above. But later on came the Allied assault on Sicily, which seemed to indicate that the Russian offensive was part of a co-ordinated plan.

Whatever be the genesis of this latest campaign on the Russian front, the Soviets are now pursuing an all-out offensive which is being relentlessly pressed on regardless of cost. It is evident that the Germans have not been caught unawares and that the fighting is gradually developing into a pure trial of strength and endurance with no strikingly new development in strategy in evidence. The next few weeks will be full of interest and anxiety for friend and foe alike because in an war of attrition of this

nature sudden and devastatingly catastrophic developments may occur.

The assault on Sicily is now entering its final phase. The immediate result of the Allied action has been the fall of Mussolini, an occurrence of historic interest. What may follow this new denouement is as yet a matter of pure conjecture, though there are undeniably many possibilities that may hasten the end of the present struggle. The position considered militarily has not altered at the time of writing (29. 7. 43) nor has there been any signs of confusion apparent in the German plans for defence. The battle goes on uninterruptedly and though there are plain signs of the stiffening of the opposition, the Allies are now in a superior position on the island.

The assault on Sicily has freed the Mediterranean to a great extent and thus has considerably advanced Allied plans for a Second Front of which the Sicilian assault may be considered as an essential preliminary. The air-assault on Germany, occupied Europe and Italy continues. The results have been devastating so far as reports from all sources show. But whether its effect on German war-industry will be sufficiently great to influence the course of the war substantially yet remains to be seen. That this aerial-warfare cannot replace a second-front campaign on land is now a foregone conclusion, but with it comes the question of the civilian morale in Germany which must have been seriously affected by the havoc caused.

Russia still absorbs the greatest part of the German war-effort, whether measured in the terms of armed forces and man-power or of armament output. The question of Allied aid to the Soviets therefore is becoming increasingly important, and if war-wastage of the Soviets' strength continues as at present then the early conclusion of the Sicilian assault and the beginning of the attack on the main land of Europe will soon become imperative.

The collapse of Italy will undeniably simplify matters for the present, but wishful thinking will not help. The re-opening of the Mediterranean route has placed many new possibilities in the hands of the Allied High-Command, the fullest utilization of which may substantially relieve the load that the Soviets are shouldering now. This year is the year of opportunities for the Allies as the last year was for the Axis.

In the Far-East no development of any significance has taken place. The forces at the command of General MacArthur are still evi-

dently inadequate. On the Indo-Burman front the monsoons have clogged up the wheels of war. Allied air-assault on the Japanese in Burma continues, however, and the Japanese have not so far retaliated. This apparent inactivity on the part of the Japanese is open to all sorts of interpretations. The most natural—which does not always mean the most accurate—conclusion is that the Japanese have shot their bolt and are now in a predicament, being unable to move forward to an invasion of India and equally unable to withdraw as that would mean the re-opening of the Burma-road and the consequent accession of strength to the Chinese. Along this line of deductions many statements have been made about the state the Japanese forces are in, both in Burma and in the Pacific. The scanty details published about Brigadier Wingate's expedition, some of the broadcasts from Australia and the occasional statements issued to the public all go to indicate that the morale of the Japanese in the occupied areas is not at all high.

On the other hand, the belated news that reaches India from abroad in the form of information regarding Japanese activities in the occupied zones as published in the English and American Press, goes to indicate a different state of affairs. They give clear indications that consolidation work is being pushed ahead by the Japanese in all areas without remission or delay. Indeed, what has been published about this consolidation work indicates beyond all doubt that the Japanese are not only determined to hold on but also that they are not inclined to leave anything to chance. The refloating of the "world's largest" floating dock at Singapore was not done by the Japanese out of any altruistic motive nor would they have lavishly expended the time, energy and skill involved on such jobs unless they were convinced that Singapore would remain long enough in their hands to yield fruitful returns for the investment. The extension of the Iron and Steel industry in Manchuria, the re-starting of the oil-wells and refineries in the Dutch East Indies, all are actions along the same line.

There is no need to cry havoc now, but neither is there any necessity to ladle out "dope" in support of the principle "Asia can wait." It is Hobson's choice—or rather Winston's choice—with the Asiatics, and they realise it. Whether they like it or not is another matter, a matter of no particular moment either in London or at Washington.

CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND

By NORMAN HILLSON

II

HEREFORD

In the year 676 Bishop Putta of Rochester, whose diocese in the county of Kent had been ravaged, was given a parcel of land in the west country, on the border of Wales. The place was called Hereford, and on this small piece of ground Putta erected the church which, today, has become the notable Cathedral of Hereford.

Those were troublous times in England, and along the Welsh Marches there was a conflict over the new Christian religion which endured for centuries. From time to time the Welsh hillmen would make inroads across the flat country round the beautiful valleys of the rivers Wye and Severn. In one of these forays, Putta's wooden church was left a charred ruin.

In another part of the country, the King of Mercia had captured and executed the pious Ethelbert, King of the East Saxons. The dead man's body was brought to rest at Hereford, and to celebrate the solemn occasion it was decided to build a stone church above the tomb.

But even the great stone church did not deter the Welsh, who in 1055 once more sacked the city and callously slew seven of the canons at the great door of the cathedral. Another and bigger cathedral was begun in 1107, and that is the massive church we see today.

Its later history has been uneventful, save for a brief period during the Cromwellian wars in the seventeenth century. The Puritan Roundheads used the nave as a barrack, and the more ardent reformers among them spent their time defacing the beautiful carved monuments of medieval bishops, of which there are a very large number. The reigning Dean was not frightened by their excesses, and denounced their vandalism from a little wooden pulpit, which can still be seen. Unfortunately the defaced images can also be seen.

The present cathedral is largely a Norman structure, and stands a short distance away from the main street of a quaint old city and close to the river Wye, which for a thousand years has been an anglers' paradise.

The cathedral contains two notable treasures, one of which is a renowned Map of the World—the only other like it is, or was, at Nuremberg.

It represents the world as known in the Middle Ages, and was made by a Canon of the Chapter in 1305. The world is shown as a perfect circle with Jerusalem at the centre.

The other treasure is the medieval chained library of 1,440 books, preserved with their fittings, desks, seats and iron work just as they were when they were first acquired by the canons long ago.

In later years, after the Reformation, particular care was paid in England's great churches to the quality of choral music. The new ideas accompanied the great development of the art of building church organs by such experts as Renatus Harris at the time of Charles II (1660-1685). Music in English cathedrals has therefore long been famous, but it is in the west country that sacred song finds its fullest expression.

Thus there has come into existence the "Three Choirs" Festival. The choirs of Hereford, Gloucester and Worcester each year join together in one or other of the three cathedrals to give a series of recitals which, in peace time, attract music lovers from all parts of Europe and the Americas.

GLOUCESTER

Gloucester is the capital of the adjacent county. There has been an Abbey church there since 1070 at least, and the present cathedral is one of the most beautiful to be seen in England. Standing secluded in its close of green lawns and gardens, the great central tower reaches to the sky like a piece of fine lace flung into the air.

It is a perfect blend of many styles. The daintiness of the trefoil work of the East window contrasts strongly with the incredibly massive pillars which support the nave. This church contains perhaps the earliest war memorial in existence in the country—the East window, which commemorates local barons and knights who fell at the battle of Crecy in 1346. Then again there is the magnificent great cloister, which is preserved exactly as it was when the church was a closed abbey. You can still see the lavatorium with the actual recess where the brethren hung their towels after ablution. Part of the "walk" was reserved for

novices, and there is quaint evidence of their youthful diversions in the forms of holes carved in the wall behind their particular bench showing where the novices played such harmless games as "Fox and Geese" and "Nine Men's Morris."

In its own days Gloucester was also a place of pilgrimage. When the wayward King Edward II was murdered in nearby Berkeley Castle, his

the case with Worcester. The tall tower rises above the banks of the gently flowing Severn and across the other side is a broad flat field which forms the famous county cricket ground. On a summer's afternoon it would be difficult to imagine a more entrancing setting.

Worcester was made the seat of a bishop as far back as 679 A.D., but the regular succession of bishops does not begin until 780 at least.



Hereford Cathedral. It is largely a Norman structure and stands a short distance away from the quaint old city of Hereford on the banks of the River Wye

personal reputation was so besmirched that no Bishop would give him Christian burial. Eventually the Abbot of Gloucester consented to let the dead King's remains rest in his presbytery.

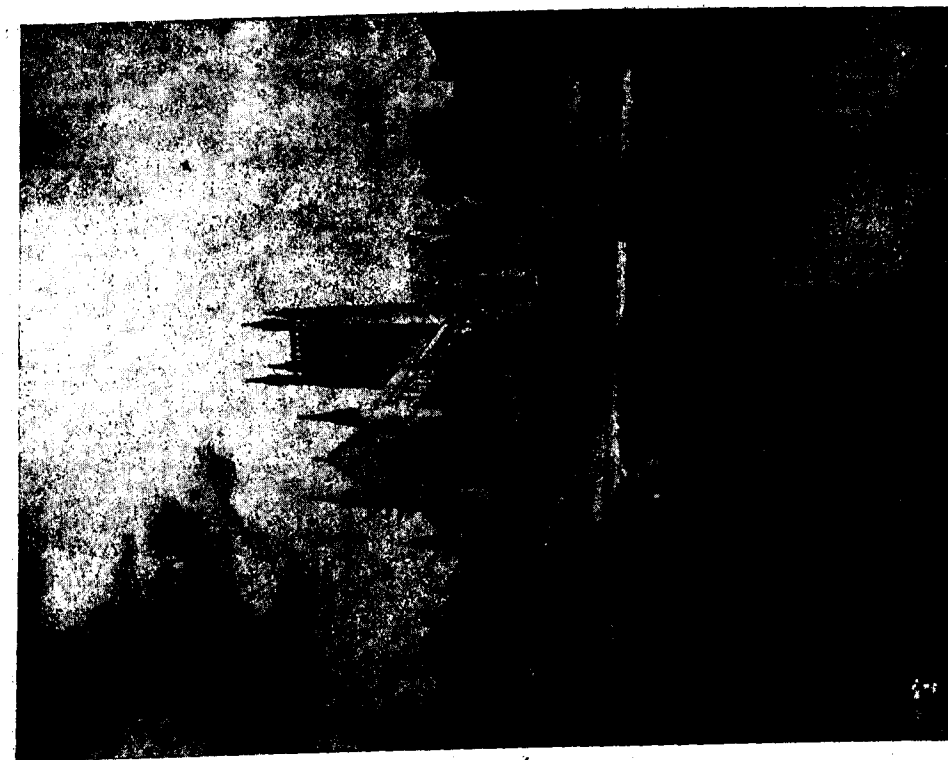
The assassination of the King roused the feelings of the people, and thousands flocked to pay homage to the dead. A magnificent tomb was built, and can still be seen, and the city prospered by reason of the pilgrimages. The visitors were so numerous that a special hostel had to be constructed. It was called the "New Inn," and is still in existence.

WORCESTER

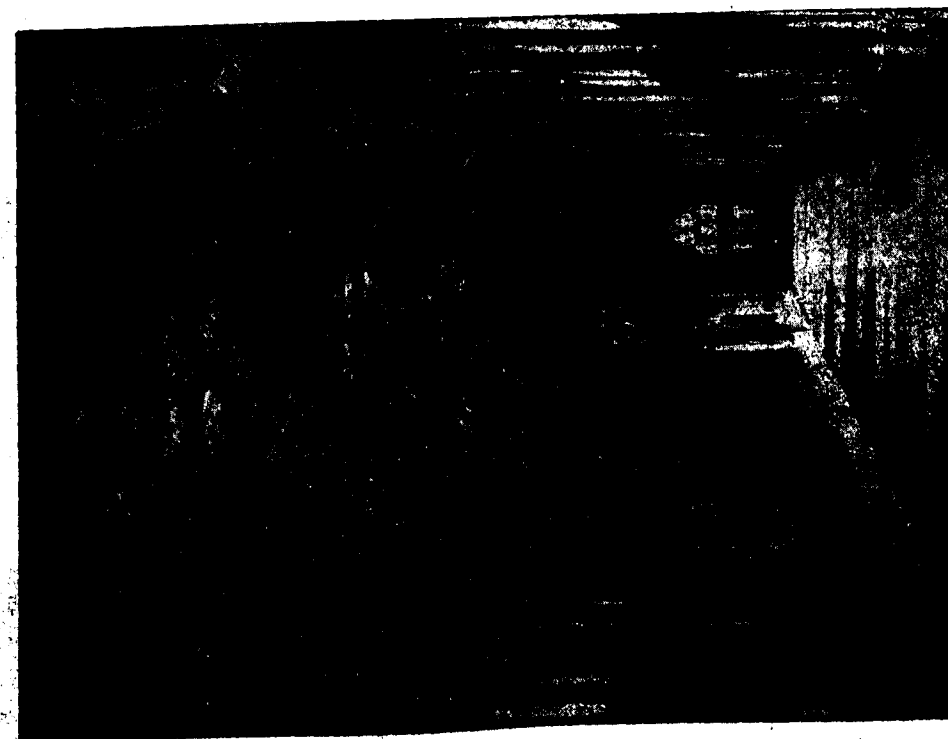
Very often a first glance at one of Britain's cathedrals from a particular aspect leaves an abiding impression. That is most emphatically

It is curious to note that after the Norman Conquest in 1066 the only Saxon Bishop not dispossessed was the saintly Wulfstan of Worcester. He it was who built the greater part of the church we see today, adopting the new Norman style as his model. His devotion and energy quickly made Worcester a diocese of importance, and his personal piety was honoured after death by canonisation in 1203.

The shrine of St. Wulfstan became more than locally famous, and the succession of pilgrims brought much money which was used by the monks to embellish the church. As a result, Worcester Cathedral, though grimly plain from the exterior, apart from the great tower, contains some very beautiful interior work.



Worcester Cathedral. The tall tower rises above the banks of the gently flowing Severn



The magnificent cloisters in Gloucester Cathedral which were originally part of the old abbey

fy to the wise and benevolent policy he introduced. Even a bare list of names of the various representatives who were brought together in the debating hall at Fatehpur Sikri would be enough to give one an idea of the importance of these Thursday debates. Dastur Meherji Rana of Navsari was long in Akbar's employ and initiated him into the mysteries of Zoroaster's religion. Hiravijay Suri, Vijay Sen Suri, Bhanuchandra Upadhyay, Jinachandra and Sidhha Chandra were Jain scholars who are mentioned as having participated in these debates at different times. Akbar bestowed the title of Jagad-guru upon Hira-Vijay Suri, and their association has been immortalized in a long Sanskrit inscription in a temple on the Shatrunjaya hill near Palitana. Akbar is said to have studied the Surya-sahasranama from one of the Pandits. Rudolf Aquavia, Monserrate, Francis Henrique with some others were Jesuit fathers who long stayed at Sikri and have left accounts of the debates in which they participated. Purushottam and Debi are two pandits who represented the Vedant system of the Hindus. Badayuni translated the Mahabharata into Persian. These few names among many that must have been lost, supply us an idea of those debates, which in later ages came to be interpreted as the work of the nine gems.

Akbar arrived on the stage of history at a peculiar coincidence of circumstances; indeed he may be said to be their product. The Pathan rule which had engrossed the labour of centuries had collapsed. The sufferings of Akbar's kind-hearted father haunted him at every step. The heroic effort of his competent grand-father Babar had proved of no political avail. Under Bairam Khan's guidance Akbar could just secure a footing in 1556 at the imperial capital. He had no longer a home in Central Asia. Further conquest in India was impossible for want of resources in money or dominion. Thus he had to choose between only two alternatives, build up a permanent empire of his own based on popular support or be for ever annihilated. The high-handedness of Bairam Khan and petty domestic intrigues compelled Akbar at the very start of his career to assert his own power and independence of outside control. An effort to put down the risings and rebellions which cropped up all round in rapid succession, enabled him in a few years to conquer the outlying territories and consolidate his government as a kind of benevolent autocracy. During the first few years he succeeded in creating a centralized monarchy acting through a bureaucratic

machinery directly and rigidly under his control. At this stage he was overwhelmed by a great anxiety caused by the opposition of the Rajputs, the best fighting leaders of the Hindu community. They must be either subdued or conciliated. He spent many a restless year over this problem. He realized that if his sovereignty was to be something different from the ephemeral Pathan dynasties, he must build on a more solid foundation by placating the Rajputs into a sort of political and social synthesis. His lofty mind rose above the petty prejudices of his age and after much anxious deliberation he decided to associate the Rajputs in his ambitious enterprise on perfectly honourable terms. He managed to win over Baharmall the Kachwa Raja of Amber and married his daughter. This small beginning led in due course to a greater expansion of a conciliatory policy necessary for a broad-based and permanent empire. It is not possible to advert here to the various links in this bold policy in which almost up to the last, conquest and conciliation went hand in hand and confirmed Akbar in the wisdom of the measures he adopted out of his own hard and independent thinking. The year 1575 became the turning point in his career after twenty years of experimenting. "When at the beginning of that year he came to his capital, he was conscious of having gained a long succession of remarkable and decisive victories, which left him without an important enemy in the Indian world, as known to him. We are told that he spent whole nights in praising God. His heart was full of reverence for Him, who is the true Giver. He would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone near the palace in a lonely spot. He thus developed a passion for unlimited discussion of all matters religious, social and secular, for which he erected a special building at Fatehpur Sikri."

Thus was Akbar led by his situation, like a practical man of business, to develop a remarkable sentiment of self-reliance, questioning and hearing all who were about him but trusting to no one's judgment if it did not satisfy his own conscience. Like every great ruler the final decision upon which he would act in any affair of state or personal conduct, came to be entirely his own. How to make his rule strong, permanent and beneficial, became a passion of his life; to this purely political necessity he subordinated all other concerns. The responsibility of ruling vast alien races, warring religions and conflicting interests, weighed so heavily upon his bosom that he investigated his situation all round for

a practical solution. This necessity fostered in him a spirit of inquiry and suggested to his open mind all those measures which in the long run made him a great and famous monarch. The Rajput alliances, the destruction of the power of the Ulemas, the foundation of his new religion, Din-i-Ilahi, getting together a body of gifted intellects, all these topics emanated from his own free thinking and have been so elaborately narrated by the versatile pen of Abul Fazl.

Free discussion of religious, philosophical and political questions with various intellectuals liberalized Akbar's mind and supplied him a strong common-sense which alone guided him throughout life. His tutor Abdul Latif was a paragon of learning who imparted to him the guiding principle of conduct, "*Sulhi-Kul*," peace with all. An early inculcation of this attitude came to be later strengthened by an unexpected and accidental acquaintance Akbar contracted with the family of a great free-thinker of his age, Shaikh Mubarak (1505-1593) and his two able sons, Abul Faizi (1547-1595) a poet of a high order and Abul Fazl (1551-1602). A study of these three dominating personalities who were all gifted with rare intellectual powers, supplies us the clue to grasp the secret of Akbar's greatness.

Shaikh Mubarak belonged to an ancient Saiyad family of Arabia that had migrated into Sindh and thence later taken residence at Ajmere. Mubarak possessed a studious bent of mind, worked under various learned scholars and developed a trait for enquiry and free thinking, accepting nothing on mere authority. He dissected the teaching of the Koran and made a comparative study of other religions. He then established a private school of his own and openly began to preach his reformed views more or less like his German contemporary Luther in Europe. The bigoted Ulemas violently denounced his flagrant breaches of orthodox teaching and even obtained from Akbar, then only a few years on the throne, a decree to capture and put him to death. The Shaikh fled from Agra and was for a time sheltered by Shaikh Salim Chisti, Akbar's Mentor. For years Mubarak had to suffer severe persecution and imminent danger to life. Mubarak's two sons shared his sufferings and with all the vehemence of youth imbibed his defiant spirit of revolt upon orthodoxy. The elder Abul Faizi was of a quieter contemplative turn of mind and pursued the art of writing poetry in retirement. The younger Fazl however turned out to be a vengeful diplomat and developed both

a biting tongue and an artful pen. Accident brought to Akbar's notice Faizi's excellent poems; he was called to the imperial presence in 1568. Their meeting at once became the turning point in the fortunes of the persecuted and wandering family of the Shaikh. Faizi had accompanied Akbar into Bengal during 1574 and being called upon to do certain duties which he was unable to perform himself, informed the emperor that his younger brother was more fitted for that kind of service both by temperament and training. The emperor at once ordered Fazl to his presence and their first meeting took place early in 1575 at Fatehpur Sikri soon after Akbar's return from Bengal. This first audience of Fazl with the Emperor proved in the long run an event of transcending importance in the history of India. It soon ripened into such mutual esteem that the master and his admiring devotee formed an indispensable association during the next 27 years thereby changing the essential character of the Mughal Empire for good. The two began to shine as lustrous stars in the political firmament of India, complementing each other both in their mental make-up and the outward prosecution of a deliberate policy. Akbar was vain, unlettered and ignorant; Fazl a perfect and gifted courtier, an opportunist seeking personal aims by bestowing fulsome adulation upon his earthly master, who could raise him almost to the first position in the state. He alone could write the voluminous Akbar-namah, a historical disquisition which has made Akbar great and immortal. Endowed with extraordinary intellectual powers Fazl exercised a powerful influence on the pliant and receptive temperament of Akbar. He initiated the noble idea of holding open debates and himself arranged its programme with a view to fixing up some common rational principles and tenets tending to the good of society and removing friction and bigotry by destroying the power of the Ulemas and making the emperor the supreme head of both the state and the church. What Elizabeth achieved by the Act of Supremacy in 1559, Akbar accomplished in 1583. The two contemporary sovereigns have thus much in common.

The last moments of both these brothers heavily saddened the Emperor's heart. Faizi died on 5th Oct., 1595. Akbar visited him at his death-bed, when he received the news that his condition was bad. Akbar took with him a competent Hakim and said to the dying patient, "Shaikhji, I have brought you my Hakim, please open your mouth and take in the dose."

But no response came and the emperor was moved to tears. He dashed his turban on the ground and wept like a child. Seven years later the other brother Fazl was killed by Salim's machinations, thus darkening the last years of that great Emperor. These two brothers form two important gems in the garland of the nine.

The other gems need not detain us long. Badayuni, was an equally gifted man but was the very antithesis of Fazl. A hearty supporter of orthodoxy, he chafed and stormed at the innovations of the Emperor. He too has left an ample but piquant story of the great emperor's reign and supplies the other side of the shield which Fazl has presented in the Akbarnamah. The two works form a valuable quarry for the student of historical research.

Raja Mansingh was a loyal and trusted military commander of Akbar and claims the main share of the latter's conquests. He did not take part in the religious debates nor did he care to accept the Emperor's new creed of Din-i-Ilahi. When questioned by the Emperor on this point, he replied, "I am a Hindu, but besides Hinduism and Islam, I know of no other religion. As regards my willingness to sacrifice my life for your Majesty, I have given pretty clear proofs till now."

The history of Todarmall and Birbal who illumined Akbar's court is equally well-known to all. The former was a Khatri by caste, resident of the district of Ayodhya. The credit of bringing to perfection the revenue system of the Mughal empire belongs solely to him. How highly the Emperor prized his services is well illustrated in a current anecdote. Completing the conquest of Kashmere Akbar and Todarmall returned to the plains after an arduous journey, in which the bundle of a small canebow containing Todarmall's worshipping apparatus and the principal deity happened to be lost. A devout Hindu as he was, he never ate or drank unless he completed his morning worship and prayers. Having lost the baggage, he began to fast and starve himself to death. The incident being reported to Akbar he at once repaired to Todarmall's tent and enquired how his God could be lost. He then collected a body of learned pandits to advise on the future course. They quoted Shastric authority for Todarmall to undergo penance on the Ganges and take up new idols. The Emperor himself took Todarmall to Haradwar, readily spent for the ceremonial and extricated his distressed servant out of the tragic situation. Here is a great Muslim monarch administering to the needs of a Hindu

servant. Todarmall died at Lahore on 11th November, 1589.

Raja Birbal is another Hindu who wholeheartedly supported the Emperor's move for ending the Hindu-Muslim friction and himself accepting the membership of the new religion Din-i-Ilahi. Raja Birbal is only a title bestowed upon him by Akbar. His original name was Maheshdas, a Brahman bard, resident of Kalpi and practising the art of composing poems and earning livelihood by singing them to royalty. This profession earned him the notice of Akbar. But soon after he had ascended the throne. But it was in secret diplomacy which Akbar had to conduct with the Rajput princes for gaining their friendship that Birbal was found to be an invaluable agent. Birbal negotiated the matrimonial alliances of the Emperor and impressed upon him the vital features of the Hindu religion. Later generations have created profuse ingenious anecdotes in which the ready wit of Birbal has been well illustrated. While on an expedition in Kashmere, Birbal was killed in an action in February 1586.

Mulla Do-pyaza was a very sharp and outspoken man of whims, who could recite the whole Koran by heart. At the age of 15 he left his native country Persia, reached India in the entourage of Humayun and started teaching the Koran to disciples at Delhi. His humorous ways, caustic speech and deep learning soon made him famous, being adept in reading aright the character of a man from his looks. Faizi introduced him to the emperor who highly enjoyed the intellectual tug of war between the Mulla and Birbal, both possessing surpassing wit and a caustic tongue. The Mulla accompanied Akbar to the Deccan and died at Handya on the Narmada in 1600. How he had earned the nickname the "Mulla of the two onions" is narrated by Pairamall in the July (1910) number of *The Modern Review*, where the Mulla's picture is given which certainly bespeaks the whimsical character of the original.

Tan-Sen's name is well known in India as a perfect artist of music. He was in the services of Raja Ramchandra Baghela of Bundelkhand from whom Akbar borrowed his services. It is said that the emperor was so highly pleased with the very first performance Tan Sen gave of his art, that he was given a reward of two lacs. He composed songs which are still in vogue. Mr. A. C. Pandeya has published a useful sketch of Tan Sen's life in the October issue of the *Northern India Observer* of Lahore.

The last gem Hakim Humam was an eminent physician. He belonged to a family of ancient Hakims, residing at Gilan on the Caspian sea. Humam's father was murdered and he migrated into India and was taken into service by Akbar in 1576. He was so clever in his craft that Akbar always had him close to his person, to look after his health. Once in 1587 Hakim Humam was sent as an ambassador to the king of Iran. He died in 1596.

This completes the list of Akbar's nine gems. Of these Todarmall, Mansingh, Birbal and Tan Sen are four Hindus and the others Muslims. We may be sure however that Akbar entertained many more gems of similar character in various spheres of his vast empire, to whom all in fact he owed his greatness. All these worthy comrades of Akbar's life died before him and awfully saddened his last years. But these nine gems with the central figure of Akbar form a complete

picture with varied shades and charming colours. Akbar alone without them will look bald and insipid. Likewise these human gems scattered about without their patron to string them together will appear lifeless. They needs must have their main life-spring to utilise their merits, to promote their interest, to rejoice in their happiness and shed tears in their sorrow, all together forming a united family controlling and regulating the wide empire outside and enabling us today after four hundred years to revive their old memory. In this way the splendour of Akbar's reign can become visible to us and show how one man can change history for all ages. Does not India even now possess such gems? Yes, she does; but there must be another Akbar to notice and work them into the nation's service.

Paper read at the Akbar Quater-centenary Celebration, Bombay, 30th November, 1942.

E. P. T. AND INDIAN INDUSTRIES

By S. C. ROY, M.A., B.L.

TAXATION is admittedly the least disturbing and, therefore, the best of the three ways in which a modern war is financed—the other two methods being borrowing and inflation. Excess profits which accrue to business during a war provide a very fruitful source of Government revenue. Taxation of such profits, further, satisfies the canon of equity; for those who make extra profits while and because others have to risk their lives and suffer hardships, may quite justifiably be asked to pay a large slice of their windfall for the conduct of the war. In short, we cannot object to the principle of taking excess profits during a war.

However, so far as India is concerned, we are confronted with an entirely different aspect of the problem. It is a situation that has been created by the arbitrary method by which the excess profits are defined and then immobilised by the Government through taxation. The Excess Profits Tax Act was passed in 1940 and now it has been supplemented by an Ordinance called Excess Profits Tax Ordinance of 1943. These are supposed to be emergency measures calculated to raise funds. But on a critical examination of the provisions of the E. P. T. Act and those of the companion Ordinance, an impartial observer is likely to come to the conclusion that in adopting these measures, perhaps

the Government have not been actuated entirely by considerations of sound finance.

It is not possible within the space of a brief statement to criticise this extremely complicated Act in any detail. We shall confine our criticism to the adverse effects of the E. P. T. Act and the E. P. T. Ordinance on the growing industries of India. It is interesting to recall in this connection the history of India's industrialisation during the Great War of 1914-18. In the wake of that war, as is also the case in regard to the present, a situation was created favouring the growth of new industries and the expansion of the existing ones. The circumstances created by the war enabled Indian industries to make profits in excess of the normal, but during the first three years there was no extra tax on them. When the tax was eventually imposed on excess profits the minimum of one lac of rupees per annum was exempted. That is, the infant industries of India were left with ample surplus funds which could be re-invested. The result was a "virtuous circle" for the new indigenous concerns: more profits, further investment, expansion and even greater profits. A large number of these industries grew big enough to be able successfully to compete with their British rivals when the time came. By the time the war was over and normal

tradings resumed, some British industries had lost their Indian markets for ever.

When the present war began, the possibility of another spell of industrialisation loomed large in India. The circumstances were indeed favourable and it was rightly hoped that history was going to repeat itself. That hope now lies buried under the provisions of E. P. T. Act and the Ordinance relating to it. Let us mention the relevant provisions of the Act.

The Excess Profits Tax Act, 1940, came into force on the 13th of April, 1940, with retrospective effect from the 1st of September, 1939. That is, the chargeable period begins from the first day of the war. The liability to pay E. P. T. arises only if the profits of a business during the chargeable accounting period exceed the minimum of Rs. 36,000 per annum. The fixing of the minimum at such a small figure has brought small-scale enterprises—mostly indigenous—within the purview of the Act. On the other hand, while Rs. 36,000 is the minimum to be exempted from taxation, the actual amount exempted is variable. For excess profits do not mean profits in excess of this amount. By "excess profits" is meant the amount by which the profits during the chargeable accounting period exceed the standard profits.

That is, profits in excess of standard profits are excess profits. But what are standard profits? The method by which standard profits are computed is arbitrary. For one business the standard profits may be fixed at 40 per cent; for another at 8 per cent. For standard profits have to be ascertained on the basis of profits made during one of the four standard periods, arbitrarily selected. The following are the four specified standard periods, any one of which may be selected at the option of the assessee:

1. The previous year as determined under Section 2 of the Indian Income-Tax Act, 1922, for the purpose of the income-tax assessment for the year ending on the 31st March, 1937, or the previous year as so determined for the year ending on March 31, 1938.
2. The previous year as so determined for the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1937, and that for the year ending on 31st March, 1937.
3. The previous year for 1937-38 and that for 1938-39.
4. The previous year for 1938-39 and that for 1939-40.

It is not difficult to realise how differently the determination of standard profits on the basis of profits earned during these arbitrarily selected periods will affect the growing industries of India and the overgrown industries of Britain. Industrialisation is a recent phenomenon of Indian society and we may assume that

many industries were in the stage of infancy during the periods selected for ascertaining standard profits. Consequently the profits they earned during these periods were much smaller than those earned by British businesses. We have then a situation like this. British concerns which earned normal profits during the standard periods have a large portion of their profits exempted from E. P. T.; but most of the Indian businesses being in the stage of infancy earned small profits during the standard periods, and consequently have only small portions of their respective total profits exempted.

Exceptions have been made with regard to businesses very recently started. Thus, according to the E. P. T. Act, in the case of businesses commenced on or after March 31, 1936, an option is given to adopt a basis of statutory percentage for ascertaining standard profits. This statutory percentage is either 8 percent or 10 percent depending upon the nature of the controlling authority. As the statutory percentages are low, in any case, the infant industries to whom these exceptions are applicable are in no way in a more favourable position than those that secure exemption from the E. P. T. on the basis of profits earned during the standard periods.

Let us now consider how the E. P. T. Act of 1940 and the E. P. T. Ordinance of 1943 involve the complete immobilisation of the excess profits, thereby rendering industrialisation of India during the war extremely difficult. According to the provisions of the E. P. T. Act, 1940, tax on excess profits was at first fixed at 50%. Even making allowance for tax and super-tax on the remaining 50%, industries would still be left with ample funds for re-investment. When this tax was later fixed at 66½ percent the scope for re-investment was correspondingly narrowed down. In certain specified cases statistical evidence reveals an absorption roughly of 13½ percent of the excess profits by income-tax and super-tax, though in many cases the amount is even larger. The present position then is that in any case 80 percent of the excess profits earned by businesses is paid to the Government of India. In other words, so long as the E. P. T. Act of 1940 remained in force the scope of expansion for our industry would be very restricted. And now, even this little scope is denied to them by the issue of an Ordinance which provides for a compulsory deposit of 13½ percent of excess profits. That is, all except 6½ percent of excess profits is now drawn into Government's coffers.

A portion of 6½ percent is sure to be paid out to shareholders in the form of dividends with the result that practically nothing is left for expenditure on new capital outlay. Apart from the fact that the Ordinance immobilises funds that would otherwise have helped India's industrialisation it also creates positive difficulties for the growing industries. As the resolution, passed at a Joint Conference of the Chambers of Commerce, points out:

"Many assesseees will not have the cash to make the compulsory deposits of 13½ per cent. as the profits remain employed in business; and the trouble will be aggravated by the fact that such deposits will remain locked up with the Government for a long time and on the security of which it will be impossible even to borrow money."

An illustration will make this point clear. Suppose an industry has made excess profits to the extent of ten lac rupees. This industry will be required to disburse its excess profits amounting to Rs. 10,00,000 in the following manner: 66½ percent as E. P. T. and 13½ percent as income-tax and super-tax or Rs. 8,00,000 as E. P. T., income-tax and super-tax, and more than Rs. 1,80,000 as compulsory deposit with the Government. In other words, the industry concerned has to pay to the Government a little over Rs. 9,30,000 out of its computed excess profits of Rs. 10,00,000. Any one knowing the A. B. C. of business will realise how difficult it would be for any business to meet any such requirement. For, clearly no business is ever likely to have all its profits in the form of bank deposits or liquid assets. The profits computed include outstanding bills, raw-materials purchased, etc. Suppose that in the case of the business we have taken as an illustration such items account for, say, 3 lac rupees of the excess profits and the balance of 7 lacs only is in the form of liquid assets. In order to meet the requirements under the E. P. T. Act of 1940 and the E. P. T. Ordinance of 1943 this business would have to borrow a little over Rs. 2,30,000 from the money market.

It is then clear that the E. P. T. Act and the E. P. T. Ordinance have placed the infant industries of India in strait-jackets and consequently India is losing a rare opportunity for industrialisation.

However, considering that the question of extra funds is of paramount importance to a Government at war, we should not expect or ask for a complete reversal of the Government policy that led to the adoption of the measures we have been criticising. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the fact that the only way in

which we can create adequate opportunities for India's poverty-stricken masses is through industrialisation. Having these conflicting factors in mind we submit to the Government for their consideration a proposal which, while providing a measure of relief to India's industries, will not appreciably disturb the budget of the Government.

As we have already pointed out, the infant industries could not have been making, before the war, profits on a scale which would allow of capital expenditure in any appreciable degree. It is the favourable situation created by the war that has made it possible for the indigenous industries to make extra profits that can be drawn upon for their expansion and for creating reserve funds. The Act and the Ordinance provide for the absorption of nearly the whole amount by the Government coffers. It is true that the compulsory deposits made in accordance with the Ordinance shall be repaid by the Central Government within twelve months of the date of termination of the present hostilities or within 24 months of the date on which the deposit was made, whichever is later. We may be a little comforted by the thought that the funds thus immobilised may be looked upon as their prospective reserve funds, but for the duration of war the businesses are none the better for that.

We are still left with the question of expansion of industries while the time is yet favourable. We suggest that the businesses be allowed to earmark a certain percentage of their excess profits for capital expenditure. This portion of excess profits would then have to be regarded as allowable expenditure. We cannot be dogmatic about the exact percentage; it may be tentatively fixed at 15 percent of the excess profits. In order that there may be no evasion of tax through this provision, an industry may be required to show that a proposed capital expenditure is warranted by the exigencies of its production. It is clear that the entire amount of money thus spared is not going to be lost to the Government. When expansion of capital is justified—we may assume it, since it is to take place under the supervision of a statutory authority—it means extra profits. And eventually there is an increase in the amount accruing to the Government in the form of tax, super-tax and excess profits tax. Thus the Government do not lose much while India gains a great deal.

We hope, that taking all factors into consideration the Government will not turn a deaf ear to our proposal.

SHANTI SWARUP BHATNAGAR

By X

THE recent announcement of the election of Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar to the fellowship of the Royal Society of Great Britain is yet another instance of the West's recognition of India's contribution to modern science. Since the election of Srinivasa Ramanujan, the wizard mathematician of South India in 1918, in the last quarter-century, only six other Indians—J. C. Bose, C. V. Raman, M. N. Saha, B. Sahni, K. S. Krishnan, J. H. Bhaba—all well-known names in their own branches of science have been included in the Society's roll of fellowship. Shanti Swarup is the first Indian chemist to join this distinguished galaxy.

Shanti Swarup was born on the 21st February, 1894 at Bhera in the Punjab. Bhera is the only district in India which can boast of being the birthplace of two Indian F. R. S.'s—Birbal Sahni and Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar. His father the late L. Parmeswar Sahay, a teacher in the Anglo-Sanskrit School at Bhera, died quite young. Shanti Swarup was then only eight months old. When he was nearly ten, L. Raghunath Sahai, Headmaster of the Dayal Singh High School, Lahore, who was an intimate friend of his father, brought him to Lahore and arranged for his education there. After taking his M.Sc. degree of the Punjab University he worked as a demonstrator on a modest salary in the Dayal Singh College for some time. In 1919 he secured a scholarship from the Dayal Singh College Trust for higher studies abroad, which enabled him to proceed to London and join the University College of Science there. He started research work in the Sir William Ramsay Institute under Prof. F. G. Donan. At that time three of India's foremost chemists—Ghosh, Mukherji and Bhatnagar—were working in Prof. Donan's Laboratory. Bhatnagar was admitted to the D.Sc. degree of the London University only after two years' work.

On his return to India Bhatnagar was appointed Professor of Chemistry in the Benares Hindu University. In 1924 he joined the Punjab University as Professor of Chemistry and Director of Chemical Laboratories. He initiated and conducted researches in various branches of physical chemistry and magneto-chemistry and under his inspiring guidance an active school of chemical research grew up in Northern India. In 1946 when the Government of India decided to create a new department of scientific and industrial research to undertake a

planned scheme of industrial research on a large scale, Bhatnagar was called upon to fill the post of the Director.

Bhatnagar has made notable contributions to colloid chemistry and magneto-chemistry, which of course is difficult to be described in detail in non-technical language. After his return from England he continued for a number of years very important studies on the properties of emulsions. With his collaborators he carried out interesting investigations on thin films of organic liquids on paper and the relation between the chemical constitution of organic liquids and the translucence of papers dipped in them. In magneto-chemistry his contributions cover a wide field. He discovered interesting effects of magnetic field, on various chemical reactions and showed that interesting changes in magnetic property take place in some substances on colloidalisation and adsorption. To him goes the credit of designing the most sensitive apparatus for measurement of magnetic susceptibility—the Bhatnagar-Mathur magnetic balance, which has been put in the market by Adam Hilger Ltd. of London. He has written in collaboration with his student Dr. K. N. Mathur an advanced treatise on magneto-chemistry which has been published by Macmillan & Co. of London.

Bhatnagar was President of the chemistry section of the Indian Science Congress in 1928 and again 1938 which was the Silver Jubilee year of the Science Congress.

The recognition of his services has come not only from the people and Government of his own country but also from the leading academic bodies of Great Britain. He has the unique distinction of being the first and the only Indian honorary Fellow of the Institution of Chemists of Great Britain and now he has the further distinction of being the first Indian Chemist to be elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Shanti Swarup married Lajjavati, the eldest daughter of Rai Saheb Raghunath Sahai, the well-known educationist and Brahmo-Samaj leader of the Punjab. In private life he follows the old Indian ideal of plain living and high thinking. He is simple in his habits, unassuming in his manners and has a charming personality. Always helpful to his pupils in every possible way, he would often loosen his own purse-strings to help them. His selflessness in making over to the Punjab University several lakhs of rupees which were offered to him by the Attock Oil Co., (Messrs. Steel Brothers) for his valuable researches on oil technology, reminds of the princely munificence of that doyen of Indian Chemists, Sir P. C. Ray, who made over the entire sum of his fifteen years' salary to the Calcutta University for the promotion of Chemical Research.

INDIAN MONETARY POLICY IN RECENT TIMES

By Prof. P. C. THOMAS, M.A.

I

WHAT is to be the monetary policy of a country? How far could a central bank effectuate such a policy? For a long time it was regarded that stability of the value of a country's money in terms of the monies of other countries with which it had trade relations should be the aim of monetary policy. Gold standard, which after the gold discoveries of the mid-nineteenth century came to be evolved in most European countries, was employed for securing this end.¹ Even secondary states or regions which could hold only smaller stocks of gold adopted Gold Exchange Standard which served much the same purpose. Holland, India, the Philippines, Mexico, Panama, Thailand, Indo-China, the Straits Settlements and even China tried this experiment for longer or shorter periods.² India adopted it for the longer part of her currency history in modern times. The Gold Exchange Standard allows for holding foreign exchange as currency lease and disallows internal conversion which meant economy in the use of gold.³ From 1898 to 1914, India worked the Gold Exchange Standard on the whole "well in practice, except for certain failures of co-ordination due to the division of function between the Government of India and the India office."⁴

A sound monetary system is understood to include "(1) a method for regulating the supply of currency and credit with a view to maintaining as far as possible the stability of the internal price-level, and (2) a method for regulating the supply of foreign exchange so as to avoid purely temporary fluctuations, caused by seasonal or other influences and not due to a lasting disturbance in the relation between the internal and the external price-level."⁵ It is not easy always to choose between the two policies, though often a choice has to be made. The two are not always perfectly compatible. Of the two Lord Keynes attaches greater importance to the former, but laments that in the

pre-war (1914-18) days we "all plumped for stability of exchange as against stability of prices."⁶ Studying the two policies as distinct from one another, a distinction is to be made between countries depending on foreign trade for a large measure of their prosperity and those which do not so depend. In the case of the former it is debatable whether a stable foreign exchange is not more important.⁷

About the advantages to England of a stable foreign exchange Mr. G. D. H. Cole once expressed himself thus:

"Great Britain is more dependent on international trade than any other country in the world. . . . It has, therefore, considerable advantages from the standpoint of those engaged in external trade. In the period of unstable exchanges after the war, traders had ample reason to realise the disadvantages of exchange fluctuations. They might gain or lose by particular fluctuations; but the fact of fluctuation introduced an element of gambling into all overseas commercial transactions."⁸

But some have argued that internal price-stability is preferable even for countries with a large volume of foreign trade.⁹

It has sometimes been lamented that India regarded stability of exchange as the objective of her monetary policy even to the detriment of other needs more vital to her economy. In a country like India with a large volume of internal trade, which is a large multiple of her international trade, price-stability is preferable to exchange stability, in the event of a conflict between the two. But Indian monetary history affords many examples of determined attempts at securing a medium of exchange stability even at the sacrifice of any order in prices.¹⁰ The author of the Central Banking (Minority) Report says with some bitterness:

"The credit structure in the country (India) is subordinated to currency requirements and trade and

6. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

7. Sir Charles Addis: *Economic Journal*, June, 1924. Keynes himself seems to support a view of this kind. "The right choice," he said, "is not necessarily the same for all countries. It must partly depend on the relative importance of foreign trade in the economic life of the country." *Ibid.*, p. 155.

8. G. D. H. Cole: *Gold, Credit and Employment*, p. 34.

9. J. M. Keynes: *Treatise on Money*, vol. II, p. 333.

10. This was true of almost all countries for some time. De Koele: *Central Banking*, p. 139.

1. T. E. Gregory: *The Gold Standard and its Future*, p. 5.

2. J. M. Keynes: *Indian Currency and Finance*, Chapter II.

3. Feliks Mlynaiski: *The Functioning of the Gold Standard*, p. 51.

4. Report of the Royal Commission (Hilton Young) on Indian Currency and Finance, Para. 22.

5. J. M. Keynes: *Tract on Monetary Reform*, p. 177.

industry are sacrificed at the altar of what is considered by the Government as the supreme need of maintaining the exchange."¹¹

The complaint is not wholly without foundation. Evidences are many that the Government kept in view the exigencies of the exchange in most if not all their monetary policies. It has been said that "there was not a single occasion when it was remotely suggested by the Government and its currency experts that the sole object of a currency organization for India should be the maintenance of stability in the purchasing power of the standard coin in terms of commodities—in other words, the maintenance of a comparatively stable level of prices."¹² There is hardly any doubt that if the prime object of a sound monetary policy is stability of prices in India that was held subsidiary, if not entirely neglected. Throughout, the Government themselves were aware that they were in pursuit of such a policy and their spokesmen have often expressed the same:

"The admirable history of Indian currency since 1893 . . . shows at once that in all the various changes the dominant force, whether in initiation or modification, has been the stability of the foreign exchange value of the rupee in relation to gold."¹³

In 1835, India introduced, though by gradual steps, a silver standard. It worked satisfactorily well till the early eighteen seventies when the silver market experienced a slump.¹⁴ With the fall in the value of silver the Government's difficulties were mainly external in character, i.e., in discharging their gold obligations. And the prime purpose of closing the Mints in 1893 was minimising exchange fluctuations. The task entrusted to the Herschell Committee was to devise means of meeting the great difficulties that the Government had to face when silver fell.¹⁵ The Chamberlain Commis-

11. Mr. Manu Subedar: *Minority Banking Report*, Para. 264. Mr. R. K. (now Sir) Shanmukham Chetty once said in the Legislative Assembly: "The Hon'ble Member (The Finance Member) who ever since he came to India has been singing the praise of the stability of internal level of prices is now deflating the currency and bringing down the level of prices with a view to keep up his pet theory of an 18d. ratio to the rupee." Debate on the Reserve Bank Bill in the Legislative Assembly on 25th January, 1927.

12. Wadia and Joshi: *Money and Money Market in India*, p. 238.

13. Nicholson in the *Economic Journal*, June, 1914.

14. Herschell Committee Report, Para 5.

15. Financial statement (Sir David Barhom). "If that fall could be stayed, and the rate of exchange with England fixed permanently at even its present low figure, the difficulty of dealing with the present deficit would be comparatively light . . . unless some settlement of the currency question is obtained there is no prospect of even the most moderate degree of stability in the rate of exchange."

sion asserted that the cardinal feature of the whole system is "absolute security for the convertibility into sterling of so much of the internal currency as may at any moment be required for the settlement of India's external obligations."¹⁶ Writing on behalf of the Government of India in 1919, H. F. Howard observed that the main objective of the various commissions and committees which have enquired into the currency question was "to devise measures which would prevent the exchange value of the rupee from falling below 1s. 4d."¹⁷ It was stated in the terms of reference to the Babington Smith Committee that their recommendations should confine "to ensuring a stable gold standard." Monetary theory has by now established, and post-war monetary experiences have confirmed that Gold Standard is calculated to establish exchange stability even at the risk of unstable prices. In a statement made in 1919 before the Babington Smith Committee, the Controller of Currency made the following admission:

"In the Government of India's statement the problem is the consideration of the means of securing the greatest practicable stability of the rupee in terms of the sovereign. . . . From the trade point of view there is no doubt that the stability of exchange is almost a necessity. There are countries which work on fluctuating exchange, so that you could not say it is an absolute necessity; but the conditions to which India is accustomed in the last twenty years my own feeling is that stability is really an essential necessity to trade."

That stability of exchange is desirable none will deny. But in a country of India's dimensions and with a large volume of internal trade the interests of the consumer, the producer, and the internal trader are paramount and far more important than those of foreign traders who form but a very small portion of the population. Moreover, as the Babington Smith Committee put it, stability of exchange is not an essential condition; "our conclusion, after considering the viewpoint before us, is that for current operations of trade stability is an important facility rather than an essential condition." The importance of exchange stability has often been overrated. It will be of interest in this connection to notice the recommendation of the Australian Royal Commission on Currency, 1936, on exchange stability versus price stability:

"The function of the Commonwealth Bank should be to regulate the volume of credit and currency, making its chief consideration the reduction of fluctuations in general economic activity in Australia."

"The Policy is not to fix the exchange rate and to require the economy in ordinary circumstances to adjust

16. Chamberlain Commission Report.

17. Babington Smith Committee Report, App. I.D., p. 20.

itself to that rate, but to keep the economy reasonably stable and to move the exchange rate, if necessary, as one means to that end."¹⁸

It is thus abundantly clear that the main purpose of the long series of the Indian currency

18. Report of the Royal Commission (appointed in November, 1935), quoted in *Money and Banking*, League of Nations, 1937-38.

measures since 1893 when the Mints were closed and the silver standard abandoned, was to stabilise foreign exchange as much as possible, irrespective of the needs and dictates of India's economy in general.

(To be continued)

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Apologies for Art-Review

The very instructive and educative comments that my imperfect survey of the Years' progress in Art have extracted from Professor Cousins, the greatest leader of Art-movements in India, will inspire friends of Art in other centres of India to emulate his laudable and valuable endeavours. The many "omissions" and "commissions" that disfigure my poor effort to draw up a Yearly Balance-Sheet of Art in India—deserved harsher punishments, but Professor Cousins has not even chastised me with a mild rebuke. To be rebuked by him is to me a singular "privilege." The State Gallery of Art—Sri-Chitralaya of Travancore is a growing tree, a veritable Kalpa-Vriksha, which is always putting forth new flowers (in the way of new acquisitions), under the careful nursing of the Director and Adviser,—an example which many Government Museums of Art (I do not refer to the Museums of Archaeology) could follow with advantage. Our Museums and Galleries of Art have yet to develop a live relationship with our Schools and Colleges and a vital connection with educational curricula and programmes. No true lover of Art is satisfied with a mere collection of paintings and sculptures—unless they are utilized as live factors in our educational courses—and Professor Cousins has been steadily working for that end, almost single-handed.

There is no room, here, for any discussion of the ethics of picture-buying for Public Museums and Galleries. There are some healthy and sane rules observed in England (National Art Collections Fund) and in the United States (the organizations of the various City Art Galleries in each State), but in the present apathy on the part of our citizens to matters of Art—acquisitions for public galleries—any discussion of such ethics may, perhaps, be premature.

There is a crying need for our State Museums and Government Galleries of Arts and Antiquities to develop a conscience for cheap publicity of their treasures and data for study of Art, in the forms of accurate Collo-type and Colour Post-cards for educational purposes. This is a cheap and an effective way of popularizing the latest acquisitions. And if the State Gallery of Travancore and of other States followed the practice of the Museum Directors in England and America, in this matter, they will be helping the cause of Art, to a considerable extent. India is a vast continent, and lovers and students of Art are separated by telescopic distances, and issuing Picture Post-cards of existing treasures and new gems—is the only cheap method of Art Publicity. The American Museums regularly issue illustrated Bulletins (monthly, bi-monthly, or quarterly) which bring to the notice of Art students and connoisseurs the latest acquisitions of works of Art—pictures, sculptures, prints or textiles, and help to stimulate interest in the

study of Art, and awaken love of beauty in quarters, hitherto bereft of that spiritual blessing. The daily and the weekly journals in the West render valuable help to popularize Museum acquisitions—a help stoutly denied by Indian editors of daily newspapers. But that is another matter.

It may interest educationists in other parts of India, to know that an effort is being made in Bengal to introduce "Picture Hours in the Schools," with the help of Colour Post-cards of famous masterpieces of painting—a very effective, yet a cheap apparatus of study suitable for conditions prevailing in India. I have just finished a series of intensive course of lectures on the History of Art for the benefit of a group of Art-teachers, at the Calcutta University, almost exclusively illustrated with a series of Post-cards representing significant Masterpieces of Art of all the Schools.

But the Calcutta University's humble efforts to train a small band of Art-teachers to take up duties in schools to develop interest in Art, appreciative and creative, appear to pale into insignificance in comparison with the greater achievement of the Travancore University in sending out a formidable battalion of 320 graduates, with L. T. degrees, to take up strategic positions in schools—to vanquish the prevailing ignorance of Art and to make our students art-minded. But the great problem is to provide these teachers with the necessary arms, implements, and apparatuses, for, Art is a subject which cannot be talked about, but has to be demonstrated, at each step, by visual examples. Before every school has its Gallery of Pictures—it is impossible even for trained teachers to accomplish much. Yet the beginnings have to be laid in the schools, for long before the school-boy matriculates and comes to his University his hunger for beauty is starved out by our too much bookish education.

As regards Srimati Rukmini Devi's valiant and courageous endeavours in the cause of the Visual Arts—and to bring Art to our daily domestic life, her memorable Exhibition of "Art in the Home," held at Madras, a few years ago, is an unforgettable testimony. My suggestion was to the *Kala-Khetra* to bring selected examples of masterpieces of painting and sculpture through worthy reproductions, within the reach of popular understanding. For, in India even the most learned and the cultivated have no memory of the masterpieces of Art, Indian or European. Art has been too much neglected in the fields of University and popular education, and, in the South, two earnest workers—Rukmini Devi and Professor Cousins—have done and are destined to do great things to advance the knowledge of Art and to enrich the opportunities for cultivated and spiritual living.

O. C. GANGOLY

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto be answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

ENGLISH

POLITICAL INSANITY OF INDIA: By N. H. Vakeel. Published by Thacker & Co., Bombay. Pp. 95+ix. Price Rs. 4-8.

The author of this interesting brochure is a member of the Parsi community. He seeks to analyse the factors responsible for the present impasse in India and the tangle. Though complete agreement with Dr. Vakeel's views can not be expected from any close student of affairs, it may be expected that his constructive scheme would receive serious consideration. In brief, he pleads for (i) composite cabinets on the Swiss model, (ii) a "Provincial" Federated India and Federated State India working for certain common objects through an "Imperial" India Council "Cham-ber," (iii) the majority community not to have more than 55 per cent. of seats and not less than 50 per cent. and the minorities should in all cases be guaranteed weighted representation through purely communal elections for all classes of seats, (iv) 50 per cent. representation for majority community and weighted representation for others on the cabinet, (v) application of a majority rule in regard to controversial legislation affecting any community in particular and also recourse to the method of reference to Tribunals, (vi) abolition of the India Secretary's office, and (vii) British officers being asked to quit within ten years, etc.

This is not a technical work nor a theoretician's thesis and judged as a layman's commonsense contribution should be welcomed as a straight approach towards Indian problems. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, who contributes a Foreword, rightly sums up the main criticism to the proposals when he says that the recognition of *separatenesses* for evolving a national will can only be a temporary makeshift for "to make it a permanent feature will perpetuate the evils which Dr. Vakeel himself denounces." Sir Chimanlal very significantly adds that the scheme also "overlooks the fact that the future Government of India will in course of religious considerations be thrown into the background by economic considerations." By the way, who told Dr. Vakeel and Sir Chimanlal of a demand by Bengalees for "Bangastan"?

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEE

THE WELL OF THE PEOPLE: By Bharati Sarabhai. Publishers: Visva-bharati, 2, College Square, Calcutta. (Agents: New Book Company, Hornby Road, Bombay). Price Rs. 2.

Plunged out of the depth of modern India, this play is itself a drama of our peoples; it represents the

passionate resurgence of India's millions. But the new popular will, while it speaks through workers' chorus and the atmosphere of events, finds its intense reality in the struggle and conversion of a lonely isolated woman who symbolises rural India. From isolated introspection and piety she turns to hard, clean work of service; there she finds satisfaction which is creative and co-operative. This is the first modern drama, written by an artist of the younger generation, which is all-Indian and genuine in its rootedness, and it is because of its regionality India is a great region—that it touches the universal concrete. The writer is at her best in voicing the strange uniting upheaval that forms the inner life of a nation even while it is largely an unconscious force; but behind this spiritual surge, like the moon behind a forest of trees, we feel the radiance of the great leader. Gandhiji's sustaining character invests each minor event with a transcending significance and the peoples' drama is shaped by the dynamics of goodwill.

"We sought the pattern of our regeneration in him: for him our seven hundred thousand Villages were to be, each in intention A miniature nation; for him *Daridra Narayana*, our apotheosis of the poor." Thus speaks the chorus, in language which as it touches the awakening heart of India, turns into lyric gold. There is flowering passion here, and a vitality that conquers suffering in its forward-marching destiny; the balance between imperatives of action and the spiritual assertion of a people is finely laid. And this balance could only be shown through the struggles of an individual: the village woman has discovered the secret of India's civilisation which has to be re-interpreted in modern terms. "Her life's desire is to go on a pilgrimage but when the time comes no one will take her to Benares. She turns to her village workers and the idea of building a well instead, a well for the outcast Harijans, dawns on her. And to-day the well is there; it cost one hundred and fifty rupees."

The technique, thoroughly modern, is influenced by Eliot and Auden, and yet it is quintessentially Indian in its exploitation of the folk-lore tradition; the speech-effects and the larger, leisurely movements of free verse draw from the unconscious reservoir of India's memorial epic of ordinary human life. The Indian *Jatra* with the patriarchal banyan tree as background, and the village religious fair as a processional fringe, still maintains its current of poetic drama in our villages. The subtle pattern of simple speech, quick and complex and full of inversions can be rendered either by the anonymous co-operation of many minds—I refer to the old unselfconscious language of folk drama and other folk-lore creations—or by a new, direct poetic speech which we are evolving, sometimes selfconsciously, in modern

verse. The period of experimentation proceeds, but we have already seen poetic drama emerging into a sophisticated simplicity which does communicate; this communication is proved by the immense popular appeal of some of Eliot's and Auden's most artistically contrived productions. The oblique, the suggestive, the symbolic, and the apparently naive forms of modern expression might be variously handled by a genuine artist; poetic speech takes and deviates from ordinary speech in unpredictable ways. Through such mutations a new lucidity is achieved which corresponds to the complex organic growth of our human behaviour. Severe reticence, the deletion of tired adjectives, and the bold use of precision instruments of speech for conversational and yet intellectualised expression, give to passages in Bharati Sarabhai's play an underglow of eloquence which is immediate and powerfully evocative. For richest success in such technique, at once individual and widely modern, the author will have to use her own language but her use of an alien medium is creative and surprising. Here is a drama which new writers will have to read, which is daringly artistic and closely woven with the texture of our peoples' lives; a remarkable first production of an author who has rendered the atmosphere of a new age with sensitive regional feeling. There is profound refreshment of spirit to be found in this *Well of the People*.

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

WIVES OF FAMOUS MEN: By Ela Sen. Published by Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. 1942. Pp. 122. Price Rs. 4-4.

This is a collection of sketches that were originally published in *The Sunday Statesman*, which are now available between the covers of a single monograph. The pen-pictures of such widely varying characters as those of Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Kasturba Gandhi, Mrs. Churchill and Kamala Nehru, Madame Stalin and Mrs. Bernard Shaw have been portrayed by the authoress in delicate shades and with consummate skill. These interesting studies which breathe an air of exquisite sensitivity would be read with equal curiosity and zest both by men and women, although for different reasons. In these sketches, however, we fail to find the complete woman, her passions, prides and prejudices even outside the domain of wifehood, but that is perhaps inevitable in view of the fact that the authoress did not have the advantage of personal acquaintance with her models. In spite of this, the characterization of Kamala Nehru is extremely lively, intimate and even touching. The delineation of one or two characters would carry to some the impression that a reflection of their husband's personality has somewhat prejudiced the just evaluation of their individuality, and it is a pity that Ela Sen's political inclinations have in this matter been allowed to prevail over her pleasantly stressed feminist views.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

IMMORTAL INDIA OR INDIA'S DEATHLESS HERITAGE AND PRICELESS CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD: By L. H. Ajwani, M.A., Professor of English Literature, D. J. Sind College, Karachi. Published by the Educational Publishing House, Karachi. Second Edition. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 2-8.

Mr. Ajwani is an eminent professor and gifted speaker of Sind. At Karachi we used to hear, with rapt attention, the torrential flow of his oration. Happily he has now come out as a popular author. His maiden

work, which is the book under review, has been crowned with extraordinary success. The popularity of this book may be gauged by the fact that its first edition was exhausted in the course of a few months.

This little book deals very impressively in a lucid and flowing style the secret of India's undying vitality. It is a marvellous survey—a praiseworthy presentation of India's immortal heritage and invaluable contribution to the world and its unique mission in the history of nations. The twelve chapters into which the book is divided contains short but substantial sketches on India's fundamental unity, heroic role, way of life, wisdom, sages, women, arts and sciences, kings and warriors, past and present as well as the new awakening. Every chapter is illuminating and full of interesting information. There are five beautiful illustrations which make the book attractive. It is replete with apt quotations from both Eastern and Western authorities on the subject. The charges that are generally levelled against India and her history by foreigners have been forcefully contradicted and refuted in the book. The learned author rightly acknowledges in the preface that he has extensively quoted from well-known books on India, chiefly from the published works of Swami Vivekananda and from the monumental publication issued in memory of his master—*The Cultural Heritage of India*.

At this critical juncture, when young India, oblivious of her glorious past, is at her wits' end and does not know what to do and what not the publication of this book is very timely. A perusal of this book will remove the confusion, and clear the vision about Indian future and reveal the secret of India's survival through the ages. The reader will learn from this book that India is immortal and destined to get through the present impasse and build a greater future than her great past. Attempts should be made to bring out the book in Indian vernaculars for wider circulation.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE MUSLIMS AND THE CONGRESS: Edited by Mr. Rzaul Karim, M.A., B.L. Published by the Barenda Library, 204, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 271. Price Rs. 2-8 only.

This is a very timely publication being a symposium of addresses of the Muslim Presidents of the Indian National Congress from 1887 to 1940 with an introduction from the Editor. Altogether, there are seven presidential addresses, viz., Budruddin Tyabji, Madras, 1887, M. R. Sayani, Calcutta, 1896, Nawab Syed Mohammad, Karachi, 1913, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Ahmedabad, 1922, Mahammad Ali, Coconada, 1925, M. A. Ansari, Madras, 1929 and Abul Kalam Azad, Ramgarh, 1940. The addresses of Syed Hasan Imam and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad for special sessions held at Bombay (1920) and Delhi (1923) respectively are not included in this publication. The Muslims did not muster strong at the first session held in 1885 at Bombay under the Presidency of W. C. Bonnerjee but since third session at Madras over which Budruddin Tyabji presided, they are joining in large numbers in spite of the foundation of the All-India Muslim League in 1907. The Congress has always stood, and fought for all the nation and did not make any distinction of caste, creed or colour. In its history of the last half a century, and over, whatever might have been the programme of the Congress moderate or extremist, Goal—Dominion Status or Independence, Method—constitutional or non-violent non-co-operation, it stood for India and India alone and promised full protection to the Muslims and other

minorities. Although predominantly Hindu in numerical strength, it never had any communal outlook and the Presidents of the Congress have been drawn from all classes and as a matter of fact out of the six first Presidents, three belonged to the minority communities and two were Englishmen. All the Muslim Presidents of the Congress expressed themselves in clear emphasis that Muslim interests would be best served by the Muslims if they would join the Congress in its great struggle for the liberation of India—the common Fatherland. Even the All-India Muslim League could not serve the communal interest of the Muslims better than the Congress as its past history shows.

It is significant that at this critical juncture of India's history a Muslim adorns the presidential chair of the Congress. He is no less a Muslim than an Indian and is serving Islam best by espousing, fighting and sacrificing for the cause of India's freedom. The utterances of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at the Ramgarh session (1940) give a lie to the propaganda that Congress is a communal organisation run by the Hindus for the advancement of their communal ends. In the words of the great Maulana, "This thousand years of joint life has moulded us into a common nationality. . . . Whether we like it or not, we have now become an Indian Nation, united and indivisible. No fantasy or artificial scheming to separate and divide can break this unity. We must accept the logic of fact and history and engage ourselves in the fashioning of our future destiny."

The book deserves to be very widely circulated and read by all classes of educated people throughout the length and breadth of India.

A. B. DUTTA

SCULPTURE INSPIRED BY KALIDASA: By C. Sivaramamurti, M.A., Curator, Archaeological Section, Government Museum, Madras. Published by the Samskrita Academy, Madras.

The book draws attention to the close ideological parallelism existing between a number of old sculptures in different parts of India or outside and some of the verses of Kalidasa. It is suggested that this is all due to the unique held obtained by the works of Kalidasa, due to their immense popularity, over the minds and imagination of cultured India. To quote the words of the learned author, *Kalidasa's* inspiration has been everywhere. In his own time and later, all over the land, his verses were on the lips of every devotee of art. Painters and sculptors loved to ponder over his lovely descriptions and inimitable pen-pictures; and they became part of their aesthetic culture. Without an effort these found expression in their works as they chiselled the stone or painted the wall (pp. 2-3). The sculptures illustrated in the work range from second century B.C. to fifteenth century A.D. It is difficult without going against the generally accepted date of Kalidasa to agree with the author's theory at least with respect to the earlier specimens. The view of Dr. M. R. Jayakar expressed in the Foreword would appear to be free from such difficulties and thus be more plausible. "His [Kalidasa's] poems," writes Dr. Jayakar, "gave expression to all the knowledge and feelings that were probably the common possession of the cultured men and women of his times and it is perhaps a more true theory to hold that the sculptures reproduced in the present treatise are only instances of an unintentional parallelism rather than that they represent a deliberate design to reproduce Kalidasa's ideas in rock or stone." (Foreword, p. viii). But though there may be difference of opinion with regard to details, it must

be admitted that the book opens a new and interesting field of study and bears testimony to the keen observation of the author. It is a welcome and valuable contribution to the study of Sanskrit literature in its realistic aspect as a moving vehicle of the life and culture of the land.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SEX AND SOCIALISM: By M. R. Raju. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Pp. 156+iv. Price Rs. 5.

This book in all its pages tends to convince its readers that socialism can alone set sex right. The author is one of those who believe that communism alone can solve all riddles in man's life and remove all sources of human miseries and sufferings. Various manifestations of sex, natural and pathological, have been discussed in the book. The author has gleaned knowledge from various sciences such as anthropology, biology, sexology, psychology, psychoanalysis, socialism, pathology to show the varied complicated nature of the matters of sex. But the standpoints of approach to human problems in these sciences are different from one another and the reader is likely to experience confusion in comparing the statements and findings of one science with those of the other. The author frequently indulges in adopting a layman's point of view and outlook towards scientific statements. This seems to be an objectionable fallacy.

The author talks of the difficulties and anomalies in matters of sex, marriage, etc., in such a way as to give the impression that only man's consideration for money has ushered them in man's life, whether personal or social. If it be so easy to free oneself from the bondage of his misery and suffering by deleting his consideration for money, why is it then that man continues to suffer from that bondage?

In the state with the capitalistic texture of society, the question of money is unduly over-emphasized and the sufferer in that state is tempted to make things simpler by holding the economic inequality, which of course, exists therein, responsible for everything that befalls to his lot. It is an over-simplification to hold the economic inequality of man responsible. It conceals the truth of man's existence and leads him to the path of illusion. It is tempting because man's self-regard remains untainted and unchallenged if he can shake off the responsibility from his shoulder. Furthermore, for many of us, to see the obstacle on our path insurmountable and hence inevitable is a very alluring scheme of observation.

It is indeed a very fascinating imagination to believe that the socialistic or communistic distribution of wealth will remove all difficulties regarding sexual matters. When the mode of living is changed in the future socialistic state, one can hope that the picture of many sexual problems will also change but it would be extremely unjustifiable, if not altogether unreasonable to imagine that the sources from which they spring would be eradicated. It is very necessary that man should free himself from pathological manifestations of sex but we cannot agree with the methods advocated by the author in his book for achieving that freedom.

RABI GHOSH

COMPLETE INCOME-TAX READY RECKONER, 1943: By R. C. Doodhmal, R.A., F.I.S.A., Empire Terrace, Lamington Road, Bombay, 7. Price Re. 1-4.

The recent increase in the Income-Tax and Super-Tax Rates introduced by the Indian Finance Act, 1943, has necessitated recalculation of the taxes payable by

individuals, Hindu undivided families, unregistered firms, limited companies and others. The author has done the calculation in a careful and comprehensive manner. The printing and get-up of the book is good; and we have tested the calculations and found them to be accurate.

J. M. DATTA

THE CONTRIBUTION OF HINDU LAW TO WORLD JURISPRUDENCE: By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., F.R.S.L., Bar-at-Law. Published by the Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras. Price Re. 1-8.

In this book, the learned author has examined in brief *The Contribution of Hindu Law to World Jurisprudence*, in various directions.

Hindu Jurisprudence differs from all other jurisprudence in this that, while the jurisprudence of other nations concerns itself only with portions of a man's activities, Hindu Jurisprudence embraces all the activities of man from the moment he is conceived till he attains salvation. There is no distinction in Hindu Jurisprudence between Religion and Morals. Dharma or Law embraces everything in life. A man has to follow the law not because of the fear of the penalty or sanction but because that is for his own benefit and enables him to obtain his own salvation. The chief end of law and its declared goal was the ideal of Righteousness or Dharma. As a result of this, there is no place in Hindu Law for the English Common Law maxim "The King can do no wrong." The King is liable in Hindu Law like his subjects. The King's power is delegated to him by God so that he has no power to alter by legislation the Vedas or Smritis or Sadachara. He can only enforce the Dharma enjoined by these. Law meant not merely law, in the narrow sense of the term, but also justice, equity and good conscience. Yagnavalkya and Narada both emphasise that equity should prevail where two Smriti texts are in conflict.

The well-known *Factum Valet* rule applied only in cases where the settled fact was in consonance with justice, equity and good conscience but it would not apply to iniquitous things.

In Hindu Law, the King was held to be a servant of the people and the taxes were considered to be his wages. He had to work as hard as any of his subjects. This book throws a flood of light about India's notable contribution to Law and Jurisprudence. It will be appreciated both by the students of law as well as by laymen.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

ST. MANICKAVASAKAR—HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS: By Lt. M. S. Purna Lingam Pillai, B.A. *The Bibliotheca, Munirpillam P. O. Tinnevely District (Southern India).* Double Crown 16mo Antique Paper. Pp. 95. Price Re. 1.

St. Manickavasakar is an ancient popular poet and *Siddhantist*. His principal work is *Thiru-vasakam*. The saint has been called by the present writer the polestar of the Pandyan Kingdom and his delicious hymns appear to breathe a spirit of pure devotion to *Siva*, whom he and his fellow saints regard as the Lord of the Universe. His book of poems indicates the gradual evolution of the *Saiva Siddhantists* from the orthodox *Vedantists*. The Rev. Dr. Pope has made the following remarks on *Thiru-vasakam*:—"There is in the songs a strange combination of a lofty feeling and spirituality with what we must pronounce to be the grossest idolatry. The more philosophical and refined a saint becomes the more enthusiastic does he often appear to be in the performance of the incongruous rites of the popular worship."

There is idolatry more or less in every religious system. What are the sacraments of the Christian Church after all? As for miracles, their days are over. Jesus Christ's birth itself is a miracle, and the feeding of hundreds with meat and drink just enough for one man, comes under the same category.

Thiru-vasakam means sacred word, and the extent *Thiru-vasakam* contains fifty-one poems each of which has been briefly described in the book under review. In all his poems will be found the personal relationship of the devotee to God as manifested in the *Guru*. The Lord (*Siva*) is the first cause of all things, from whom inseparable is His *Sakti*, His consort. The souls are eternal, waiting for embodiment, and *Pasam* or bond, the material cause. God, Soul and Matter are the three categories of the *Saiva Siddhanta* system.

One of the songs says that the worship of *Siva* began in days of yore in the Pandya country. This sets at naught the theory that *Saivism* passed from the Himalayan region to Cape Comorin in historical times.

In all his songs, the saint's passionate hankering after the Lord and his complete resignation to His will, are in evidence. The *Saiva Siddhantist* looks upon life as a probation, as a purgatory, as a preparation for endless fellowship and communion with the Supreme through His Grace.

In one poem, absence of faith in mythology is noticeable, making no mention of *Uma* even. God is spoken of as the Truth, as the King, as the Ineffable Essence, as the Helper, as the Sea of Virtue, as the Father, as the Imperishable, as Freedom and as the Lord Supreme. In another poem He is represented as a Light, as a Beauty, as an Unfailing Refuge, as the Lord of Heaven and Earth. In short all his songs teem with expressions of unlimited faith in God and His all-powerfulness.

One is surprised to find an erotic poem in this devotional collection, like the Chapter on Love in *Tiruvalluvar's Kural*.

The love between two human lovers is often ascribed to a god and a goddess and their sports are vividly portrayed.

The essence of the *Siddhanta* system issued up in three words—*Pati*, *Pasu* and *Pasam*. *Pati* is the Lord Absolute, *Pasu* is the soul's bondage and *Pasam* is matter enveloping the soul. The enthralled soul, when it does not work for eternal grace, is subject to births; but when it realises its thralldom, it is illuminated by *Siva's* grace and attains final and full deliverance.

To St. Manickavasakar God or *Siva* was personal and appeared in the form of a *Guru* or Teacher incarnate. The soul though immortal underwent metempsychosis, and was gradually divested of its grossness and prepared for the *Mukta* state; and matter was eternal which enveloped the soul—to be gradually eliminated.

All souls cannot be at the same stage of evolution, and the universe can develop harmoniously only if each soul progressed along the path marked out by the law of its life. *Karma* and God's energy are the two agents at work in the development of the soul. Each soul is placed in surroundings conditioned by its *Karma*, and is, by the indwelling Divine energy, given opportunities of approaching its goal.

The book under review is a creditable performance. The author has bestowed considerable labour and thought in bringing out its salient points. The public is now placed in possession of a phase of *Saiva* worship different from the current one.

NALINI MOHAN SANYAL

THE FATE OF A PLAN FOR THE INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA IN 1770

By NIRMALYA BAGCHI

"We do not want generals, statesmen and legislators; we want industrious husbandmen."—WILLIAM THACKERAY.¹

THE two events, the battle of Plassey and the Industrial Revolution in England, both falling in the same period should not be viewed in isolation. The history of the century preceding them explains the forces which acted together and culminated in the two epoch-making events. The plunder of the East for the two centuries past provided for the growth and accumulation of industrial capital² and the Act of 1700³ and the more drastic Act of 1720³ restricted the entry of Indian calico into England and supplied the urge to the Industrial Revolution. In the logical analysis, the battle of Plassey won a market to be inundated with the manufacture of England. Hence it became the historic task of the John Company to keep India an agricultural colony.

The John Company carried on a revolution in India destructive and negative in character. India in 1757 was a highly manufacturing and trading country. Her market included among other countries the continent, Africa, West Indies and America. Her ports and towns were centres of activity and her favourable balance of trade made her the sink of gold and silver. The disintegration of the Mughal Empire saw the rise of a new middle class and a new town economy. Iron-smelting, glass-making, weaving, textile-calicoes, silks and muslins, were among the few of her industries. The technological backwardness of India was not as great as is commonly supposed.⁴ Her shipping excited jealousy of the English monopolists even as late as 1800.⁵ The import of lead, iron, tin, copper, quick silver speaks of a diversified and variegated economic life. The unmistakable tendency was towards a transition to the capitalist mode

of production. If India was agricultural, she was equally industrial; in her case both had been wedded together. The political structure, in the north or in the south, was a survival of the precapitalist economy and under the cumulative pressure of the new forces, India was ready for a political revolution. Perhaps, if left to herself, India could have welded together the new economic forces, established the basis of a new social order and unleashed the forces of production.

The relation of the Company with the appropriators of surplus value at home was full of contradictions. One of the provisions in the renewals of the charter compelled the Company to import to India woollen goods at a loss. The Acts of 1700 and 1720 closed the English market. By a series of Acts, the import duty was raised up and goods were imported to England only to be exported to the continent. It had to offer bribes to Cabinet ministers and the Bank of England. It had to finance British exchequer with £400,000 per annum. Again at the behest of British capital, it could not ally with the productive forces of the country. The servants of the E. I. Company asked for materials and utensils for use in calico printing in India and the reply came back that "it would be of great detriment to the manufacturers of this Kingdom."⁶ But the two groups of the greedy capitalists in spite of such contradictions joined hands in killing her manufactures and in compelling her to produce certain raw materials. The history of her economic development now faced a *volte face*. The story of the backward leap of a country from a growing industrial to a decaying agricultural economy has been written with letters of blood.

Armed with the monopoly of the external trade against its own countrymen, and eliminated of its foreign rivals, the Company by one stroke after the battle of Plassey acquired the monopoly over the inland trade in cotton, silk, raw silk, saltpetre, opium and salt. The *dadney*

1. Fifth Report on East Indian Affairs 1812 Ed. Firminger.

2. Beauchamp: *British Imperialism in India*.

3. II. William, III. Cap. 3, VI. George I, Cap. 7.

4. Shervanker: *Problem of India*. Penguin Series p. 148.

5. Taylor: *History of India*, quoted by Digby in *Prosperous British India*.

6. Despatches to Bengal, May 27th, 1779, para. 60, quoted by D. Prasad in *Some Aspects of Indian Foreign Trade*.

merchants were over-night degraded into so many *gomastas* of the Company. The inconceivably low monopoly price led the weavers to give up their independent profession and while some turned into galley slaves working under the vigilance of the *gomasta*,⁷ the rest took to agriculture. The encouragement given to the cultivation of raw silk was aimed at the destruction of the manufacture of silk. The grant of *Dewany* converted the shop-keepers into tax-gatherers. The zamindars were dispossessed; ryots were left to the mercy of *amils* and supervisors; and the irrigation system was left neglected. The revenue collection of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa even during the year of famine of 1770 exceeded the collection of the previous year by more than 7 lacs of Rupees. The huge surplus revenue was 'invested' in buying those monopoly goods to be sent to England. The Company, "cleverer than the alchemist, made gold out of nothing."⁸ To hasten the economic ruin the king-makers in Bengal drained bullion out of the country and financed China trade from Bengal. And after what was left unfinished by the "Nabobs," nature took its revenge. "Between 1769 and 1770, the English manufactured a famine by buying up all the rice and refusing to sell it again, except at a fabulous price."⁹ The process of de-industrialization of the country was complete.

The following material from the records of the East India Company, is a pointer to the thesis that "the Colonial country is compelled to sacrifice the interest of its independent development and to play the part of an economic (agrarian raw material) appendage to foreign capitalism..."¹⁰

II

In 1770, Lt.-Col. A. Campbell and Major H. Watson, the two Chief Engineers of the Company who were engaged on the construction of docks of Kidderpore and the defences of Fort William submitted a tentative scheme of mining silver, lead, copper and other valuable ores which would be "productive of the most beneficial consequences to the Hon'ble Company."¹¹ The

7. For the historical analysis of the relation between the weaver and *gomasta*, read Venkatasubbiah: *Structural Basis of Indian Economy*.

8. Karl Marx: *Capital*, Vol. 1.

9. Karl Marx: *Capital*, Vol. 1.

10. Colonial Thesis of Sixth Congress of Communist International.

11. Secret Cons. 21 Nov. 1770, No. 1 (Imperial Record Department).

reaction of the Secret Committee at Fort William to this Scheme is interesting and illustrative of the basic colonial policy of the East India Company in India.

The Committee considered the whole scheme as "fraught with advantages and inconveniences"¹² and the discussions were carried on under three broad lines: (a) advantages to the mother country and to the Company; (b) disadvantages to the mother country; (c) disadvantages to the Company.

Proceeding along the first line of discussion the Committee admitted the following advantages (1) "saving of all the prime costs of their own imports in these articles"¹³ (2) supply of bullion (3) duties levied upon these articles (4) cheaper purchase of naval and military stores (5) easy collection of revenue owing to supply of bullion.

But these advantages were regarded as merely illusory, as Bengal "cannot be considered as separate from and independent of Great Britain" and moreover "no consideration will have any weight but such as may affect the nation in general or the situation of the Company with the Government."¹⁴

Proceeding along the second line of discussion, the Committee feared that the British Government would lose the amount of duty "in which they will incur a most heavy penalty."¹⁵ By a stipulation in the renewal of the charter, the Company was required to export British merchandise to the amount of £387,837. The success of mining scheme "must occasion a heavy loss to the nation in point of trade."¹⁶

Proceeding along the third line of discussion, the Company saw its own advantages more than counterbalanced by the dangers lurking in it. Firstly, an expansion of the resources of the Company would simply whip the greed of the English ruling class to lay its hands on the newly gotten gains. Previous experience foretold such a conclusion. The acquisition of *Dewany* burdened the renewal of the charter in 1769¹⁷ with the condition of financing the exchequer with £400,000 annually. "The ministry may use of this plea to wrest the revenue and Government from the Company."¹⁸ Secondly, the

12. *Ibid.*, No. 3.

13. Sec. Cons. 21 Nov. 1770, No. 2.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, No. 3.

16. *Ibid.* No. 2.

17. Stat. of Geo. 3 Cap. 24.

18. Sec. Cons. 8 Dec. 1770, No. 2.

Company feared that as a result, the trade in those articles would slip away and the Company would thereby lose large profits. Thirdly, the Committee saw the red light from quite a different quarter. The Indians were fully acquainted with the use and utility of those articles and "their curiosity and avarice" may tempt them to experiment with the knowledge of mining and smelting. They would soon become masters in the manufacture of military stores. The Court of Directors had already apprehended the menace and reduced the import of lead to Bengal from 300 tons to 100 tons in one year. Along with this danger of strengthening the Indian bourgeoisie, there was the other danger of the spread of this knowledge among the "country powers" who in that case would be armed with the up-to-date developments of the West.

So the Secret Committee characterised the scheme as "highly impolitical and contrary to

the maxims of our Governmene,"¹⁹ and viewed with dismay the idea of "rendering a colony independent of the mother country, probable supply to the neighbouring powers of military stores, and teaching of them new means of independence and new sources of wealth."²⁰ The scheme was regarded as "extremely dangerous to the Company and highly prejudicial to Great Britain,"²¹ because "the real change comes in any country when the iron and steel industries begin to be successful.... The development of the metallurgical industries means the real industrial Revolution. England, Germany and the United States of America all started their iron and steel industries on the modern scale before they started their textile industries."²²

19. Secret Cons. 21 Nov. 1770, No. 2.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. Knowles: *Economic Development of the Overseas Empire* quoted by R. P. Dutt.

CAN WE NOT MAKE SUFFICIENT QUININE IN INDIA?

By MONORANJON GUPTA, B.Sc.

THE Royal Commission of Agriculture was convinced to remark in its July 1928 Report that

"If India was to embark any large campaign for fighting malaria it would first be necessary to reduce considerably the price of quinine within India and this can only be effected, if India is self-supporting in its production."

We are reliably informed that the average yearly consumption of quinine in India is 2,10,000 lbs., though diseases in India warrant its use upto 6,00,000 lbs. yearly.

Quinine is produced in India in two areas, viz., Darjeeling and Madras; when the first centre produces about 60,000 lbs., the latter produces about 30,000 lbs. yearly. It appears therefore that more than half of India's consumption is imported from outside, though the requirement of the country is much more.

Quinine is produced in France, England, Germany, Holland, America, India and Java, etc., but the 90 percent of the cinchona bark required by the Quinine Factories of these countries is supplied by Java. In consequence of the above position the Kina Bureau of Java,

a combine of some wealthy Dutch cinchona garden-owners, was controlling the world market of cinchona bark and quinine.

The above is the background on which should be placed the question of making India self-supporting regarding the production of quinine. But the following facts relative to cinchona plantations need enumeration:

1. It is not prohibited, by the law of India, to run a cinchona plantation by a private person.

2. But its plantation requires scientific knowledge and actual experience. Government being the only authority in possession of such knowledge and experience, it is expected that it will help any intending planter with seeds, grafting and supervision regarding the rearing of the plantation.

3. That the soil, altitude and climate of the Darjeeling and Madras areas are suitable for cinchona plantation has been amply proved by the progressive increase in the production of quinine in the respective factories.

4. In 1941 the Provincial Government of Bengal has informed the Central Government of India that if the latter could assure that

foreign quinine manufacturers would not be allowed to lower their quinine prices in India beyond a certain limit, they (Bengal) reasonably hoped to make India self-supporting regarding its needs about quinine within the course of next twenty years. Let it be noted in this connection that the cost of quinine in Bengal Factories varies between Rs 10 and Rs. 14 per pound. And according to the present Indian constitution the Provincial Governments have no control over matters of seaborne trade. These are vested with the Central Authorities of the country.

5. In India and Java cinchona bark is obtained from trees which have grown upto 7 to 8 years and recent informations from Russia show that they cut down the whole tree in about 18 months. In the former case the quinine and other alkaloid contents of the bark are much higher than that in the latter. But the latter enables one to get the quinine much earlier.

6. How Java gained ground in cinchona trade is explained from the following facts, obtained from Bernard F. Howard's speech at the Institute of Chemistry, Great Britain and Ireland:

(a) "A large proportion of the seedlings were successfully planted in the Nilgiri Hills in 1861, under the Superintendence of MacIvor. In 1865 plantations were established in Hakgala, Ceylon and in Coorg, followed shortly after by further enterprises in Wainad, Mysore, Darjeeling in Sikkim; and the Karen Hills in Burmah."

(b) "A summary of source of bark sold in European markets:

	In 1880	In 1911
India	1,170,000 lbs.	4,58,600 lbs.
Java	70,000 lbs.	19,77,800 lbs.
Africa	Nil	25,400 lbs.

..... it is therefore necessary to sketch briefly the history of this wonderful success of the Dutch in their principal Colony."

"The first attempt at cultivation in Java in 1882 ended in complete failure through the poor alkaloid producing characteristics of the varieties of cinchonas

of which seedlings were secured from South America the only trees producing a tolerable yield being a small number obtained from MacIvor's plantations in the Nilgiris. In 1855, however, Charles Ledger secured seeds of Cinchona Calisaya, half of which were planted in India and half in Java. Those in India failed, owing either to the climatic conditions or to mismanagement of the plantations after MacIvor's death. Those in Java, however, flourished exceedingly and have produced a wonderful strain of trees, which, by skilful scientific cultivations have produced, and are producing, bark containing upto 10 per cent. of quinine."

The past mistakes and omissions of the Government of India regarding its policies of quinine, adopted from time to time, is an interesting study and may be of some benefit in the adoption of yet another policy of making India self-supporting. But we desist; and express our fervent hope that in the absence of the Kinn Bureau of Java, the Government of India will now keenly feel the necessity and opportunity of producing sufficient quinine equal to the needs of the country.

We do not know what answer the Government of Bengal (who has secured the services of a big group of scientific experts on cinchona cultivation and quinine extraction on a comparatively economic basis) has got from the Central Authorities regarding their very reasonable proposal of controlling the price of imported quinine. Let it be mentioned that such a policy has been the keynote in Tariff policies of all free countries of the world since the beginning of modern civilization. It will, therefore, be very surprising if the Government shelves the question or swings it astray on reasons of Departmental difficulties interpreted on the basis of the constitution of India. Or we have made a very big mistake in handling this normal problem in a natural way. India is a dependent country; its advance to self-government and self-determination is only a fiction and any normal thinking in this country will be little consequence as long as we are under a foreign yoke.

BLINDNESS IN INDIA

By KUMAR PAL, M.A.

I. APPALLING BLINDNESS IN INDIA

The rapid increase of the incidence of blindness with the equally advancing number of eye-specialists and increasing medical facilities provided in the eye hospitals is nothing short of an anomaly if not a mystery of the modern civilisation. Good many relief societies too have sprung up recently into active service. Yet no adequate way seems to have been found out to combat this widespread dark evil.

According to present statistics, there are twelve to fifteen million persons in the world who are wholly blind. And to every blind man there are three who are partially blind. As the census returns are open to doubt and all estimates are liable to be inaccurate, the actual ophthalmic picture of the blind would be multiplied several times.

Out of this enormous number India shelters about five million persons who are completely or partially blind. This would be a bolt from the blue to many who are eager for relief wherever it is needed. The ten-yearly census reports in India have registered a steady increase of blindness. Whereas the number of the totally blind was about five lakhs in 1911, it rose upto 7½ lakhs in 1921, went beyond 10 lakhs in 1931 and is feared to be about 15 lakhs in 1942.

The fast spreading terrible affliction of eyes in general which has laid its shadow over the health and happiness of our land cannot be appreciated by those who never come into close contact with its tragedies. Not a single family is spared. Eye complaints are quite general these days and new complications go on adding to the difficulties. The war-blind people too have now begun to create a new problem.

Viewing this development with grave concern the International Blind Relief Association of America gave a timely warning to the Government of India some time ago. But a simple review of the blind relief work in India was its only response.

At the present time a united effort on the part of ophthalmic surgeons of all nationalities working in conjunction with the League of Red Cross Societies is being made to grapple with the gigantic task of reducing the incidence of blindness throughout the world.

But in India little is being done in this direction. Government eye hospitals are very few and far between. No definite scheme has been chalked out. Nor is any plan for the same likely to be considered until a demand is voiced from the press as well as the platform. The thoughtful public and responsible leaders have to take the initiative and back up this noble cause of the millions of parasitic blind people who are proving a permanent liability to the nation at large and are moreover adding to its dead weight by rendering at least an equal number of their guides socially profitable.

The problem would look all the more worth trying when it is realised that about 60% of blindness is either preventable or curable. Much of the prevailing blindness could have been avoided by simple precautions and ordinary first aid measures. There are large numbers of blind persons to whom vision can be restored by proper measures. The conditions of the blind in India, thus demand a united effort and I am sure, that would be amply repaid.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru before his detention was pleased to release the following appeal for publication:

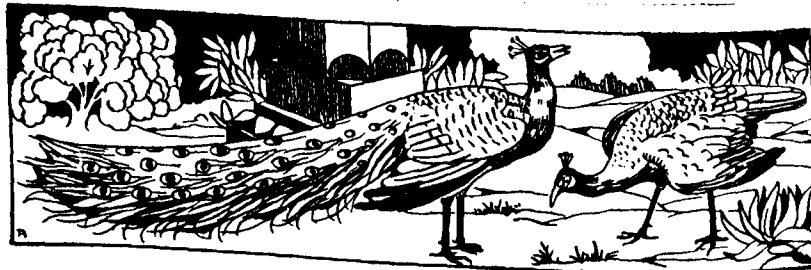
"Among the many ills of this unhappy land is widespread eye-trouble and blindness. Some of this is deep-seated but much certainly can be done by proper care of the eyes and preventive measures especially in the case of children. I wish that parents and teachers and others gave thought to this matter and took active steps to remove this evil."

II. CAUSES OF BLINDNESS

The alarming dimensions of the fast spreading blindness in India are gradually attracting attention in some parts. But it is regrettable that public opinion has not yet been roused to stimulate practical interest in the campaign for its prevention.

Prevention is always better than cure. And by proper remedy of the causes the effects are bound to disappear. Cause and effect stand or fall together.

There are in the case of blindness, some causes which are deep-rooted and unavoidable. But a bird's-eye view of the principal causes



would help us to understand that most of the eye-troubles can be easily eliminated. For example, with timely device, eye diseases due to keratomalacia, small-pox, ophthalmic Neonatorum, gonorrhoea, syphilis, trachoma and quack remedies need not have occurred at all. Besides, spread of such affections by contagion or infection can be very well controlled and stopped.

Why then, is the number of the blind in India so great? And what ameliorative measures should be adopted? Let us briefly take stock of the various relevant factors.

The first to strike us is the inadequate number of eye-hospitals in this country. One would show us the increasing number of eye dispensaries and eye specialists in different cities, yet the vastness and gravity of the problem necessitate much greater efforts and on a wider scale. In other countries where much fewer cases of blindness are to be found there are numerous eye-hospitals. In Egypt, for example, there is one eye-hospital to about one lakh of population, while in India, there is not even one in one million. A study of the ophthalmic relief work in Egypt would have been very beneficial if the space permitted.

The hospitals are almost inaccessible to the poor on account of the heavy expenses that one has to bear in order to avail of the relief provided in the eye-hospitals. On account of the appalling poverty of the masses, millions of the poor village folk cannot afford to travel long distances for expert treatment and prefer to lose their sight and remain blind for their lives. Many of them live to be blind because they do not have attendants to take them to some eye-hospital for treatment.

But what has proved to be a very general cause of blindness in India is the indifference of the patients for troubles of the eyes. Very few realise the harmful results of neglect in this matter. Urgencies of livelihood compel them to be deprived of any treatment whatsoever. And then they fall into the hands of quacks who go about with their needles and spoil their eyes with their cheap devices.

In spite of all this, much could certainly have been done to prevent blindness in many cases, if the people had knowledge of the causes of blindness and also knew how to prevent it by ordinary first aid measures. This lack of information regarding necessary hygienic measures results in aggravation of minor troubles and spread of eye diseases through infection as well as contagion. Not only that, ignorance in India about eyes is so deep that a good number

of patients believe their case to be hopeless for ever. Some even mistake glaucoma for cataract and thus become incurably blind in due course.

In the end let us take stock of the external factors too besides the hereditary causes which affect everyone's eyes to a lesser or greater extent. Dirty habits of not washing hand and face frequently, using one and the same towel for washing eyes, lack of precaution against dust, smoke and glare; using a common rod for putting *surma* into the eyes by many persons, touching eyes with irritant drugs supplied by a quack; deficient diet and so many other causes need to be explained to the public in full. Otherwise these simple day-to-day practices are sure to result in damage to the eyes.

III. HOW TO COMBAT BLINDNESS

Having detailed the principal causes of blindness, I would now attempt to set forth in brief outline, a scheme for the prevention as well as eradication of blindness and blinding diseases in India which Shri Parmanand Blind Relief Mission of Delhi has just launched on a smaller scale. In the first place the Mission organises periodical camps (different camps) in different parts of India, specially where expert ophthalmic treatment is not easily available to the poor on account of little distant hospitals or limited accommodation in their wards. This camp system is just coming to the forefront of the public gaze. Periodical relief camps of different sorts have been long since known to everybody. For maladies, epidemics or catastrophes of a temporary character camps prove a very effective weapon. When the ophthalmic surgery established that sight can be restored to the blind people who suffer from cataract, glaucoma or leucoma with timely operative measures by staying for a very short period in the hospital, this idea of a blind relief camp too was easily transformed into practice. It was in Egypt that the scheme was first adopted.

In India too, eye-cure-fairs or camps have passed the stage of initial criticism and are now quite common specially in Upper India. Camps provide a very good supplementary arrangement to the hospitals. In such a camp eye patients are invited from several neighbouring districts after sufficient previous notice for treatment in the camp by an expert ophthalmic surgeon. Thousands thus muster together from villages and towns. They are all given instructions for preventive and precautionary measures. Proper medicines are distributed free to the poor for use at home by eye-specialists in sufficient

quantity. Operable cases are detained in the camp and operated upon. Such a camp lasts only about 20 days and costs much less per head than in the hospitals. Such camps therefore provide a very cheap and easy way of diminishing the incidence of blindness in India by curing large numbers of temporarily blind persons and preventing many who are on the way to blindness. This system brings medical relief at the very doors of the patients for those who suffer on account of poverty, ignorance or inaccessibility of medical facilities. Moreover, camps reduce the pressure on the hospitals too to a considerable extent. This camp system requires expansion to all parts of India in order to be useful to the country at large.

Secondly, the Mission at present runs a travelling dispensary in the Delhi province and surrounding districts with a nucleus at the headquarters. The travelling dispensary goes about to different village centres on every Sunday with its staff. Patients from about 50 villages are invited at a convenient place. Those curable with medicines are given medicines. Precautionary first aid measures too are fully explained through magic lantern lectures. Those suffering from cataract, leucoma, or glaucoma or trichiasis are operated by an expert ophthalmic surgeon. A competent trained compounder or assistant doctor is left behind for their after-care. The surgeon attends them on the 4th and 7th days or when necessary. Some who require prolonged treatment are brought to the central hospital for proper steps.

It is proposed that there should be one travelling dispensary in each district, working in various village-centres by turns with an eye-hospital at the district town for prolonged treatment. This would by itself alleviate all eye troubles and meet all essential requirements for a complete scheme of blind relief. The

district and provincial government authorities have to take the initiative in the matter. In the event of their neglect philanthropists have to volunteer their time, money and energy if they have to relieve their motherland from the huge burden of blindness which is almost crushing.

What is most important and requires greater care is the active propaganda of preventive and first aid curative measures. Prevention is always better than cure. Most people suffer because they do not know how to avoid suffering. Lack of information regarding causes leads to serious troubles in many cases. Thus, many ridiculously wrong notions about eye diseases are responsible for the beginning and deterioration of eye troubles. If people know some simple things about the early care of eyes in many cases of trouble quite a good number of the blind would have been saved from this curse.

For this, therefore, it is incumbent upon those who sympathise with the blind that they should carry on propaganda of preventive measures through lectures, posters, charts, tracts, slides and films. In educational institutions and industrial centres the authorities must be careful not to neglect the eyes in taking care of the health of the students or the labourers. Particularly, more attention is to be directed to eyes, for the eye is the most important of all sense organs.

The above is an humble attempt to direct the public opinion towards this most pressing problem of blind relief which demands an early solution. The problem has been stated in clear terms, with an investigation into its root causes in order to find some way out of it. In the end some practical suggestions too have been put forward and if from the clues outlined above some measure of relief is extended to the poor blind, the author would feel amply gratified.



INDIAN PERIODICALS

Woman

An English translation by Dr. Kalidas Nag of an Address delivered by the Poet at the All-Bengal Women Workers' Association, 2nd October 1936, is published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*. In the course of the address Rabindranath Tagore says :

Woman is the ancient one in human creation. Her energy partakes of the primordial force (adya-sakti) underlying human society, bringing life into existence and nourishing it.

The master-builder of this world made it worth living after aeons and aeons of moulding and hammering. That work was not half-finished when Nature started creating life and Pain showed her face on this earth. Nature has introduced that elemental pain, that birth-throe, in woman's veins and in her heart. Nature has endowed woman's body and mind with the vigorous impulse of nursing life. That impulse, naturally, has found its deepest and largest place in emotional rather than in intellectual capacities. That instinct is ever weaving in woman's soul the net of relationship to hold others on to herself, with pathetic patience, affection and love. That is the primeval bond which builds and holds human family, and family is the foundation of all societies and civilisations. But for that original bond, mankind would have got dispersed into shapeless vapoury nothing, without getting integrated into a centre of relationship. To woman belongs the primal function of holding family and society together.

Nature's creative processes are hidden and there is no doubt or diffidence about their spontaneous evolution. That natural flow of life courses through woman's soul which has therefore been called mysterious by men. That is probably why we notice in women's life the sudden manifestation of exuberant impulse which is beyond logic and which has its own justification in a causeless mystery. It is not a tank excavated to satisfy our needs; it is a natural spring.

The mystery of affection and love is very old and inscrutable. It never argues to justify itself. It demands a quick solution wherever it confronts a problem.

So, as soon as woman enters the home she begins functioning as the housewife; with the expectation of the child appears the mother already. Mature intelligence has come to man much more slowly. He finds his place after search, after fight, and he takes a lot of time to satisfy his doubts and to march ahead. Man gains strength and success by hard struggle with his doubts. Oscillating on the waves of doubt for centuries, he accumulates a formidable load of errors which explode to convulse human history repeatedly. Man's creation founders under the waves of destruction and he has got to lay ever fresh foundations of his glory. His work undergoes metamorphosis through repeated experiments. He lives if he manages to go forward with this constant renewal of experience; but he dies engulfed in

dragging dissolution, if he fails to repair the big gaps of his errors which crack the very structure of life. Such creation and dissolution mark the history of man-made civilisation from its very beginning. Meanwhile woman, as the ambassador of Nature, continues steadily in her work of creation as lover, as mother; and from time to time, she too starts conflagrations in human society, through the concussion of terrific impulses. Her catastrophic impulses are like Nature's own calamities, fire and whirlwind, sudden and suicidal.

Man is ever a new-comer to his own world.

He has repeatedly built anew his own laws and regulations. His path was not paved by the Creator; he has got to build ever new roads in different times and places. The path of one age became a blind alley in another; its progress was reversed and the path disappeared.

The main current of woman's life, on the other hand, flows along a broad uniform channel amidst the rise and fall of new civilisations. She was not permitted to experiment with the wealth of her heart advanced by Nature; she cannot afford to speculate, with ever inquisitive intelligence in ever new undertakings.

She is conservative and ancient.

Man is obliged to move from office to office canvassing his goods and most men are obliged to take to some profession which is rarely approved by their talents but is just enough for earning a livelihood. So man must learn by hard work to ply many trades, and three-fourths of them do not attain success they deserve. But the work that woman undertakes as house-wife and mother, is her proper work, congenial to her nature.

Man attain greatness by overcoming obstacles and conquering the hostile surroundings with his powers. But few are the men who succeed in that unique way. On the other hand, we find, in almost every home, many such women as have fertilised society with the nectar of their heart. For their wealth of affection is naturally derived and they are trained by nature, even if not educated in schools.

India's Antiquity

The Aryan Path observes :

To those convinced of the antiquity and the wide expansion of greater Indian culture Herbert W. Krieger's discovery in the Philippines of cultural influences from India will be no matter for surprise. His recent publication, the fourth in the Smithsonian Institution's War Background Studies, is *Peoples of the Philippines*. Neither the latter-day influence of Islamic culture nor that of the Chinese traders has been as profound as that from India. Though Hindu or Buddhist architectural remains are not found in the Philippines, the impact of Indic culture, extending perhaps over more than two thousand years, has been strong. The art of metal working is characteristic of Indian influence and such decorative motifs as the lotus and other Hindu cult representations are found. Significant also are the many words of Sanskrit origin in the Tagalog and other

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dialects and the similarity of the Philippine alphabet in use when the Spaniards discovered the Islands, to that of the Hinduised Javanese. Mr. Krieger quotes Dr. Pardo de Tavera as saying that "the words which Tagalog borrowed are those which signify intellectual acts, moral conceptions, emotions, superstitions, names of deities, of planets, of numerals of high number, of botany, of war and its results and consequences, and finally, of titles and dignities, some animals, instruments of industry, and the names of money."

This cultural influence emanating from India "introduced ideas and knowledge of varied types, enriched the language and radically changed fundamental religious beliefs." In the probable absence of direct maritime contacts with India it is possible that these cultural influences were carried slowly and piecemeal through Java and Borneo, but "there is no tribe in the Philippines, no matter how primitive and remote, in whose culture of today elements of Indian origin cannot be traced."

Beatrice Webb

Beatrice Webb has passed away at the age of 85. Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon writes in *The Indian Review* :

We owe a tribute to this "super-extraordinary" woman, as Shaw once put it, whose life-long and selfless devotion to public work and whose achievements in intellectual and political spheres, in themselves revolutionary but hardly discernible as such, will not only survive her mortal remains but will also play a very important part in the new social order.

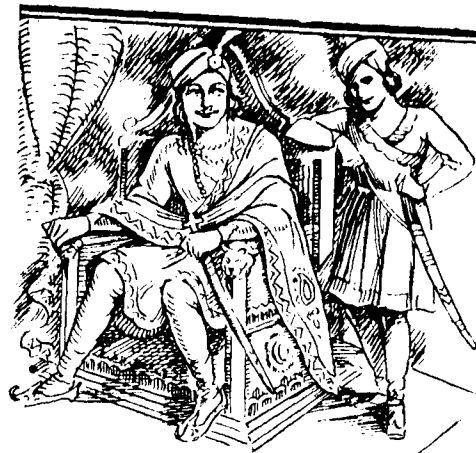
The student of economics, the social worker and the political theorist owe a debt, much too great to be defined in a brief article, to the Webbs, and not less to Beatrice than to her husband, John. One associates them

with authoritative works on Trade Unionism, the Co-operative Movement, Local Self-Government and with monographs and pamphlets on various subjects from Poor Law to public administration; one recalls also the *Fabian Essays*, (the Poor Law Commission) Minority Report agitation in the early years of this century, the foundation of the London School of Economics and the *New Statesman* and also their characteristic of the 'inevitability of gradualness.' But let us also remember that at the age of 72 these eternal youths were touring extensively in Russia to collect data for their work *Soviet Communism—A New Civilisation?*, a monumental work of over a thousand pages, published when they were 80. In the death of Beatrice Webb, England and the world have lost one of the most outstanding and indefatigable social investigators of the last half a century and more.

Born in 1858 in a family noted for its wealth, political and business connections and intellectual interests, it is not surprising that Beatrice Potter, the last but one of a family of nine sisters (most of whom married distinguished husbands—Sir Stafford Cripps is one of her nephews—) should have been what she always was, 'a clever woman, quite free from any sort of sentimental veneration.' Both her parents and all her sisters were people with intellectual interests.

Like girls of her station then she never went to school or attended a university. Education was through the agency of governesses, English, French and German. With her intellectual curiosity and concentrated purpose, and not having had any university education, she took to self-training. In 1883, she went as 'Miss Jones' to Bacup in East Lancashire to study the conditions of work among the Lancashire mill-hands.

In 1887, she went to London to help her cousin Charles Booth in his great enquiry into conditions in London which was to act as a most potent impetus towards socialist thinking. Much against the disappro-



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val of friends and relations, but after her father's death, she married Sydney Webb in 1892, and one of the greatest literary partnerships known to history began, and continued till her death last month.

The Problem of Nutrition

The problem of nutrition is many-sided, and to educate the public in the right use of the right kind of food is not the least important point. H. P. Dastur writes in *The Social Service Quarterly* :

But the moment one attempts this complications creep in from all sides. The dictatorial soldier stoutly asserts that if he is to win a war, a balanced diet for the army is as necessary as gun-powder. And with his usual bluff and bluster, he gets all he wants. But when the peace-loving civilian is as emphatic in asserting that to avoid war and bring peace to a war-crazy world, a balanced diet is equally necessary for the whole civilian populace, he is not heard. Yet experiments on rats show that those fed on a deficient diet are fretful, morose, selfish and quarrelsome; whilst those that get a balanced diet are contented, peaceful and full of life. Children suffering from diet deficiencies are not only physically weak, but quarrelsome, selfish, fretful and unsociable; whereas those receiving enough of a balanced diet are full of the joy of life, contented and sociable.

The distracted statesman is only recently waking up to the needs of the problem of nutrition and is reluctantly learning to accept it as a state problem.

Crisis after crisis, however, chase him with problem after problem from all directions which tempt him to side-track the problem of nutrition as of secondary importance, and to forget that all his problems are correlated and that most of them have their roots in malnutrition. The ever-greedy merchant sees in it a great opportunity for profiteering. His policy seems to be "I and my profits and the devil take the hindmost." The self-satisfied employer who represents big business and if he occasionally considers any such reform poor business and if he occasionally an employer does attempt it, the industrial worker, whose problem is not so much quantity but quality, cynically wonders if this is another smoke-screen set up by his employer and his myrmidons to drive him still further to the wall. The overfed epicurean treats it as a great joke. He discusses vitamins and suitable proteins at his riotous club-dinners and fashionable tea-parties, and swears by or against them as may suit his particular need of the hour. The half-starved peasant too sees a joke in it, but a cruel one, and at his expense. His problem is some food, and food, vitamins or no vitamins, just something to appease a gnawing hunger. The faddist stupidly misrepresents the scientist. The scientist sometimes forgets that human chemistry is somewhat different from laboratory chemistry.

And the general public, mostly conservative, is always apathetic.

Its prejudices die hard. From such jarring notes a rhyme and rhythm have to be evolved in tune with the new knowledge of nutrition, and that can be done even today if only the powers that can be made to recognise that food is a primary need and birth-right of all life, which cannot be trifled with without serious results. But if wisely utilized in the service of humanity instead of Mammon, it is a stabilizing and civilizing factor

of great possibilities. The war clouds that have burst over the world may well prove an Armageddon to teach all its peoples this useful lesson.

"The seed shall be sown in unrighteousness but shall arise in glory,
It shall be sown in weakness but shall arise in strength."

Cultural Fellowship of Bengal

In the course of his article in *The Prabuddha Bharata* Sisirkumar Mitra observes :

What marks her out is her genius to make bold experiments which Bengal carried on for centuries towards the building up of a composite culture. And among these creative efforts more remarkable were her inward adventures which led her to evolve a number of esoteric cults of spiritual humanism which are peculiar to Bengal, proving her passion to discover the secret of life so that it might unfold itself as a field of mystical experiences whose flowering would lift the seeker into higher realizations of which, it was believed, man with all his limitations is capable in his terrestrial existence.

They felt urged from within to give more importance to the collective aspect of the spiritual life so that the progress towards the goal might also grow into a uniform social phenomenon in the community life of the people.

The early schools of Upanishadic mysticism, the Tantric Chakras, the Buddhist Sanghas, the Vaishnavite Goshtis, or any of similar other circles or orders in Bengal were not bound by any rigid rules with regard to the admission of new entrants into them. Caste, creed, or birth was not to them the criterion of judging a man's spiritual seeking.

These centres of inner culture developed into meeting-places of men and women of all denominations, who by their adherence to a common ideal were united into a kind of spiritual brotherhood, which was almost a marvel in human relations, although its purity, especially, where opposite sexes came in contact, could not for obvious reasons be maintained all through. It is true that these cults of Bengal had each its secret conclave, but its object was to preserve the basic truth of its respective discipline, and that as nothing more than a nucleus round which the order would grow drawing its inspiration from it. They were not like the similar institutions of orthodox Hinduism confined within parochial grooves, admission to which was stipulated by birth or pedigree.

An excess of emotion is no doubt another distinctive characteristic of Bengal.

It has given her that unbounded ardour and warmth of her heart, that impassioned longing for the comradeship of others not only in her cultural pursuits but also in her search for the ultimate truths of life. It is this emotional bent that has helped Bengal to widen into a catholic outlook and inspired to a great extent her efforts to bring together men of all castes, creeds, and races under the banner of one religion, the religion of love, which is a true Dharma of her soul.

The *Chhandogya Upanishad* speaks of a Paravidya—higher knowledge—which was the exclusive possession of the Kshatriyas. It was from the Kshatriyas that the Brahmins obtained this knowledge. They taught the supreme necessity of self-culture even to the Brahmins. This esoteric philosophy had its origin in

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Mithila : it spread to Magadha but achieved a fuller development in Anga and Banga (Bengal). Thus the early Kshatriya mystics of Bengal were among the pioneers in giving a new form of inner culture to the teachings of the Upanishads, and their success in that direction has yet to be properly assessed as one of the remarkable contributions of ancient Bengal in the domain of Indian thought.

The cult of Bhakti took a more definite form in the later Upanishads in which was developed out of the Pranava ('Om') the philosophy of the Pancha-upasana, or five-fold worship, viz., the worship of Shiva, Devi, Sun, Ganesha and Vishnu. The origin of the Tantras is traced to this five-fold worship.

Bengal, emotional by nature, felt an instinctive disposition for Tantric Sadhana. And she gave her whole soul to it so as soon to be able to make important contribution to the formulation of its doctrines. The worship of Shakti in them having appealed to her more than the other forms. Tantricism in Bengal does, therefore, emphasize a whole-hearted consecration to Mahamaya as a fundamental principle of its practice. It is well-known that over a long past Bengal has been a recognized seat of Tantric culture, and she is so deeply imbued with its spirit that she may be said to have received from it the very character of her spiritual being.

In the Mahayana path also devotion and knowledge coalesced to make of it that popular religious cult which flourished so remarkably in the soil of Bengal owing mainly to its being fertilized by an abundance of emotion.

A system of logic she was no doubt able to build up and a great school of philosophy of all-India fame; but an inordinate emphasis on intellect threatened to dry up her heart and wither the natural springs of her emotional being. Happily, however, this was confined to the upper classes and the intellectuals; and when partly as a reaction to it the sweeping tides of Vaishnavism began to flood the country from end to end and even beyond its borders, Bengal rediscovered her soul and re-opened her heart. It is emotion again that largely was the cause of her being able to respond to the call of Sri Chaitanya and thereby rekindle the flame of her Bhakti.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Chinese Muslims View Pakistan

John Kin, a Chinese Muslim, writes in *Asia*:

At a recent meeting in Chungking, Chinese Muslims, decided to step into the League-Congress controversy in India. A written appeal, addressed to Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, President of the Indian Muslim League, urging him to co-operate with the Indian National Congress, was drafted to be signed by General Omar Pai Chung-hsi, China's No. 1 Mohammedan General and Deputy Chief of Staff of the Chinese Army. General Pai Chung-hsi, as President of the Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation, truly represents all the Muslims in China and is, therefore, their right-most trusted men. It is hoped that, through this Muslim-to-Muslim approach, the much-longed for Congress League accord may be brought to fruition and the way paved for a Roosevelt-Chiang mediation of the India-Britain issue.

The crux of the matter lies in the separatist policy known as "Pakistan" supported by the Indian Muslim League.

Although the common Chinese Muslims may not know from Adam what that means, they would certainly shake their heads in disapproval at the idea of creating a separate Muslim State in India, which is what "Pakistan" in plain terms amounts to. That sounds very much like something emanating from Tokyo, and they have had enough of the stench that every breeze from the Land of Bushido has brought to their nostrils. For more than five years they have fought against the Japanese string-pulling for the formation of a "hui hui state" in China. As a matter of fact, these intrigues have only served to fire the devotion of the hui hui, or Chinese Muslims, to their native land.

General Pai Chung-hsi, in communicating with the President of the Indian Muslim League, would naturally take every care not to commit himself to any open criticism of "Pakistan." But it would be insulting Mr. Jinnah's intelligence to assume that he could fail to read between the lines the obvious Chinese disapproval of that idea. General Pai has on numerous occasions emphasized the idea that the Chinese Muslims are part and parcel of China—neither a distinct racial unit, nor even a political party, but a religious and cultural group with much to contribute to the general welfare. In politics, they believe in the Three People's Principles underlying Chinese democracy just like the rest of the Chinese people. The Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation has as its two-fold objective the salvation of the nation and the propagation of Islam, but for the present the nation comes first. There can be no religious freedom to speak of when the freedom of the nation is not assured.

In fact, the policy of the Federation, as General Pai conceives it, is diametrically opposed to that of the Indian Muslim League.

While interpreting the mind of India at the gathering of Chinese Mohammedan leaders, Sir Zafrulla re-

vealed himself as a strong advocate of "Pakistan." He was at once bombarded with questions. One of these questions pointed sharply to the sheer infeasibility of the idea of a separate Muslim State in India. Out of all the Provinces in India, it was pointed out, the only two in which Muslims constitute the majorities are Bengal and Punjab. Of the inhabitants of Bengal Province 27,810,000 or 54.44 per cent. are Mohammedans and 22,212,069 are Hindus. In Punjab, one half of the total population of 24,187,750 are Mohammedans. These two provinces are separated by many States and provinces in which the Muslims are definite minorities. The "Pakistan" idea, all considerations of its religious and political justification quite aside, thus seems impracticable.

One of the outstanding exponents of things Islamic in China is Mr. Ali Yang Ching-chih, who aroused much public attention by his articles on Japanese intrigues against the Muslim world. On September 5, he contributed another article to the same influential *Ta Kung Pao*, this time on "Islam in India." With dulcet candor he called "Pakistan" a medieval geographical expression and Jinnah the protege and scapegoat of those of the British Government who believe in keeping India divided.

The Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation has watched with keen interest the developments in the Indian situation since the Cripps Mission.

At its second general conference on March 29-31 of last year it was decided to send to India Mr. Othman K. H. Woo, who in 1939 had participated in a goodwill tour to South Asia. His mission in India, however, was merely to inform Muslims there of the activities of their Chinese co-religionists and to gather information on the spot about Muslims in India. Mr. Woo is said to have carried with him gifts for Mr. Jinnah from General Pai Chung-hsi. In an interview he reported back to Chungking, the President of the Indian Muslim League was quoted as having strongly disapproved of the Chinese Muslims' co-operation with the Hans, as the majority of the Chinese population are sometimes called. Mr. Woo also paid a call on Mr. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mohammedan President of the Indian National Congress, which was described as very cordial and satisfactory.

A direct answer to Mr. Jinnah's why-co-operate-with-the-Hans question may be found in a manifesto to the Muslim world issued by the Federation some time after the conclusion of its second general conference. In this manifesto, it was pointed out that throughout the 1,320 years since Islam was first introduced in China the Chinese Muslims have in the main been accorded a fair treatment by the Chinese Government. The policy of the Manchu Emperors in creating friction between the Muslims and the Hans failed to undermine the love of the Muslims for their fatherland.

The Chinese Muslims are essentially a religious group and as such are not necessarily interested in politics, the manifesto continued. Get-thee-into-government is no password among them. Their participation as plain citizens in the war against Japan, therefore,

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has not been prejudiced by any inadequate representation of their status in the Government.

Nevertheless, in the Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation which was organized in Hankow early in 1938 mainly through the instrumentality of General Pai Chung-hsi, they are now finding an outlet for their energy and patriotism. To-day, with headquarters in Chungking, the Federation has branches in 17 Free China provinces and 256 county agencies. So if there is any one organization in China best qualified to deal with the much-publicized controversy between the Indian Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, it is this representative organ of the 45,000,000 Chinese Muslims.

British Parliament and American Congress

In a recent article, Mr. Laurence Housman, the eminent playwright and historian, drew attention to the increasing stranglehold of British Cabinet rule over the Houses of Parliament.

LONDON.

It has now reached the point where there are 86 members of Parliament who are paid Government officials in one office or another, and there are another 40 or so "Parliamentary Private Secretaries" who are unpaid, but who regard their positions as stepping stones to higher posts. All these 126 can be counted on to vote with the Government. The bulk of them could be shed by the Government without any inconvenience or loss of popularity to itself: there are plenty of others ready and waiting to take their places.

Many of these members are at the beginning of their political careers, hoping for a rise; without resigning they cannot give an independent vote, and to resign would, in most cases be fatal to their future political prospects. By this increase in departmental appointments the Government has in its pocket a much larger number of its supporters than formerly; and in the same proportion the independence of the House of Commons is weakened, and the power of the Government is strengthened. Thirty years ago it was still necessary for members accepting certain Government appointments to stand for re-election. That is no longer the case; and a member, no matter how precarious his hold upon his seat may be, can now enter the Government without any fear of losing his seat.

Nor is the Government's hold over the political lives of its members limited to its own supporters. Its power to decree an election (even if an alternative Government is possible without one) affects the Opposition just as much as the party in power, and in very much the same way. If the party funds of the Opposition happen to be low at the time when the Government threatens to call for a general election, the power of the purse may have a decisive effect in preserving the Government from defeat on a vote of confidence.

It is worth noting that, in the American Constitution, this power to penalize the legislative branch for an honest vote has been withheld from the Executive, which in certain other respects has wider powers. And there is still a further safeguard. No member of Congress may accept a Government appointment; if he wishes to do so, he must first resign his seat in Congress. In the United States an adverse vote of the House or the Senate cannot dismiss the Executive, but neither can the Executive dismiss Congress for having

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"No more potent force for mutual understanding between peoples exists than appreciation of their arts. La Meri, an American woman who has devoted her life to the study of ethnologic dances treating of races and peoples, has specialised in Indian dances. For long periods she has lived in India and has absorbed the dance culture of the Indian peoples first-hand. She not only knows the theory and technique of her art, but, having studied under the Indian savant, Coomaraswamy, she understands its religious and philosophic base as well.

Appearing throughout the American continent, she has been instrumental in bringing to the American people a knowledge of Indian Natya.

"La Meri has made known in this country two outstanding types of Natya which are practised in India today—both on the peninsula and in northern India. In Tanjore she studied the rich religious dance; in Delhi and Lucknow she steeped herself in the more austere secular dance. She has also made known here the dances of Ceylon and of Bengal and is helping Americans to understand them exactly as they strove to understand the dances of Shankar.

"Eschewing any theatricalism, La Meri has succeeded in teaching the American people that the Indian dance does not concern itself with the sensationalism

of climax in movement as does that of the western school; that the art aims not to astonish but to soothe; that it avoids the realistic and seeks, by the simple outlines, to portray the spiritual.

"Perhaps the finest influence for mutual understanding between the American and Indian peoples lies in the work done by La Meri's making clear the fact that the essence of the Indian dance is spiritual. Americans have been taught to understand the legends which form the better part of the subject-matter of a group of solo dances taken from the endless loves of Gods. Were the legends interpreted literally, they might well give the impression to the Occidental world that the Gods were hardly godly; but La Meri realises that the legends are purely allegorical, and as such they are presented.

"Thus Americans have learned that the dance art of India and the beauty of Natya lies in perfect knowledge and that it is an art of deep and deliberate study, the result of long and conscious discipline; in short, an art in which, for full appreciation and understanding, the watcher must be as learned as the artist."—USOWI.

Exhibit of Oriental Art in New York

The endurance and stoicism of the Orient are conveyed in the recent New York showing at the Associated American Artists Gallery of a group of water colours by Sarkis Katchadourian, Persian artist best known for his Indian cave paintings and his copies of Persian frescoes. In a style both poetical and realistic, he interprets Hindu ceremonies and the life of India and her people. Typical is his "Holy Benares," which sparkles and glows like stained glass.

Also on view at the gallery are eight statues dedicated to war mothers. These are the work of Bernard Sopher, a sculptor born in Syria and now working in California. In the Russian mother he typifies the spirit of defiance shown at Stalingrad. The Chinese mother is portrayed as expressing the magnificent endurance of her race. His other subjects are Slavish and Jewish mothers, the mothers of Lidice, of Greece, of Java and of Poland. The medium used is terra cotta.

Mr. Sopher has interpreted the groups with free simplification of form and with spiritual dignity befitting his subject. It is his thesis that mothers and children have suffered more and shown greater heroism in this war than in any other in history.—USOWI.

Boy Prodigy from Cleveland

Kenneth Wolf, an 11-year-old boy who attends Western Reserve University at Cleveland, Ohio, in the American Midwest, has an I. Q. rating of 182, which means that his mental age is twenty. He leads his class in mathematics and organic chemistry, although the other pupils are years older than he. He expects to have his Ph.D. in chemistry before he is 16.

Kenneth could play intelligibly on the piano at the age of 22 months. His interest in music exceeds his interest in chemistry. He is now the only outsider allowed to attend rehearsals of the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra. He hopes to study with composer Paul Hindemith.—USOWI.

to the point and full of touching reminiscences and cogent quotations. On one occasion he recited a long passage in Sanskrit out of the Mahabharata and a learned professor of Sanskrit who was present on the occasion marvelled both at the aptness of the quotation and at the tremendous retentive power of the magnificent brain that had worked at full pressure for nearly sixty years by then.

He remained intensely conscious about his fatherland's problems to the last. Newspapers were read out to him every morning and the few remarks that he used to make would make it clear to the people around him as to how he felt. On many occasions when his advice was sought by others regarding the handling of some complicated situation, he displayed not only a wide-awake and thorough realisation of the circumstances but a keen and impartial power of analysis, as clear and skilled as ever.

The Modern Review may be said to be his *Mānas-putra* like its elder the *Prabasi*. Its birth took place under trying circumstances both for its founder and for its homeland. At the time of its birth (January 1, 1907) India was being taught to bow to Imperialism as initiated by Lord Curzon. Bengal had been bisected and into the upsurge of public feeling that followed, the Imperialist had flung in all the weapons for dragging public opinion into meek servility. Detention without trial, gagging of the Press, repression by extra-legal methods and all other glorious methods of Imperial barbarism were then in action. As for Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, he was then out of a job, having resigned the Principalship of the Kayastha-Pathasala College at Allahabad through difference of opinion with the governing body. He had secured an appointment as the Principal of the City College, Calcutta after that, but had voluntarily ceded that post to an ex-preceptor of his, who had asked him for it as a *Gurudakshina*. He was without resources and had a family of wife and five growing children, besides a whole host of indigent relatives and friends dependent on him. The time was particularly unsuited for a venture in the journalistic line, a venture specially as *The Modern Review* proved to be later. Furthermore a Native

State had offered him a lucrative job as head of an educational institution, plus the private-tutorship of the young Yuvaraja, plus the financing of the *Prabasi*—if the latter were converted into a non-political literary journal. So he had the choice between security and risk and comparative affluence and the chance of bankruptcy. This was not the first occasion on which such a choice lay before him, as he had had a State-Scholarship offered to him when he stood first in the Calcutta University in his B.A. examination. If he had accepted that, a long and extremely well-paid career within the "steel-frame" could have easily been his lot. But neither money nor risk had ever been even a secondary issue with Ramananda Chatterjee. On the first occasion he chose the ill-paid and poorly honoured post of an educationalist, on the second he chose that of journalism. He went back to Allahabad and started *The Modern Review*. Within the year *The Modern Review* had made its mark to such purpose that the provincial authorities gave him summary orders to leave the province, the alternative being detention without trial. There was no choice in reality as detention would have meant extinction of his journals which no one else would undertake to publish. So he left Allahabad, virtually penniless, to make a fresh start at Calcutta, being probably the first victim of political persecution in the United Provinces.

Long number of years have followed since then, years full of trial for this journal and the cause for which it stands. But through all the trials and tribulations, Ramananda Chatterjee's pen never faltered to tell the truth or to give correct judgment. Honor he never sought, for if he had it would have been his for the asking in 1926, but honoured was his position at the front rank of all who espoused the cause of India's Freedom and that of Indian culture.

Times are exceedingly troublous again, and the task of conducting the journals founded by Ramananda Chatterjee has fallen on us. No one feels the want of steadfast guidance from the sage old Pilot more than ourselves, nor is anyone else so aware of the unworthiness of the shoulders on which his shining mantle has now fallen.

view has been published in the *Bombay Chronicle* dated October 12, and is given below :

The present Minister of Civil Supplies is an Oxford-returned Muslim Leaguer Mr. Suhrawardy. I had a brief, uninspiring interview with him.

The main points Mr. Suhrawardy made were that

Mr. Suhrawardy Denies Hoarding

Mr. D. F. Karaka, Special Correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* in Calcutta had an interview with Bengal's Civil Supply Minister Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy. The report of this inter-

all this time he could get nothing from Government of India to distribute!

The imposition by the Government of India on other Provinces charging them to give surplus stocks of food-grains to deficit areas had not been implemented. The basic plan of March, 1943, had not been carried out.

Asked if he believed there was hoarding, Mr. Suhrawardy said emphatically "No." This is a strange reply in view of the statement and pamphlets issued by him at the time of taking over charge, when he repeatedly stressed there was no need of panic because there was food in abundance in the Province, though hoarded. When the Punjab Wheat Commissioner made the allegation at the Rotary Club that the Bengal Government had made 40 lakhs of profit out of wheat sent by the Punjab, Mr. Suhrawardy answered that it was due to miscalculation. Such is the deplorable state of administration here. A change of Food Chiefs here is definitely indicated.

The present Ministry came into power through the strenuous efforts of Sir John Herbert. He had commissioned Mr. Suhrawardy as the Minister in charge for food, probably because he believed him to be the most competent person to hold charge of the heaviest portfolio at the most critical period of the Province. And this Ministry is maintained in office through the patronage of the European Group in the Bengal Legislature.

Atlantic Charter and West Africa

The Hindu reports :

LONDON, Oct. 21.

A memorandum entitled, "Atlantic Charter and West Africa," containing concrete proposals for advancement of West African territories towards Self-Government is at present being circulated among members of Parliament.

The memorandum, the authors of which are eight West African Editors who recently toured Britain under the auspices of the British Council, is designed to meet the charge that colonials are loud in criticism, but backward in offering practical suggestions and is the first document of this kind to be prepared by West Africans themselves.

Representing a compromise between different viewpoints ranging from left to right, the document lays down that the proposed changes should be made within the framework of the British Commonwealth. The authors take their stand on Clause 3 of the Atlantic Charter and demand immediate abrogation of the Crown Colony system and substitution of representative Government for ten years to be succeeded thereafter by responsible Government for five years at the termination of which period, it is argued, the ground will have been cleared for promotion of West African territories to dominion status.

The memorandum outlines the needed reforms in education, health, social welfare, agriculture, mining, finance, etc., in order to prepare the people for the task of taking over administration of Government in their own territories.

West African Editors have thus given another indication of the danger of a future

Government which would dare act without regard to the wishes of the subjects. A new formula of State, after this war, must be sought which, in its operations, would secure an equal interest for all citizens in the result of the social process.

Abolition of the Colour Bar

Addressing the Presidency College Union Society at Madras, Mr. V. S. Srinivas Sastri said :

One of the great causes of national animosity was the colour bar. Roughly speaking, the White people living in the Western Hemisphere had held down in political subjection and economic servitude, the coloured races living in the East. We, the coloured people, formed the majority of the human race and yet we were held down. We felt it and also remembered our ancient culture and civilisation. We were aware of what was happening all over the British Empire. This state of inequality and injustice would be felt even more after the war than it was now by Eastern races. At the last Peace Conference this question was raised by Japan; but she was persuaded to drop it in return for some concessions. This time we could not let it remain unsolved. This colour bar was going to be a terrible question dividing the human race into two warring camps and if a colour war was going to break out, there would be a kind of ferocity unknown to history. Therefore, it was of the utmost importance, that the colour bar was once and for all abolished. This was a point of the very greatest importance but of the greatest difficulty. "My anxiety is that, as we are a coloured race, we should bear an honourable part in the proper settlement of this question. Our voice at the Peace Table must be raised unequivocally, loudly, insistently, for the abolition of this colour bar."

The Coloured man in Asia and Africa under white tutelage, even where he enjoys what is known as self-government is conscious that the meagre rights they enjoy do not give him true self-freedom. What he experiences is constraint; and he knows that as a denial of his liberty. Will his consciousness be crystallised in the next Peace Conference? Otherwise that conference will be as barren as all the previous ones.

Brailsford's "Subject India"

The American edition of the book *Subject India* by the veteran left wing Liberal H. N. Brailsford has been published in New York last week. The book has surprised many American readers by its boldness and bitter criticism of the British policy. It supports India's demand for complete independence either within or without the Empire and urges the United States to play its part in the Indian settlement. Mr. Brailsford concludes : "Look-

ing around them, when the last British Viceroy quits his palace, the Indians will see opportunities where there were closed doors and difficulties to be overcome, where once impossibilities confronted them, a country to be recreated and shaped by their own effort and thought. It may be that they exaggerated their command over the future. By faith men grow to greatness."

Indian Delegation on Empire Air Conference

The Empire Air Conference has met in London. Official India, as usual, adorned its sitting. As late as the 5th August last, the Secretary for Posts and Air said that the question of convening an Empire Air Conference was under consideration and on that plea evaded answering the question put to him whether representatives of Indian Commerce and Industry would form part of the Indian delegation. On the ground that that communication was provisional in character, he refused to disclose the nature of the discussion the Government of India had with the British Government on post-war Empire Air Policy. Mr. Walchand Hirachand has made the following comment on this subject:

"Within three months of such talks, which, we are always assured, are exploratory in their nature, the Empire Air Conference has met and finished its deliberations, and as Lord Beaverbrook remarked they were ready to go forward to International Conference with the unanimous decisions of the whole Empire as regards the common post-war Empire Air Policy. I wonder whether even now the Government of India would recognise its responsibility to place before non-official India the broad conclusions to which they have agreed at that Conference and give national India an opportunity to express its views in connection therewith. It is India that is vitally affected—not the existing Government of India which, as we all know, in matters where the interests of India and Great Britain conflict, have to register the views of His Majesty's Government. I would warn the Government that if they would again ignore to take national India into their confidence and listen to its voice in a matter vitally affecting the future of this country, not only will it further embitter the already exasperated feelings of the people of the country, but it will also give a rude shock to the faith that may be still left in them in the ability and the desire of the Government to protect and promote the national interests of India."

True to its past tradition, official India has recorded its vote to make the decisions unanimous. The vote of India is secured thus by stifling the voice of its nationals.

Bengal Famine and Denial Policy

The *Bombay Chronicle*, in its issue dated October 4, has published the following report

by its Special Correspondent in Calcutta, Mr. D. F. Karaka:

What is largely responsible for the present condition, however, is the Denial Policy which Government of Bengal enunciated sometime last year. Under this Denial Policy, which I would describe as "Economic Scorched Earth" as distinct from military scorched earth, boats, barges, carts, etc., which were all essential to the farmer and for carrying food were taken away from him in many places. Likewise, East Bengal farmer was discouraged to store rice. In general, there was nothing to encourage him to look forward to a good crop. Consequently, the soil deteriorated and harvest generally suffered. Add to that the havoc caused by nature in certain parts of Bengal and the "denial" was complete. It should have been obvious to those promulgating the "Denial Policy" that one could not deny to a possible invading army in the future, unless one also denied to oneself, in the present.

At this stage, responsibility for food policy must be shouldered by Sir John Herbert who acted in consultation with army but without reference to ministers.

Mr. Amery had accorded protection to Sir John Herbert by laying the responsibility for bungling on the Indian Ministers, but his platitude was totally unconvincing. Sensible opinion in Bengal felt his statement as misleading and unfair.

Structure of the Food Department

The *Independent* of Nagpur gives an idea of the structure of the Food Department of the Government of India:

Have you any idea of the huge structure called the Food Department of the Government of India? In its Secretariat, there are over 10 Officers drawing Rs. 1,000 and above, with two Deputy, three Under- and one Assistant Secretaries! Besides there are three special Officers and/or Advisers. This however is not all!

There is a Directorate of Food with three dozen highly paid Officers. Three Deputy Directors-General; four Directors; eight Deputy Directors; eleven Assistant Directors; four Deputy Assistant Directors—need the whole list be given?

Then it makes the comment, "The plain truth is no one is really serious about the work. Everyone seems to be concerned with his own self." The comment seems to be justified.

American Empire in Asia?

The *Hindustan Times* publishes the gist of Albert Victor's new book *American Empire in Asia*:

His proposed solution of the Indian problem, "which will come up before the United Nations after the war in a much acuter form," is far from simple. Among the long list of serious charges against the British, he says that "nothing has been done by them to foster evolution of a *modus vivendi* between the Muslims and the Hindus. It has been argued by Indian nationalists, and not without factual basis, that the British actually helped to intensify the struggle and encourage, even if indirectly, the most extremist com-

munal elements. No planned purposeful dynamic efforts are made to deal with problems like mass illiteracy, raising the productivity of native agriculture, establishing a public health system or modernizing the social structure of the villages." *Interests other than the welfare of the Indians is the determined policy.* Imperialist considerations, economic and political, constitute the real basis. "Keep India safe for Britain"—that has been the basis of all its policies. (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.).

The author aims at nothing less than torpedoing the entire British Empire. He not only wants the British raj to leave India bag and baggage, but demands that Britain—also France and the Netherlands—shall lose all their colonies and mandates, insisting that "London has always been a ruthless exploiter." He says, "As a dominant Pacific power America is vitally interested in the creation of conditions which will make possible a lasting peace and prosperity." Words like these have probably made the British diehards raise the cry that America is eager to build up an Empire by picking up bits of British Empire.

Senator Chandler's Remark on Burma Campaign

The *Leader* writes:

Reuter has been able to send a brief report of the proceedings of the secret session of the American Senate. It appears that the five Senators who toured the world fronts took a prominent part in the discussion and that they raised many controversial issues. One of them, Mr. Chandler, alleged that British operations in Burma were faint-hearted. This may be wrong but it is interesting to recall that during a debate in the Council of State in March last Mr. Kunzru said that the Arakan campaign had probably been undertaken to impress the Indian public. The remark evoked an angry protest from the Deputy Commander-in-Chief. General Hartley said, "In the whole course of my 60 years, including 40 years spent in this country I have seldom heard so fatuous a remark." General Hartley's reply to Senator Chandler's statement will be awaited with interest.

Nearly a fortnight has passed since the publication of Senator Chandler's remark in India. General Hartley has not replied.

Alfred Watson Denounces Communal Electorate

Reading a paper at a meeting of the East India Association, Prof. Coupland made one more addition to the mass of superficial literature on India. The constitutional scheme advanced in his paper envisages a division of India into four autonomous regions, roughly the Indus, Ganges and Brahmaputra deltas and the Deccan. Mr. Amery was enamoured of this scheme but in the discussion that followed, Sir Alfred Watson

denounced this scheme saying that this would mean a weak Centre, and "a weak Centre in India would be a menace to the peace of the world." In this connection he admitted, "Communal representation in India makes party Government, in the British sense, quite impossible. India must acquire parties inspired by function and not by race or religion."

Minister's Disregard for Truth

The Delhi Food Conference has ended with no practical results. But one amazing piece of news was given out there by Mr. Suhrawardy who claimed to represent Bengal and which has been promptly contradicted by Mr. Fazlul Huq. Everyone in Bengal knows to-day through bitter experience that rice is a delicacy procurable after great efforts and at fabulous prices. Mr. Suhrawardy, however, said:

We were living in abnormal times when people had lost confidence. Therefore, control of prices was absolutely essential to counter-act these forces and instill confidence in the people. Mr. Suhrawardy maintained that contrary to what appeared in a section of the Press, rice had not disappeared from most of the markets in Bengal. He affirmed that their price policy had not failed, and within three weeks after control had been enforced, the Government had procured more grain than in the previous five months. Statutory price control was the only solution to counter-act profiteering and the black market.

Such utterances which are divorced from reality will further lower the people's confidence in the *bona fides* of the Government which has already lost much ground.

Dr. Mookerjee's Suggestions for Tackling the Man-made Famine

Addressing the public meeting held in Calcutta on October 15, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee made the following practical suggestions to rectify the fatal mistakes made in the past in dealing with the famine:

- (1) Requisition of 50 per cent. of the reserved stocks for use by the military, the railway, the port trust, big employers of industrial labour and any other favoured organisation. The Government of India should undertake to replenish stocks in due course.
- (2) Revise the quota fixed for priority units in Bengal. It is said about two millions of persons now get preference principally in the greater Calcutta area. Equalise their share as finally decided with rationed quota for ordinary people.
- (3) Pool effectively the resources available from outside the province and from within Bengal.
- (4) Expedite exports from Australia where, according to the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, two and a half crore of maunds of wheat are lying to be shipped to this country.

(5) Secure a portion of the food-grains advertised to be stocked by the Allied powers for feeding the countries now under Axis control after they get back their freedom. Apply in this case the well-tried maxim, physician heal thyself.

(6) Secure a large stock of concentrated food which is available for military use. This can be got immediately by plane.

One fortnight has passed since these suggestions were made but the people are yet to know whether any stocks have been released by the military, railway, port trust and such other big organisations for the immediate alleviation of starvation.

Difficulties of Non-Official Relief

Complaints of obstruction in their activities are pouring forth from non-official relief organisations. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, who is in-charge of the biggest relief organisation while addressing the public meeting held in Calcutta on October 15, said :

Non-official organisations were doing what they could to give relief but they are often met with well-planned obstruction. They cannot in any case solve the problem. If doctors come, medicine does not. Red-tape and unco-ordinated control are often utilised for preventing progress of relief work.

Mrs. Rajan Nehru, Secretary of the A.-I. W. C., Delhi, on her return from a week's tour in Midnapore, told the *United Press* :

"Another thing that impressed me was the colossal difficulties that non-official relief workers have to face. Apart from the inadequacy of transport, they have to conform to the most incredible restrictions and regulations."

Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit made the same complaint on the eve of her departure from Bengal after an extensive tour in the famine-stricken areas :

"Government persistently hampers non-official effort. An instance was recently brought to my notice of refusal to allow a non-official cheap grain shop to function. Reasons are seldom given and they are not considered necessary."

Lord Wavell, during his hurried tour in Bengal, would have done well by taking non-official organisations into confidence and thus giving an impetus to relief operations.

Viscount Wavell's Famine Relief Programme

Immediately after his assumption of office, Viscount Wavell came to Calcutta and saw things for himself both in the city and in Midnapore, one of the worst affected districts. During his tour, he was accompanied by the Acting Governor and some high officials. Neither

the Chief Minister nor the Food Minister accompanied him. The Food Conference which followed the new Viceroy's tour and was presided over by him, was attended by the Ministers besides high officials. Leaders conducting non-official relief organisation were not present. The programme outlined at the Food Conference is as follows :

(1) The Bengal Government will arrange forthwith for the removal of the destitute people who have thronged into Calcutta to properly managed rest camps where they can receive food, clothing and medical attention and from where they can be despatched to their homes as soon as they are sufficiently restored.

(2) As the movement of food-grains from Calcutta to the districts affected by the emergency is one of the main difficulties to be dealt with, H. E. the Commander-in-Chief has agreed to make available to the Bengal Government a Major-General with considerable experience of work of this kind to assist them in improving and operating a suitable movement system.

(3) The Viceroy will ask the Commander-in-Chief to make the resources of the Army available to the maximum possible extent in the districts worst affected, particularly for the movement of food-grains, provision of temporary shelters for relief operations and establishment of relief stores. The Army may also be able to help in some areas with the actual distribution of food and with medical relief.

An ordinance has been promulgated to take the victims of hunger to rest camps where they would be given food, shelter and medical aid. That an ordinance was needed to bring the dying people to the Government for receiving food and shelter does not speak of much confidence in Government measures. Mrs. V. L. Pandit said that she saw hungry people flock to private kitchens instead of to the Government ones.

The Viceroy invoked the aid of the Army to help the Bengal Government in their relief operations. We do not know what experience the Army, with its constantly changing personnel due to military movements, has got in the domain of Social Service. It is certain however that it will not lie inert like certain civil departments, once it receives orders, and it can do much good if it co-operates with public bodies instead of hindering their work.

Mr. Amery on Causes of Famine

Mr. Amery, in his Birmingham speech, says:

"In ten years between 1931 and 1941 the population of India increased by 50 millions, more than the whole population of the British Isles. Every month there are some 400,000 more mouths to be fed. The vast majority of this new population, possibly 40 millions, have had to find their living off the same land which barely sustained a smaller population in the past. Even with every effort to develop industry, to exploit irrigation and to improve agricultural methods, the menace of famine has never been wholly removed. That has been the normal background. To it have been

superadded two new factors : the war and the breaking up of the former unity of the Indian administration by the extension of Self-Government."

Population in India has steadily increased, but production of food per acre has remained practically stationary. The latest forecast of rice production shows a less than 10% increase in spite of a year-long grow more food campaign. Intensive cultivation in India has been totally neglected. Manures still remain a luxury with the bulk of the peasantry.

As regards irrigation in Bengal, we find the same sad story of neglect. The Addams-Williams Report and the comments of Wilcox have of late drawn public attention. The task of resuscitation of dead and dying rivers were never taken in hand in right earnest. Either British vested interests or the eternal plea of paucity of funds prevented energetic action.

The scapegoat of "Indian Ministry" has come into existence only since 1937. What did our British administrators do during the 180 years preceding it?

Royal Commission Demanded

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq has demanded the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the causes of the Bengal famine. The Calcutta Branch of the European Association has supported his demand. There have been other supports as well in India and in the British Parliament. Mr. Huq, in a public meeting, has made the following specific allegations against the present ministry :

The Bengal administration must be completely purged of the disgraceful corruption which prevails almost from top to bottom; particularly in connection with the Government handling of the food situation there is corruption amongst high and low which has been no little responsible for the present awful famine. There is corruption in settling shops, in granting permits, in selecting agents, in requisition and distribution of foodstuffs, in appointments made or promised and in hundred other ways too numerous to mention. Stocks are requisitioned under Rule 75 (a) of the Defence of India Act and handed over to chosen personages by process which enable various grades of officers' pocket handsome commissions.

Mr. Amery on Food Situation in Bengal

In his statement on the Bengal food crisis, Mr. Amery wanted the members of the Parliament that food was pouring into Bengal in increasing quantities. He said :

In the six months since last April—as against the normal annual intake of 350,000 tons—a total of 375,000 tons of rice and other food-grains has thus been delivered

on Government account of Bengal by rail or coastal shipping from other provinces. During September, the deliveries were 72,000 tons.

Pandit H. N. Kunzru, President of the Servant of India Society, has given as a result of his personal observation, the quantities of food supplied from gruel kitchens and the difficulties they experience in procuring food :

The gruel kitchens run by non-official agencies or by the authorities with the aid of money collected from the public are helpful to a certain extent but their number is small, they have to be closed down from time to time for want of foodstuffs and the *khichuri* given per head is as a rule about 2 or 2½ chittacks only notwithstanding the decision of the Government as announced in a Press Note, dated 13th September, that the scale of food-grains for preparation of *khichuri* should be immediately raised to 6 chittacks for working adults and the expectant and nursing mothers, 4 chittacks for other adults and 2 chittacks for children. The destitutes are fed only once a day. We shall, therefore, be deceiving ourselves if we think that they offer any real solution of the problem. I was told at Dacca where foodstuffs are being unofficially rationed by the Dacca Central Relief Committee under presidency of the popular Sessions Judge Mr. De that only 12 chittacks of rice and 20 chittacks of *atta* had been distributed per head by the Mohalla Committees in the course of a month and that there was a shortage everywhere not merely of rice but of other foodstuffs also with the possible exception of some pulses. Besides the price of scarcely any food-grain was less than 12 annas per seer at least in any town. This is naturally having its effect on all classes of people but people belonging to the lower middle class owing to their inability to beg are perhaps suffering more terribly than the other classes.

Responsibility for Famine Conditions

The British vested interests, through the medium of their mouthpieces, have quickly seized upon the famine conditions in India as an illustration of the incapacity of Indians to manage their own affairs. As was only to be expected, once the tide of the war has turned, such persons are on the lookout for any excuse that may enable them to persuade the British public to dishonour their pledges. We intend going deeper in the matter at a later date when the arguments on the side of the exploiters is fully developed. We shall content ourselves for the present by expressing our amazement at the failure of the British public to see the despicable cowardice inherent in all such attempts at finding scapegoats.

Truth About Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi

Mr. C. A. Kincaid has cleared the existing misconceptions about Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi in a paper published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. Kincaid says :

"Born in November, 1835, and killed in June, 1858, she was not quite twenty-three when she fell. She has been severely treated by English historians, who have called her murderess, and rebel and mutineer. But my honoured friend the late Rao Bahadur Parasnis has in his Marathi biography of the Queen insisted that she had nothing to do, with the massacre of the English."

Kincaid relies on a letter written on 20th April 1889 to Damodar Rao, the Rani's adopted son, by a Mr. Martin quoted by Mr. Parasnis. Mr. Martin was alive when Parasnis' book was published. He somehow escaped from the massacre, and with another Englishman and an English lady was hidden by the queen in her palace and saved. The letter runs:

"Your poor mother was very unjustly and cruelly dealt with, and no one knows her true case as I do. The poor thing took no part whatever in the massacre of the European residents of Jhansi in June, 1857. On the contrary, she supplied them with food for two days after they had gone into the Fort—got a hundred matchlock men from Karrara and sent them to assist us, but after being kept a day in the Fort they were sent away in the evening. She then advised Major Skeene and Captain Gordon to fly at once to Dattia and place themselves under the protection of the Raja, but even this they would not do; and finally they were all massacred by our own troops, the police and the jail establishments."

Kincaid concludes his paper in the following words:

"This letter seems to me to dispose of the charge that she was a murderess. Was she a mutineer? No; because she was not either in the army or the navy. Was she a rebel? This is a more difficult question to answer. Lakshmbai was born at Benares, and was a subject of the Maharaja of Benares. She became by marriage a subject of the Raja of Jhansi. Unless by losing her throne she became a British subject, she cannot be called a rebel. I prefer to think of her as a young and gallant lady, who, forced by events beyond her control, joined the Nana Sahib and fell on the field of honour, fighting for a lost cause. Others similarly unfortunate have yet received their meed of praise, but she gained nothing but hatred and obloquy. Still the great soldier, who defeated her and her allies penned an epitaph, that she would not have disdained. Sir Hugh Rose wrote in his general orders after her death, 'The best man on the side of the enemy was the Rani of Jhansi.'"

The Present Railway Member and Indian-owned Second Class Collieries

It has been proposed that the Railways will stop supply of wagons to some second class collieries on the ground that they raise inferior coal which is uneconomic for the Railways to carry in these days of wagon scarcity. Of these collieries 165 belong to Indians and only 1 to Europeans. Years ago when Sir Joseph Bhore the then Railway Member placed for the first time large orders of the Railways with Indian-

owned second class collieries, Sir Edward Benthall as a Clive Street business magnate is said to have attacked the policy of the Government in a speech at Dhanbad Club and his plea was that second class coal entailed more consumption for a given work than first class coal which almost as a rule was controlled by British managing agents. Sir Joseph Bhore pointed out in the Central Assembly that though consumption was a little more, the price was so cheap that purchase of second class coal meant ultimate economy. Next year he repeated the large orders of second class coal. Now when Sir Edward Benthall is in charge of the Railways the identical plea against (Indian-owned) second class collieries has been raised and the whole thing has a queer smell about it. Collieries which are going to be penalised generally manufacture soft coke for domestic use and 1½ tons of steam coal go to make 1 ton of soft coke so that it can never be uneconomic for the Railways to carry it as compared with first class steam coal. Besides, as pointed out by us in these columns more than once, soft coke required by poor and middle-classes in cooking food should come just after coal used for war work in the order of priorities and not after coal used, say by jute-mills and tea-gardens in doing ordinary business having nothing to do with the war.—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya

Satis Chandra Chakravarti

Rev. Satis Chandra Chakravarti, M.A., President and Missionary of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, died on 29th October, at the age of 69, at the premises of the Bhawanipur Brahmo Sammilan Samaj.

Deeply versed in Vedic and Upanishadic literature, he also acquired profound knowledge of Persian which helped him in interpreting Islamic religious texts sympathetically. He brought out the best annotated edition of Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore's Autobiography. He worked most efficiently as the Secretary to the Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee (1933), presided over by Dr. Rabin-drath Tagore; and his compilation of the Centenary Volume is a monumental work on Rammohun. He has many other literary publications to his credit, mostly on the interpretation of spiritual pursuit and experiences. A keen student of Science and Sociology, a great patriot and a devout soul, Rev. Chakravarti has numerous friends from different communities to lament his death.

Stifling the Groans of the Hungry

The Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore writes:

"The fact is that foreign newspaper correspondents in India are not permitted to cable abroad even the bare facts of deaths and hospital admissions due to starvation issued daily in Calcutta by the Director of Information to the Bengal Government. . . . Correspondents must not tell the British and American public the blunt facts of the situation. . . . It is a Censorship operating with the sole purpose of protecting the Government of India from the consequences of its own incapacity and folly. The facts are not hidden from the enemy, as any who can listen to the Berlin, Tokio, Saigon or Azad Hindustan broadcasts well know; so security and denial of information useful to the enemy cannot constitute justification for the ban. Its sole—and thoroughly immoral—justification seems to be the preservation of the Government of India's infallibility in the minds of those who are ultimately responsible for its shortcomings—the British public.

This vain attempt to stifle the groans of the hungry has done incalculable harm by delaying relief. Permission to let the truth out at the early stage of the famine would have prompted timely help in India and abroad and thousands of human lives would have been saved.

Khaksars Break Away from the League

Daily Herald of Lahore reports:

BOMBAY, Oct. 16.

A request to the Council of the All-India Muslim League to call upon all members of the Muslim League organisation to dissociate themselves from the Khaksar movement forthwith and not to support it any more is contained in a resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League at its meeting today. The meeting strongly condemned the move started by Mr. Inayatullah Mashrafi requesting Qaid-e-Azam to seek an interview with Mr. Gandhi for the solution of the Indian constitutional problem "when it is well known that M. Gandhi regards Pakistan as a sin and when Muslims regard Pakistan as an article of faith."

The resolution adds that the idea behind the move is to break the solidarity of the Muslims of India.—A. P.

Nationalist and Progressive Muslims of India have already broken away from the League. It is now for the Khaksars to dissociate from the Qaid-e-Azam's retrograde policy.

How Pakistan Fares in Distress

The Independent of Nagpur has given an indication of how starvation chases the phantom of Pakistan. The paper says:

On September 22, the total collection of the Bombay Committee (mostly Hindu) of the Bengal Relief Fund—Rs. 3,75,000. Janmbhoomi (Hindu paper) Fund—Rs. 3,00,000. Ramakrishna Mission (completely Hindu) Fund—Rs. 1,00,000. Total amount sent by Mr. M. A. Jinnah up-to-date—Rs. 24,000. And yet Bengal is a very

important part of Mr. Jinnah's very own Pakistan!—Writes "Lahuti" in *National Review*.

An Assam Journal reported sometime ago how this unit in the "Eastern Pakistan Zone" had been chasing away the immigrants from Eastern Bengal into Assam, mostly Muslims.

Jawaharlal's Nieces in America

The National Call of Delhi reports:

Pandit Jawaharlal's two nieces, Chandralekha and Nayantra, daughters of Mr. R. S. and Mrs. Vijaya-luxmi Pandit were lionised by Press in America as evidenced from the latest edition of the *New York Times* which we have just received and which featuring Chandralekha's statement with full-size portraits of the elder and younger sisters. *Reuter* however for reasons known to themselves denied the Indian newspapers, the news of honour paid by America not only to the brilliant daughters of India but also indirectly to their uncle Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in prison.

Chandralekha, who was recently released from a 7-month detention at Allahabad, her native town, announced that her political opinions are stronger now than before her imprisonment. She is uncertain of the reason for her detention, and no formal charges were made.

"I come from a family who have always voiced opinions," she said, suggesting that her arrest may also have been due to her affiliation with student movement.

Speaking at the East and West Association, 40, East Forty-ninth Street, Chandralekha was unable to provide complete information about her uncle (Pandit Jawaharlal), except that he is held somewhere in India.

"He is allowed to write one letter a week to his family," she disclosed, "but this is censored, so we can't tell much."

Chandralekha denied that India was divided between Mohandas K. Gandhi and Nehru, saying that all-thinking Indians are anti-Axis. Nor did she feel that the many different sects and castes had a disturbing effect on unity.

"We are Indians before we are Hindus or Moslems. Don't tell a soul," she whispered to a roomful of reporters, "but our cook is an untouchable."

"There are hardly any Indian problems except as the British put them out for propaganda," she continued, "If the British walked out to-morrow, we couldn't be in a worse way."

She expressed a doubt that India would be granted her independence "if the British have anything to do with it."

It is a mystery why *Reuters* chose not to cable this news to India. Such incidents, however, indicate the growing need for the development of a foreign news service by the national news agencies of this country like the *United Press*.

Sir Purshottamdas on Rationing

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, a member of the Foodgrains Committee, makes the following observations on rationing in India in his Separate Minute appended to the Report:

The success of rationing in Britain is no index of its suitability here. It is clear that in Britain the spade-

work for a system of rationing had been completed and the administrative machinery perfected months before the outbreak of the present War. The U. K. Government had accumulated stocks of foodstuffs and has been paying huge subsidies for the Food Department. All these desiderata are admittedly absent in India. My colleagues are able to recommend rationing only in respect of urban areas with a population of a lakh or more, which means that over 90 per cent. of the people are excluded from what purports to be a scheme of fair, equitable and effective distribution. There is a serious danger that, in a country which has been economically living on the border lines of subsistence, rationing calculations may not only go astray but may actually have the effect of rendering the rural areas destitute and utterly helpless and driving the rural population to the towns, as has been recently happening in Calcutta. The problem, to repeat once again, is primarily and predominantly one of supplies, and then of effectively distributing them.

In India, the problems of rationing have been totally neglected from the very beginning. Rationing without supplies by the issue of A. R. P. slips has been a failure and the present rationing attempts do not promise better results. The Government of India has narrowed down the scope of rationing already for a very small population but even that is being done in a manner which can be called anything but efficient. The wider problems of rationing have been neglected in the past and even at the present moment no serious attention is being devoted to them in spite of such pointers as have been given by Sir Purshottamdas.

Did U. K. C. C. Export Rice?

In the same Minute, Sir Purshottamdas says:

I should like to draw attention to the feeling of dissatisfaction prevailing in surplus Provinces, because they feel that, while they have to part with their surpluses at rates fixed by the Central Government, no reasonable check exists to ensure that such foodgrains are made available to the consumer in the deficit Provinces at cost plus necessary out-of-pocket overheads. When they hear, for instance, that such grain may go in export through commercial organizations, particularly like the U. K. C. C., to foreign countries, where it is in demand, for the civil population of such countries, at unheard-of margins, they smart under the feeling that their interest is being sacrificed to the greed of either (1) influential export organisations like the U. K. C. C. or (2) middlemen in deficit Provinces without satisfactory machinery of Distribution. Intelligent agriculturists or their Ministers in surplus Provinces cannot be expected to tolerate what they regard as exploitation of the growers, not for their fellow-brethren in distress in India, but for the civil population abroad, or for the intermediary agencies in India.

It is for the members of the Central Legislature to ascertain whether the U. K. C. C. did export rice abroad for the consumption of civil population there for the purpose of making profits, and if so, what was the quantity export-

ed and where did the rice go? We refuse to believe that a member of the Foodgrains Committee made these allegations without sufficient knowledge.

Who Gains from Control?

Sir Purshottamdas concludes his Minute with the following words:

A dispassionate review of the results of Government efforts to control food-grains shows that the class of people which have benefited the least are the poorest section of the people for whom these controls were ostensibly instituted. The greatest beneficiaries, on the other hand, are the Defence Department, agencies of the U. K. C. C. and the well-to-do class who could afford to get their requirements from the numerous and flourishing 'black markets' where even the Government is reported to have frequently resorted, for procuring their own needs. These phenomena must be primarily ascribed to the extremely defective system of distribution operating in the various Provinces.

Experience has taught us in Bengal that every word of Sir Purshottamdas is true. The people here are so sceptic about controls that they widely believe that prices have been fixed for the Government and their agents to make their purchases at the lowest possible rate, leaving the people at the mercy of the black market for their purchases.

Chaos in Food Prices

In a small booklet, *Rationale of Food Crisis*, Maharaja S. C. Nandy of Cossimbazar has analysed the causes of the chaos in the prices of basic foodgrains and has fixed the responsibility for this chaos at right quarters. He says:

A salient feature of wartime food policy in India is that India has practically ceased to be a single economic unit in respect of the course of food prices. Thus in Mid-August, 1943, rice was selling at Rs. 31 per md. in Bengal, Rs. 20 in Bihar, Rs. 24 in the Punjab, Rs. 19-12 in U. P., Rs. 8-8 in C. P., Madras and Sind and Rs. 11 in Orissa. The price of wheat is similarly Rs. 25 in Bengal, Rs. 12 in Bihar, Rs. 10 in the Punjab and U. P. and Rs. 7-14 in Sind. This chaos in prices really indicates the chaos that exists in the food policies in the country, both in the Centre as well as in the different provinces and States, each pulling in its own way without any forethought, co-ordination or planning.

The main defect lay with the Central Government in their failure to evolve a co-ordinated price policy and to give a vigorous lead to the provinces. The Maharaja observes:

The constitutional difficulty about enforcing its decision was no doubt there, but this explanation is obviously not at all satisfactory in these days of national emergency and when there is no dearth of ordinances transcending the spheres of the Provinces and States. Nor did the centre possess sufficient tact

and resourcefulness to persuade the parties concerned to follow its lead with a loyalty and devotion which the present critical situation demands. This is no wonder again, because the tendency at the Centre is still to shift the burden of responsibility on to the poor shoulders of the speculators and profiteers and the defective outlook of the consuming public.

But not only there was no constitutional difficulty to deter the Centre from giving a vigorous lead to the units, but a Section of the Government of India Act 1935 expressly forbade the raising of trade barriers by the Provinces. The centre quietly acquiesced to this unconstitutional action of the units and let the chaos in food prices assume dangerous proportions. No sign is visible even at this belated hour to rectify past mistakes.

War, Deadlock and Famine

In a signed editorial in the *Tribune of Lahore*, Mr. Kalinath Roy writes:

Had the Ministry in Bengal been its own master, or rather the true servant of the people, as it is expected to be under a democratic constitution, it would long ago either have found food for the people, whether by "begging, borrowing or stealing," to use the words recently uttered by a high official, or would have been sent about its business. It is utterly inconceivable that it would have been allowed to toy with the problem in the irresponsible and scandalous manner in which it has been toying with it for a period of six months. It has, by frantic appeals, got substantial help from other provinces, but it has taken no effective steps to see that the help actually reaches the people for whom it is intended. It has fixed prices of food-grains without taking any steps to see that food-grains at the prices fixed by it or, indeed, at any prices, are actually available. The immediate effect of the fixing of prices has, indeed, been in most cases been that food-grains, which till then were available for exorbitant prices, suddenly and completely disappeared from the market. The police and the C. I. D. ever on the alert to ferret out political offenders, imaginary or real, proved wholly unequal to the task of preventing the disappearance of food from the market which had plenty of it on the day before the fixing of the prices of food-grains. Does any one really believe that they would have so hopelessly failed in their task if they or their masters had been in earnest in the matter? Would such a thing have been possible or have been tolerated for one day or hour if the people who actually suffered had been the masters of the Government who were the masters of the Police? From this point of view, the only true point of view in this case, the solution of the food problem, the removal of the political deadlock and the effective and successful prosecution of the war are inextricably bound up. You cannot solve any one of these problems without making a genuine attempt to solve all three.

In India, the problems of defence, politics and famine are inextricably bound together. No solution of an economic problem can be effected without a radical change in the political and constitutional structure of the country.

Food Grain Control Order Challenged

The Hindu reports:

NELLORE, Oct. 14.

Whether the Food Grain Control Order of 1942 was *ultra vires* of the powers of the Government and whether a person who merely applied for a licence and transacted business in grain in anticipation of getting it, was liable to be punished were some of the points decided in an appeal before Mr. W. W. Georgeson, I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge, Nellore, yesterday. The appellant, Allapaka Venkayya, applied for a licence on July 1, 1942, after the Food Grain Control Order was put into force. The licence was refused to him and the refusal order was communicated to him on September 10, 1942. The Deputy Tahsildar is stated to have warned him on September 5, 1942, against carrying on trade in grains without getting a licence. The appellant, nevertheless, carried on trade, and thereupon, he was prosecuted. The Joint Magistrate of Gudur, sentenced him to a fine of Rs. 500 for carrying on wholesale trade in paddy without a licence under Rule 81 (4) of the rules framed under Section 2 of the Defence of India Act.

It was argued that the Food Grain Control Order was *ultra vires* of the powers of the Government and that the appellant was not bound to take out a licence, and therefore, he was not punishable. The charge and the procedure adopted by the lower court was attacked as illegal.

The Sessions Judge held the charge to be vague and defective. Dealing with the question raised as to the legality of the Order itself, the Judge held that the Food Grain Control Order was *intra vires* only provided it was interpreted as meaning that licences were to be issued freely to all who abided by the conditions thereof, i.e., to any person wishing to trade in grain. The appellant was refused the licence on the basis of G. O. Mis. No. 1188 Dev., dated 6th August, 1942, which directed licences to be given only to such of those dealing in paddy for at least one year before. This order amounted to a prohibition of trade. The rejection of the appellant's application for licence was illegal. The Government had no power to prohibit trade in grain at all provided the requirements, which it imposed were not violated, namely of applying for a licence before carrying on trade and to abide by the conditions prescribed in the licence issued. The policy of the Government of refusing licence to all except to old merchants was an unnecessary interference with trade. Mere convenience did not justify this policy. It could not be understood in what way such a policy was necessary for the purpose of ensuring public safety and interest and the defence of British India.

In the result, the Sessions Judge held that the appellant in this case applied, and the refusal of the licence was illegal on the part of the licensing officer and that the appellant could not be convicted for having traded without a licence. The appeal was allowed and the conviction and sentence set aside.

From the very beginning of this war, the tendency of the Central and Provincial Governments has been to discourage new entrants into the field of trade and industry. In almost all their Orders regulating trade, industry and transport facilities to new industrialists or traders have been ruthlessly curtailed. The Nellore trader has rendered a great service by

challenging this unnecessarily harsh action of the Government.

Bombay Government Bans Bengal Orphans

While the people of Bombay have generously responded to the call of suffering Bengal, her bureaucratic Government has issued a curious statement declaring that they were adopting measures to prevent destitutes from Bengal from coming to Bombay and depriving her citizens of a share of their rations. The excuse for this declaration was that some organisation, not named, in Bombay had invited destitutes to seek asylum there. In fact, the invitation was only for orphan children. The *Indian Social Reformer* has pointed out that their number would not have exceeded the number of refugees from Europe and war prisoners. The outspoken comment of this journal is given below :

A year or two before the War, there was a strong protest from Bombay doctors against the influx into Bombay of German Jews of the profession flying from the anti-semitic drive of the Nazis. That protest went unheeded. Incidentally *The Reformer* severely criticised the Bombay doctors' protest as violating the traditional Indian policy of the open door. Then Polish and other European Jews, prevented from entering Palestine, were allowed to land here on their maintenance being guaranteed by individuals or organisations. The number of those who landed under this dispensation is not known. Doubtless they were a good few. Then Polish orphans in large numbers were brought and placed in charge of the Roman Catholic Archbishop. Then, there were several thousands of Italian war prisoners interned in this country. The cost of maintaining them has been undertaken by the British Government but this means for the present merely a book entry in London and in no way eases the strain on our food resources. When Lord Mountbatten makes his drive in the Eastern Pacific, Japanese prisoners by the thousands will be sent to India, they will have to be fed and the Government of Bombay will have no say in the matter.

"A Tremendous Triangle"

In a recent New York speech Miss Pearl Buck said :

"American soldiers are now fighting on every front. How they feel about the peoples and countries where they are fighting once they return home, thereupon rests the fate of the future of lasting peace. The peoples of India, China and Russia form a tremendous triangle of the future and are more important to us perhaps than those of Europe."

A look at the world map will convince anybody that India, China and Russia may form not a triangle but a great solid mass connected by overland routes and commanding nearly half the population of the world. The rebirth of Russia has taken place under the great Asiatic, Stalin.

The *Hindustan Standard* reports a message from New York :

Mr. Ramkrishna Sahu Modak and his American-born wife, who are conducting a course on India, presented a costume for the portrayal of Indian daily life. The winter-long course deals with the caste system, history of the pre-British India, outline of religions, Christian missionaries, the place of women; Indian literature and art, including music and dances by Indian performers, India's life and philosophy today, the origin and growth of the Indian village, India's economic and industrial development during the British rule; Indians understand Gandhi's philosophy and the plan for post-war India.

Some service will no doubt be done by such activities to counter the false and misleading propaganda about India carried on in America by interested parties. This couple have found support there from the East and West Association and Miss Pearl Buck.

Under-nourishment in India

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, in a statement to the Press, quotes Sir John Megaw's estimate of under-nourishment in India.

In 1933, the Director of the Indian Medical Service, Major-General Sir John Megaw, estimated that "39 per cent. of the Indian people were well nourished, 41 per cent. poorly nourished, and 20 per cent. very poorly nourished. At least eighty million people of India were perpetually hungry. He reported further that disease is steadily and rather rapidly. In Bengal 7 per cent. of the population were under-nourished." "The peasantry Health," are in large proportion taking to a dietary on which even rats could not live for more than a few weeks."

This already too low scale had been further reduced by another 75% when the Government of Bengal decided about the quantity of food to be distributed by free kitchens owned or subsidised by them. Some time later, public opinion compelled them to admit the inadequacy of their scale. Need for increment was announced but nothing was done.

Conditions in Chittagong

Mr. Nur Ahmed, M.L.C., ex-Chairman, Chittagong Municipality, has issued the following statement :

In July and August last death-roll from starvation in the town of Chittagong was 140 and 150 respectively. The deaths from malaria, cholera and other diseases totalled 500 to 550 a month.

Though official and non-official relief has expanded, the conditions show no sign of improvement. The number of famished human skeletons walking from door to door for a morsel of food is legion. The gruel supplied from free kitchens provides little nourishment. No

intensive plan for medical treatment and medical relief is in operation. A few ill-equipped improvised rescue centres are quite inadequate to attend to the numerous destitutes.

"Milk kitchens and Homes for destitute children and orphans should be opened in large numbers. Arrangements should also be made for quick disposal of dead bodies."

Mr. Ahmed says that he met the Hon'ble Revenue Minister and the Hon'ble Minister for Public Health and pressed for more money for gratuitous relief and fast relief, more elaborate arrangements for shelter and feeding of the destitutes and opening of more medical relief centres in the district. Both the Ministers expressed their great concern for Chittagong and assured him that they would be glad to sanction more money and medical aid if the local officials sent requisition for the same.

Chittagong today is one of the most important bases of operation against Japan in Burma. The district has already stood two bombings this year with courage. Cannot the authorities at the Writers' Buildings move of their own accord instead of waiting for the district officials to apply for relief? Is not the testimony of a responsible M.L.C., sufficient to make them move?

Food Member Defines Food Policy

The decision of the Government of India to take supreme control of Indian food situation and to override Provincial Governments if necessary was announced by Sir J. P. Srivastava at the All-India Food Conference held in New Delhi on October 13. Strong words in India and abroad about the Centre's responsibility in the food bungling have produced this strong announcement, and it remains to be seen if it is followed by strong action. This much is clear that the Centre has not yet mustered sufficient courage to declare *ultra vires* the Provincial bans on food export.

The Government of India Act 1935 envisaged India as a federation, and a federation in modern polity presupposes a strong Centre. A Federal Centre afraid of constituent units to the extent of suffering them violate express provisions of the Constitution Act is a sure sign of political decay. Sir Jwala Prasad betrays his weakness when he says, "In the mobilisation of India's resources the Government of India will have to take and implement decisions which may at times conflict with what appear to be local or sectional interests." He emphasised that the tragic events of the past few months had demonstrated the economic unity of India and the inter-dependence of the Provinces and the States, but he dared not tell the Provinces in plain words that all their ac-

tions were not being taken in conformity with the constitutional law.

In defining Government's food policy, the Food Member said firstly that they had accepted the Food Grain Committee's recommendation that India must cease to be a net exporter of food-stuffs. He told the conference that in effect that policy had already been put into force. Secondly, he explained the Government's attempts to secure imports. He said, "My Government will not cease to make every effort to secure for India such further allocations as may be necessary to implement to the full the recommendations of the committee. Thirdly, he expressed his intention to associate public opinion with the work of his Department. With this object in view he proposed to set up at the Centre, in an advisory capacity, a body representative of important elements.

Food Shortage After The War

The London *Spectator* writes :

Lord Woolton, speaking at Cardiff last Tuesday, warned his audience that for a number of years to come there will be a world shortage of food. He was speaking not primarily of the shipping situation and the means of transporting food, but of actual production, for in many parts of the world people have been diverted from food production to other occupations concerned with war needs. It will take some time to get the liberated peoples of Europe back to a normal agricultural life—many of the implements they will need will have to be manufactured—and in the meantime they will be drawing upon world supplies. Production outside Europe has been limited during the war years by the restricted means of exporting it, and the diversion of men to other activities. Lord Woolton said that his business was to look ahead and ensure that we get our fair share. Farmers in this country may be sure that their full exertions will still be required for some time after the war, and it will be part of the duty of food-planners to provide that subsequently our own agriculture will continue to yield a suitable proportion of our food supplies. But in this sphere, as in so many others, it is evident that we cannot expect an early removal of controls—possibly some sort of control may always be necessary. In the year following the end of the war with Germany rationing may be as severe as it is now, and after that only gradually become more generous. On one point raised by Lord Woolton there will be general agreement—the first care must be for the adequate feeding of young children, by which the energy of the coming generation will be so much affected.

Government of India should take serious notice of Lord Woolton's warning. It is time that emphasis on food imports were lessened and more attention devoted to actual increase in the production of food. Efforts should be made to supply cheap manure to the cultivator with a view to increase per acre production. This essential aspect of the grow more food campaign has not received the attention it deserves.

Intensive cultivation in this country is more important today than the hunt for some open spaces in the public parks or city compounds.

Mr. Amery's Tirade Against Congress

In an interview to the *Sunday Times* of London, Mr. Amery carried on his usual tirade against the Indian National Congress. He said :

"The Congress Party had always opposed the Federal scheme and the hesitations of the Princes were increased by its action in fomenting trouble in Indian States. The Moslems, who had hitherto been favourable on the whole to the Federal plan, were in the meantime brought into vigorous opposition to it by their experience of the totalitarian methods of the Congress Party in autonomous provinces. There the Congress Ministries were functioning under orders of the Congress Working Committee, in other words Mr. Gandhi, and not in responsibility to the Legislatures in which they used their majorities to impose the policies dictated to them by the Working Committee. It was the fear that this experience might be repeated on an all India scale that turned both the Moslem League and the Princes against the Federal Scheme of the 1935 Act.

"The reactions against the Congress methods led to a rapid cohesion of the Moslems during the next few years under Mr. Jinnah, who declared that no form of Indian Federation will be acceptable to the Moslems and that as a separate nation they will insist on being an entirely independent Dominion or Dominions separate from the rest of India. There can be no doubt that the Congress Party's handling of the temporary advantage gained in the 1937 elections so alienated and alarmed both the Princes and the Moslems as to make a constitution of the kind provided by the Act of 1935 impossible.

The Congress has never opposed any federal plan as such; its opposition was to the federal scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act. Separate electorates, direct election to the Upper House and indirect election to the Lower, reservation of seats for the nominees of the Rulers most of whom are puppets in the hands of the Residents, unfairness in the allotment of seats between British India, the States and the communities,—these were some of the features which led the Congress go against Mr. Amery's Federal Scheme. The Moslems in a body never identified them with the opposition against the Congress; only a section of it, mostly composed of reactionary elements having axes to grind, under the Muslim League stood in opposition not only against the Congress but the British Government as well. Muslim followers of the Congress and other pro-Congress organisations are not much less in number than the followers of the League.

The Congress is as much totalitarian, if it can be called so, as Mr. Amery's Conservative Party is. His Party Executive guides the members who hold a clear majority in the Parlia-

ment. No charge of totalitarianism is brought against Conservative Party Caucus when they guide their own party members elected by the people. Coalition Governments are not anathema to the Congress. Frontier Province and Assam both had Congress Coalition Ministries. Mr. Rajagopalachariar's reply to Mr. Amery may be noted here :

Mr. Rajagopalachariar affirmed that the Congress Ministry in Madras had done nothing either directly or indirectly which could be described as totalitarian. The fact that the electors returned Congress candidates in large numbers was a sign of their popularity and the extent of the trust they were able to inspire.

If the Congress had used fraud and prevented other party candidates from competing or had threatened or intimidated others, it could be said that there was totalitarianism. The elections were conducted by British officials and the Congress could not be charged with having manipulated the same in any way. Nor did the Congress after its success at the elections, make regulations for the destruction of other parties. No one from any party that functioned against the Congress could truthfully say that their liberties were taken away by the Congress Government.

Not a single officer of the Government suffered because of his political views. Not only did the Congress regime not interfere with the functioning of other parties, it did not hesitate to take action against Congressmen and sympathisers of the Congress when it was considered necessary. Neither the Congress Executive nor members of the Congress interfered when action was taken against Mr. Batliwala and Mr. Meherally. This was clear proof that the Congress had the least tinge of totalitarianism.

But will Mr. Amery dare raise the charge of totalitarianism against Mr. Curtin and his Party Government in Australia or General Smuts and his Party Government in South Africa? He is fond of speaking on so many subjects besides India.

Contempt of Court Case Against Tribune

The Editor, printer and publisher and a reporter of the *Tribune* were prosecuted before the Lahore High Court on charges of contempt of Court. The charges against the respondents as set forth in the notice were three : (1) the reproduction of vernacular newspapers comments on the arrest of Mr. A. C. Bali, special reporter of the *Tribune*, with the headlines "Arrest made on flimsy grounds" in the *Tribune* of September 6, the day when the habeas corpus petition for the release of Mr. A. C. Bali was moved before Mr. Justice Mohammad Munir at the High Court. This, according to the notice, was a comment on a matter which the editor and the publisher and printer should have known was coming up for adjudication in a court of law. The second charge pertained to the publication of the habeas corpus petition against the arrest

of Mr. Bali in extenso. The third charge was the headlines of a criminal case pending before a court of law.

All the accused have however been acquitted. The Contempt of Court cases are becoming disquietingly frequent.

Production and Consumption of Food in India

Much food for thought is afforded by the statistical details contained in a statement which was placed on the table of the Council of State by the Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh on the 12th August last. Taking into account the average production of foodgrains, as well as imports and exports thereof, in the case of each major province in India, their respective position as regards food supply appears as follows :

In the case of Assam the per capita production per year stands at 4.89 maunds as against a per capita consumption of 4.6 maunds. The annual per capita production in Bengal is 4.14 maunds, the consumption being 4.15 maunds. The corresponding figures in the case of Bihar are 4.26 maunds (production) and 4.42 (consumption). In the case of Bombay, the production stands at 4.87 as against a consumption of 5.28. The Central Provinces produce 7.34 maunds per head per year, consumption being 6.33 maunds. In the case of Madras, the figure for production is 4.46 maunds, as compared with a per capita consumption of 4.92 maunds. The North-West Frontier Province has a production of 5.47 maunds, against a consumption of 5.51 maunds. In the case of Orissa, the production per head per year is represented by 5.45 maunds, whereas her consumption per head stands at the very low figure of 3.61 maunds. In the Panjab, the corresponding figures are 5.35 maunds and 4.85 maunds respectively. Sind comes in with an annual per capita production of 7.94 maunds, as against a consumption of 5.71 maunds. In the case of the United Provinces, the corresponding figures are 5.06 maunds and 5 maunds respectively. The figures of consumption worked out per adult male unit per day in ounces, stand as follows : Assam 22.1, Bengal 20, Bihar 21.2, Bombay 25.3, Central Provinces 30.4, Madras 24, North-West Frontier Province 26.5, Orissa 17.3, Panjab 23.3, Sind 27.5, and the United Provinces 24.

From these statistics, it appears that, judged by standards of consumption as compared with production, Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay

and Madras are deficit areas, the deficit in the case of the North-West Frontier Province being almost negligible. Of the remaining 5 Provinces, Orissa produces the largest surplus per head of population by imposing a very miserable standard of consumption on her population. The Central Provinces come next in point of surplus, and it is remarkable that the standard of consumption in the case of the Central Provinces is also the highest of all the Provinces in India. The above figures indicate the varying degrees of urgency of the examination of the food problem of each Province from the point of view of attainment of self-sufficiency and improvement in the standard of consumption.

Do the Cultivators Hoard?

The Executive Council of the Governor-General, as at present constituted, was once facetiously described by a member of the Central Legislature as a "museum of India's disunity." The Indian Members of the Council, who are in a large majority, have never been understood to work as a team even on non-political issues. It seems that in the matter of the present food problem all the Indian Members are not of one mind. This impression is strengthened by certain significant observations made by the Hon'ble Sir Jogendra Singh, Member-in-charge of Education, Health and Lands, in a speech in the Council of State on the food situation in August last. Sir Jogendra Singh's department is responsible for the Grow More Food movement, and being a practical farmer himself, he is in a better position to appreciate the point of view of the cultivators than most of his other colleagues. There has been much talk of late about "hoarding" on the part of cultivators in statements made by high officials beginning from the Secretary of State down to the less important members of the public services. It is a notorious fact that the vast majority of cultivators in India do not possess what are known as economic holdings, the proportion of such holdings differing from province to province. The number of cultivators in Bengal who are in a position to hoard foodgrains produced by them, is extremely small. The charge of hoarding cannot possibly hold good against a very large bulk of cultivators who never have two square meals a day and whose food can hardly be described as balanced. Referring to this class of men, Sir Jogendra Singh observed as follows :

"Let us for a moment lift our eye and survey millions of men and women who are now engaged in

the heat of the sun, in the pouring rain and in puddled mud in producing food, on a wage which does not afford even bare necessities of life. It is these men whose destinies we decide. It is these men on whose well-being the well-being of India depends. They have never known the meaning of hoarding; from the day the grain appears on the threshing floor, they share it, and share it freely with others. Indeed grain often disappears from the threshing floor and the producer has to live on borrowing till the next crop. This endless struggle continues from year to year. If the producers, by self-denial, instead of placing in the market consume an additional ounce per day, they can consume 30 lakh tons of grain in a year, and if they produce an additional maund per acre, they can place 30 lakh tons in the common pool for urban consumption."

How inadequate the normal consumption of food-grains per head of population is, was illustrated by Sir Jogendra Singh with reference to a table with which we deal in another paragraph. As regards methods of control which are gradually being introduced during the war period, Sir Jogendra Singh does not seem fully to agree with the policy underlying such methods. Thus he observes :

"We have been caught by the war; we have been anxious to employ modern methods of controls and rationing; relying more on coercion than on co-operation of traders and businessmen. The result is that normal channels of trade have ceased to flow, the confidence of the people has been shaken and the traders no more coax commodities from the meagre resources of 650,000 villages and carry the grain where needed as in normal times."

He next holds even Governments of Provinces and States partially responsible for upsetting the normal balance between demand and supply of food-grains, as appears from the following observations :

"It is not only that the cultivator has lost confidence but Governments of Provinces and States, both in surplus and deficit areas, have been conserving their own resources, building up reserves in some areas and thus preventing the free flow of commodities. It has become a fashion to condemn the trader, and the businessman."

In this connection he quotes with approval the following observations made by Colonel Sleeman in 1834 :

"In societies constituted like that of India," he said, "the trade of the corn-dealer is more essentially necessary for the welfare of the community than in any other, for it is among them that the super-abundance of seasons of plenty requires most to be stored up for

reasons of scarcity and if public functionaries will take upon themselves to seize such stores, and sell them at their own arbitrary prices, whenever prices happen to rise beyond the rate which they in their short-sighted wisdom think just, no corn-dealer will ever collect such stores. Hitherto, whenever grain has become dear at any military or civil station, we have seen the civil functionaries urged to prohibit its egress to search for the hidden stores, and to coerce the proprietors to the sale in all manner of ways; and, if they do not yield to the ignorant clamour, they are set down as indifferent to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures around them, and as blindly supporting the worst enemies of mankind in the worst species of enquiry."

The evils which have sprung from interference with normal channels of trade, and substitution thereof by inefficient Government agencies appointed on principles of patronage, if nothing worse, are too well-known in Bengal to need elaboration.

Fedor Ippolitorich Scherbatskoy

Prof. F. I. Scherbatskoy, the celebrated Orientalist, has passed away. His death is stated to have occurred in Leningrad during the siege winter of 1941-42. He was born in 1866 in Poland. From 1888 he was in Vienna, studying Sanskrit poetics with Buhler. At this time he published his book in Russian, *The Indian Theory of Poetry*. He attended the International Congress of Orientalists in Rome in 1899. He read Indian Philosophy with Jacobi in Bonn. He toured in Mongolia where he came into touch with the Lamas and conceived his idea of the Buddhist philosopher Dharmakirti as the "Indian Kant." His celebrated work *Theory of Knowledge and Logic in the Doctrine of the later Buddhism* (in Russian) was published in 1903. He was also a Tibetanist. In 1910-11 he visited India. His masterpieces are *The Buddhist Logic* (2 vols.), editions of the *Naya-Bindu* and its commentaries, *Refutation of Solipsism* (Tibetan version), and the most elaborately schemed edition and translation of *Abhidarmakosa*, with its Chinese, Tibetan etc., versions and commentaries.

This great Orientalist was an ardent admirer of the late Editor of *The Modern Review* and one of its regular readers in Russia and had correspondence with him.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE



1909



1893



1936



1912

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE : INDIA'S AMBASSADOR TO THE NATIONS

BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

WALTER BAGEHOT characterised "the first thirty years of the 19th century as a species of duel between *The Edinburgh Review* and Lord Eldon," the Tory Lord Chancellor. We may say with equal truth that the first forty years of the 20th century in India were marked by a still longer duel between *The Modern Review* and the Tories in power over India's destiny. The first editor of *The Edinburgh Review* lived to see his efforts bearing fruit in the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 and the spate of liberal legislation that began with it. The first editor of *The Modern Review* has just now (30th September 1943) closed his eyes with the struggle for India unended. And *The Modern Review* meant Ramananda Chatterjee far more than the term 'editor' does elsewhere. He had begun it even earlier, in 1901, though on a necessarily smaller scale and in the Bengali language, in his *Prabasi*, which had at once seized the first place among the vernacular monthlies. And now, in January 1907 he gave to that unrelenting struggle for light, liberty and human progress, the more universal appeal of an English garb. He edited the paper and impressed it with his personality, without a break for over 37 years. Unlike Francis Jeffrey of *The Edinburgh Review*, Ramananda Chatterjee was not the agent of a group or party; he was the founder and steersman of *The Modern Review* and made this paper what it has become.

And yet, at the outset, it was a most hazardous adventure for a man who had no accumulated wealth, who had just thrown up his salaried post as a College head on a question of principle, and who declined to take service anywhere else, though he had a growing family to think of. His paper from its first number set an example of neat get-up and fine coloured illustration, which were then unique in Indian journalism—and very costly too. In fact, this *Review*, at the end of the first eight months of its working, showed a debt of Rs. 1,800, (as he then told me).

But it supplied a crying need of India at the time and immediate and rapidly growing recognition of its value came to his help. A year earlier the Partition of Bengal had given the people a concrete demonstration of how India

can be dissected like the carcase of a dead animal by a sudden *ukase* from Whitehall,* without regard for racial, linguistic and cultural unity, and without even previously informing the people affected. Europe and America must know what the heart and brain of India felt on this question and others of which the Partition was a type.

Thus Ramananda Chatterjee became the voice of India to the world outside, and he was heard with attention in every country where reason and humanity were honoured by its thinkers. Milton has been called the "God-gifted organ voice of England,"—the sonorous and majestic champion of the *Populo Anglicano* to the Continent of Europe. We cannot apply that image to R. Chatterjee, rather will I call him the "God-gifted silver trumpet of India,"—for his voice was ever that of cool argument and wise reflection. He appealed not to the emotions, but to the "dry light" of reason and human experience, so justly praised by Bacon. When the Indian National Congress was still young and its Founder Fathers gathered together in Calcutta for planning, one day Mr. A. O. Hume remarked to Mr. N. N. Ghose (the Principal of Vidyasagar's College and editor of the old *Indian Nation*) :

"Ghose, I am of twice your age, but I have not half your coolness and patience. I envy your philosophic calm."

That was the right characterisation of Ramananda Chatterjee, too.

He was the "senior classic" (if I may borrow an English analogy) of his year (1885) among the graduates of the Calcutta University, being first in First Class Honours in English and also the first student in order of merit in the whole University. He also distinguished himself in the same subject at the M.A. examination. Besides English he cultivated a wide range of subjects, including Physics, and specialised in Economics, Political Science and History by unceasing private study. His residence at Allahabad for 13 years (1895—April 1908), as Principal of the Kayastha Pathshala,

*The then Secretary of State for India asked a Bengali barrister who was on a visit to him, to point out where on the map of India was Dacca, the capital of the new province that he had carved out!

advance. He added that the appointment of a few Indians as commissioned officers in a strictly limited number of infantry regiments was only the mockery of a scheme of national defence, which would prove a fatal delusion and snare in our time of danger. The present war, when the Sepoy army had perforce to be raised from 1½ lakhs to 20 lakhs with breathless haste, and when an utter dearth of trainers and of auxiliary service officers for the Indian army has caused despair among our military chiefs, has proved how true a prophet Ramananda Chatterjee was, and how he shared the usual fate of prophets by being scoffed at.

Here I may mention what I heard from Rabindranath Tagore in 1908. Sir K. G. Gupta, then a member of the Secretary of State's Council, was sent out to India during the cold weather to tour the country, sound public opinion, and ascertain how it was that our educated youngmen of respectable families turned to political murders and "hold-ups." He asked Rabindranath, whose reply was:

"Give our youngmen military training and the right to enter the commissioned ranks of their country's army, as in other lands; and then the natural appetite of healthy youths for the heroic and the dangerous will find its normal vent, whereas under the present exclusion policy it is driven into the channel of political murder and robbery,—the only things open to a demilitarised gentry."

This is exactly what Ramananda preached for a life-time.

R. CHATTERJEE

By EDITOR of *Asia Magazine*
(*Santa Devi's Collection*)

POSTED APRIL 10, 1936

We in America hear all too little about India. Seldom does news filter through, and then it is most likely to be news of violent or spectacular events. Even the most important developments in the life of India receive but scant notice in our newspapers, and then only in a few of our large cities.

Therefore as an American editor I feel it to be a peculiar privilege to have a contact, across thousands of miles, with such a man as Ramananda Chatterjee. He is so able an editor, so thoroughly informed, so sanely balanced and so courageous in his writing, that I know I can trust whatever he may say. I met him once, in his home in Calcutta, surrounded by his family, and

The founder of *The Modern Review* has died in the fulness of years, honoured and loved by the best minds of more than one country, more than one continent. But he has died poor in the world's goods, as he never compromised with meanness and vice, never stooped low to pick up lucre. He has never been a popularity-hunter; he has attacked corruption in high places, sometimes alone in the Bengal press. The very goal which he had been pursuing for 78 years seems to have been blotted out by the horrid flames and smoke of war, the reign of law has been replaced by that of a daily avalanche of ordinances, D. I. O. No....*ad infinitum*, and the economic ruin of "native" India has been all but assured by the astronomical inflation of the currency, the control of every agency and material of production and transport, and the annihilation of a whole rising generation by lack of food in a province known as "the granary of India." The outer world had grown unutterably dark to his closing eyes, but he has gone to face the Great Judge in serene confidence because he had very early chosen as his life's guiding principle—

"Thou hast the right to work, but never to demand the fruit of it as thy reward."

कर्मणि एव अधिकारः ते
मा फलेषु कदाचन।

instantly conceived the deepest admiration for him. This admiration has grown steadily as I have read his outspoken comments in *The Modern Review*. Sometimes there comes a letter from him, cordial, honest, clear and to the point. All too rarely he sends us an article, and that always makes a red-letter day in the *Asia* office.

All who like myself hope for a better understanding of India among Americans, and Englishmen too, must wish that Ramananda Chatterjee will long continue to wield his pen and to train other journalists to carry on his noble work.

(Signed) Richard J. Walsh,
Editor of *Asia Magazine*

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Personal Reminiscences and Tribute

By AMAL HOME
Editor, "Calcutta Municipal Gazette"

I
CHRISTMAS, 1906. The Indian National Congress which had met in Calcutta with Dada-bhai Naoroji as President, and a great exhibition of Indian industries, an adjunct of the Congress, had drawn thousands to this city from all parts of India. Calcutta was all bustle and colour. The Congress pandal, covering the site now occupied by Alexandra Court, and the Exhibition grounds, occupying the entire area now covered by the many premises between Chowringhee and Gokhale Road, faced each other; and one had only to cross the road to get into one from the other. An eager and precocious boy, who had just completed his thirteenth year, full of the Extremist politics of the Bengal School, had persuaded an indulgent father to make him his companion on his daily visits to the Congress-meeting. Soon, however, the boy would tire of the speeches, most of which, of course, he could not quite follow, but he would sit quietly through all of them, and presently his father would take him to the Exhibition with its many attractions and side-shows, and there they would stroll, father and son, round the many stalls till lamps would be lit and the whole place transformed into a fairyland.

It was the last day of the Congress, and there seemed to be no end of speeches, and it was almost dark before the session ended. Impatient to get into the Exhibition grounds, the boy was being led out of the crowd by his father when the latter was accosted and greeted by a friend of his whom the son had never seen before. Dressed in a buttoned-up brown Kashmere tweed coat with trousers to match, a round cap crowning his iron grey hair, his beaming countenance and noble presence not only arrested attention but commanded respect at once. Asked by his father the boy readily made an obeisance to the stranger and felt a gentle touch on his bent head. Together they walked out of the Congress grounds,—the two friends talking, both evidently glad to meet each other, it seemed, after a long time. No, he was sorry, he could

not accept any invitation to lunch the next day; he had to leave for Allahabad the same night; he was bringing out a new English monthly in a few days' time; and it was in the press. And there they parted, after a few minutes,—the boy receiving a pat on his head again.

This was my first "meeting" with Ramananda Babu. My father "introduced" him to me after he had left us and told me all about him. He had known him well since his student days and later when he was a Professor at City College where my father had also worked early in his life. And he was full of his praise—his scholarship and erudition, the many gifts and graces of his intellect and character. I had, of course, known him by name, being even in those days a diligent reader of the *Prabasi*, to which my father subscribed, and had also heard of him from a young coach of mine, who had gone up to Allahabad sometime ago and, though a perfect stranger, had enjoyed his hospitality. He had told me that Ramananda Babu kept his door open, and not for Bengalees alone, and how deeply respected he was in the United Provinces, through which my private tutor had toured on behalf of Jogendra Chunder Ghosh's association for scientific education of young Indians abroad.

II

A little over a year later, early in 1908, Ramananda Babu came down to Calcutta with his two papers and his family. He took a house in Cornwallis Street on a private lane alongside of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj prayer-hall. He lived in this house and conducted his papers from it for more than a decade. It was quite a modest house, but it soon became well-known as the *Prabasi*-office and the residence of the Editor of *The Modern Review*. Down that alley had walked more celebrities and more famous people than, perhaps, any other street in Calcutta had known—poets and politicians, authors and artists, writers and journalists of all races in India and most nations in the world—all going to see Ramananda Babu.

I know hardly any famous son of Mother India whom I had not seen going up or coming down that hardly eight feet wide passage. And I had seen a future Prime Minister of England and a future Minister of Education—Ramsay MacDonald and Herbert Fisher—coming out of 210/3/1, Cornwallis Street. Both of them were then in India as members of the Royal Commission on Public Services. They were accompanied by Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Ramananda Babu's eldest son Kedarnath and myself soon became great friends. We lived nearby; we were almost of the same age and we had many interests in common. Both of us were voracious readers and devoured everything that came across our way. We exchanged books and magazines, and he lent me his books and periodicals, sometimes even encroaching on his father's collection. And it was this that brought me to the notice of Ramananda Babu. Kedar had lent me a book which belonged to his father, and he had left for Darjeeling. Ramananda Babu needed the book. I do not know even to this day how he came to know that the book was with me, but one day, on his way back from his morning constitutional, he came to our house and asked my father where I was. I was sent for, and, on my coming, he asked me for the book. I felt very much embarrassed, but he reassured me with a smile, adding that it did not matter even if Kedar was away; I could come and borrow books and periodicals as usual from his house. My father told him, half in jest, that I wanted to be a journalist. He smiled and said that I might find, if I ever became one, that journalism was not a bed of roses.

It was as his son's friend that he took notice of me, and soon I came to enjoy his affection. I would often accompany him in his morning walks, "falling in" as he passed by our house. He would greet me with a smile and we would walk up to College Square where he would be joined by his friends, Krishna Kumar Mitter, Heramba Chandra Maitra, Pran Krishna Acharya, Lalit Mohan Das and one or two others whose names I now forget. I would then naturally "fall out" but rejoin him on his way home. He spoke little, but would sometimes talk of his boyhood, of his home at Bankura, of his father who possessed great physical prowess, how as a boy he would often walk miles visiting his relations from village to village, how simple were their lives; of his student days, how once R. C. Dutt on coming to inspect his school had given him a personal prize, so pleased the great

author and administrator was with his English composition, how the famous Professor Tawney took his classes in English, and how Jagadish Chunder Bose taught Physics at Presidency College, which he had to leave because he lost his stipend as he was once too ill to attend the lectures for a period. He would sometimes even speak of the educationists he had known, and I still remember some stories he told me about a remarkable Englishman, a distinguished Wrangler, who was Professor of Mathematics at Muir Central College, Allahabad, who knew his Shakespeare from cover to cover. He was, if I remember aright, Homersham Cox. And it was then also that I heard from him about his friend Major B. D. Basu, the historian—of his great scholarship, his fine library and his famous collection of Gandhara sculpture. It was later my privilege to meet and know him through Ramananda Babu.

III

These were days of struggle for him. The *Prabasi* had begun paying its way but *The Modern Review*, a little over two years old, had yet to turn the corner. And it meant hard work and hardship. He worked incessantly, day in and day out, as I have seen no other journalist work. His day would begin with his return from his morning walk, not later than seven, and he would be at the desk—reading, marking and clipping newspapers or periodicals, editing contributions, writing articles and notes, checking accounts and even receiving money orders or V. P. payments at the office, which was also his editorial "sanctum sanctorum." Barely furnished, this room had no electric light or fan, and was often crowded. Right in front, in the narrow passage or in the backyard of the Brahmo Samaj prayer-hall children would play and shout; and in the next room we, his son's friends, would often gather and hold great argument about this and that, but not the least perturbed, he would work on, not even for once either admonishing the children or the youths, who at least should have known better. And so he would work, retiring only at midday for lunch and a little rest, and he would be back again in his chair after a couple of hours and occupy it till late in the evening. Then he would go out for a short walk, returning home to dinner, books and bed—late at night. Thus he built up his two papers, leading the life of almost an ascetic, living on the most frugal of meals, dressed in the simplest of clothes, sleeping on the hardest of beds. He knew no comforts,

no luxuries; denied himself all pleasures; no social engagements knew him, no amusements either. And he was then only forty-five years old.

I had the great privilege and unique opportunity of seeing Ramananda Babu every day at this period of his life. I had in the meanwhile developed a great *penchant* for journalism and was very fortunate in receiving his guidance and encouragement. I sat at his feet for my first lessons in writing for the Press, and he took such pains with my humble efforts that they were found fit enough to be published in his periodicals when I was still at college. He would sometimes send for me and go through my writings in my presence, changing and correcting, adding and altering till, perhaps, very few lines of the original remained. He would more than once return me my manuscript, and ask me to rewrite it. Among my cherished possessions is one of these manuscripts—a short article I wrote for the *Prabasi* when Rabindranath received the Nobel Prize in 1913. He opened the portals of journalism to me and he gave me the start. It was to him that I owed my first appointment in the Punjab and my subsequent translation from the now defunct Lahore daily, the *Panjabee* to the Lahore *Tribune*, which had, a short while ago, acquired Kalinath Roy as its Editor.

IV

By 1910, within three years of the periodical being started, *The Modern Review* had come to occupy the foremost place among India's English journals. Its elder sister, the *Prabasi*, started in 1901, had, of course, stormed the Bastille long ago. Bengal had not known a journal like this before. It was incomparably the best monthly in Bengali. Both his journals were immensely popular, but they never swam with the stream. They educated their readers, yet they were neither heavy nor boring. He knew exactly to hold the balance between education and entertainment. With him it was not a question of "brightening" a serious paper in the manner found lucrative for big circulation. It was not a question of a solemn periodical attempting to be sprightly like an elderly lady trying to look twenty. His journals combined education and entertainment as an organic whole—one inseparable from the other. Ramananda Babu knew, if anybody did, that the first rule in journalism is that you must be clear what public you are aiming at and pursue it with an undivided mind. His

two periodicals soon attained wide and influential circulation, but never developed the opportunist politics that go with such circulation, nor were they ever subordinate to the interests of any party or political leader.

The strength of these two journals lay in the 'Notes' Ramananda Babu wrote from month to month on all topics. Of these again, the political Notes stood apart. Cold as steel, sharp as a scimitar, they rent asunder all sophistries, all the specious arguments against India's claim to *Swaraj*. He paved through these Notes her way towards Home Rule as no other publicist in India had done. Bristling with incontrovertible facts and irresistible arguments, they were beautifully arranged and conveyed as a rule in the simplest of words. There were no purple patches. If ever there were, they were led up with extraordinary skill, and they seemed exactly as much as the subject will bear. I once took the liberty of asking him as to how he, a student of English literature which he had taught for nearly twenty years, could avoid literary embellishments to his writings. I did not, of course, mean the literary jargons and clichés with which we lesser journalists seek to decorate our 'leaders' or 'notes.' He knew that, and said that when he first started writing for *The Modern Review*, he made it a point to write for the common man, not the literary person, and he wanted to convey his ideas in as unornamental a garb as possible, in the plainest Anglo-Saxon words, with no reference either to classics or to modern highbrows. There was no staginess, no sentimentality in his writings. His style was natural, direct, irresistible as a physical process. He had little humour, but a grimly satiric note sometimes crept into his writings. His fearlessness, his freedom from partisanship, his consummate plain speech, his great pertinacity of purpose and his terrible truthfulness soon won a very large circle of readers for his Notes, and among them were some of the foremost men of our time. I have a vivid recollection of Aurobindo Ghosh scanning the Notes of *The Modern Review* from page to page sitting at the desk of his uncle Krishna Kumar Mitter (then detained as a State Prisoner at Agra), when he lived at his house, the old *Sanjibani*-office at College Square, after his acquittal at the Alipore Conspiracy Case. And I still remember the remarkable tribute he paid to Ramananda Babu's journals in the columns of his English weekly *Karmayogin* on their translating Indian Nationalism into religion, into music and poetry, into paint-

ing and literature. I also remember what Gopal Krishna Gokhale said about *The Modern Review*, when, in my capacity of the Under-Secretary in charge of public meetings at the Calcutta University Institute, I went to invite him to speak under its auspices on the Elementary Education Bill, which he was then sponsoring in the Imperial Legislative Council, and when his old friend Prithwis Chandra Roy, the Editor of the *Indian World*, had deserted him over the issue, and Gokhale had found his staunchest supporter in Ramananda Chatterjee. More than once at the height of the Non-Co-operation Movement, Chittaranjan Das had asked me as to what Ramananda Babu thought of a particular move or utterance of his, knowing full well that he did not subscribe to the orthodox Non-Co-operator's views and differed strongly from him on those questions. So great was the esteem in which Motilal Nehru held Ramananda Chatterjee as a journalist that he invited him to the chief editorship of the *Independent* when he started it at Allahabad in 1919, asking him to dictate his own terms and offered to bear all expenses for the transfer of his two papers back to Allahabad should he choose to do so. I had it from Panditji himself in 1920 when I joined the staff of the *Independent*, then edited by Bipin Chandra Pal.

The influence of *The Modern Review* became with years co-extensive with the commonwealth of thinking and cultured men and women all the world over,—a daily enlarging congregation of hearts awakened to a deep sense of love and regard for India, all that she had been in the past and all that she hoped to be in the future. His work for his two papers has left an abiding mark on Indian journalism. He enabled it to triumph over the disabilities resulting from imperfect technical equipment, and gave it a conscious pride, an awareness of the things of the mind, a sensitiveness to beauty, which will never be effaced.

V

Ramananda Babu was a strenuous fighter, and when he hit, he hit straight from the shoulder, but never below the belt. On public questions he would often differ and differ strongly from some of his friends, dear and esteemed friends, but no differences of opinion were allowed by him to loosen or even to affect his love and regard for them. No one he loved and revered more than he did Rabindranath Tagore. Yet on two different occasions he differed from him

and differed openly. The first was in 1917, over the choice of Annie Besant as President of the Calcutta Congress—a choice that the Poet not only approved but lent support to, by accepting the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee when the Moderates led by Surendranath Banerjea seceded from it over the issue. Rabindranath was anxious for Ramananda Babu's support, and before he finally threw in his lot with the Besantites, he went to see his friend, trying, if he could, to persuade him to his views. I had the privilege of accompanying him to Ramananda Babu's house—the old *Prabasi*-office I have spoken about already. It was past ten at night, and the narrow lane had no light. As the Poet waited in his car, I went to fetch a lamp from the house. I found Ramananda Babu reading, and he came down with a hurricane lantern and showed Rabindranath in. Quietly we went up the narrow stairs, myself now leading with the lantern. The Poet opened the conversation. He gave his reasons for his support to Mrs. Besant; Ramananda Babu gave his for opposing her. Quietly the Poet listened to his friend and quietly he came away. The next day, or the day after, I do not remember exactly, his acceptance of the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee was in the hands of Mrs. Besant's supporters. I was the bearer of his letter of acceptance addressed to Motilal Ghosh, and when he gave it to me, he said that a load was off his chest now that he had been able to explain his position to Ramananda Babu. It did not matter now if they differed.

The other occasion when Rabindranath and Ramananda differed was in 1938 over the partial scrapping of the *Bande Mataram* song as a Congress anthem on the ground of its being offensive to the religious feelings of the Muslims. Ramananda Babu, as readers will no doubt recall, did not share the Poet's opinion on the question and held forth against it in *The Modern Review* and the *Prabasi*. Yet, if I might say so, he worshipped the very ground the Poet trod. I shall never forget what he once told me about him. It was many years ago. Both of us had gone to see the Poet at his Jorasanko residence. He was slightly indisposed and was in his bed-room on the second floor into which we were ushered. We found him with a well-known Homeopathic practitioner of Calcutta and a young relation, just returned from abroad after many years. The doctor left after sometime; the young man remained and went on talking, almost completely monopolising the talk, about his experiences in

Europe. There was no end to his *ipse dixit* or to his self-assurance. The Poet listened on in silence though it became increasingly oppressive. Ramananda Babu sat quiet all through. It was getting late, and we took leave of the Poet. As we walked back home through the lane where now runs Chittaranjan Avenue, I could not conceal my annoyance with the bore we had left behind. Then Ramananda Babu said if I had noticed that the Poet listened to every one as if what he had to say was of supreme importance; but when there was no occasion to listen, there was a far-away look in his eyes, as though he could see something that was invisible to the rest of us. I did not then quite understand what he meant. I realized it afterwards and knew how truly and felicitously Ramananda Babu had put it. The Poet was really at heart a solitary man with the solitude of a mind voyaging through strange seas of thought, alone.

VI

Ramananda Chatterjee was the soul of sincerity and never could be anything else. He had the simplicity of all noble natures. He was shy and sensitive. It was the shyness and sensitiveness of spiritual aloofness. He had the utmost contempt for the art of studying appearances and for the tricks by which public men catch the limelight. The supreme type of concentrated publicist, he never publicised himself. He never gave an interview in his life and never "posed" for the Press photographer. For many years he led a most secluded life, and at last when his fame spread far and wide, he was dragged into publicity and public life, whose honours came thick and fast for him; within a few months he became an all-India figure. His single-mindedness and simplicity, the great dignity of his character, his devoted services to his fellowmen, his steadfast allegiance to high ideals and his most passionate patriotism won him a position of honour and authority in India which few of his contemporaries had enjoyed. He fought for India till the last breath of his life.

It is not, however, in the gestures of the arena, but in the familiar and domestic things of a man's home and immediate surroundings that you divine the man. And this man was noble. Of him it may be said "a larger soul hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay." His

love and affection, his tender consideration, his abounding humanity were beyond praise. A great sorrow came to his life in 1919, when his youngest son Prasad suddenly died after a brief illness. Always a deeply affectionate and almost an indulgent father, the blow was a terrible one for him, made all the more unbearable by the partial loss of reason the shock brought for his dearly beloved and devoted wife, Manorama Devi, who was a true helpmate to her husband—a woman of remarkable courage and striking personality. I was at Lahore when Prasad died. He was a gifted child with an original bent of mind. He was like a younger brother to me, and I wrote to the sorrowing father how I felt when I heard the sad news. And he wrote back: "It will never be the same again." And he really was never altogether the same man again. He retired from Calcutta for a time and lived at Santiniketan. The death of his wife in 1935 left him desolate. A more loving husband I have never known. Always deeply reserved, frugal of speech, he unbent in congenial society and became what he was in his own home and to his friends,—the most urbane and delightful of companions. He loved children and children loved him.

A man of rare moral elevation, of unimpeachable private life, deeply religious, of transparent sincerity of conduct, he led a simple ordered life such as all can live, but few do. The material simplicity of his existence was something extraordinary and rarely met with. His devotion, his courage, his selflessness, his indifference to praise or blame or public opinion were worthy of emulation even by the highest in our land. He who gives these to the world gives to it infinitely more than those who give laws and schemes, doctrines and dogmas or lead rival parties of politics.

For more than thirty-five years it was my singular good fortune to enjoy his fatherly affection. He guided me, he helped me; he encouraged me and praised me. He gave more than I deserved, and with a contrite heart, I remember occasions when I must have hurt his feelings. But he was always understanding, always forgiving; I can never repay his kindness. Now that he is gone, I can only offer to his sacred memory my tear-stained tribute of love and reverence, my heart's homage to his immortal soul.

Calcutta, October 1, 1943

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

By LEHAR SINGH MEHTA, B.A., LL.B.

RAMANANDA Chatterjee, the distinguished and scholarly Editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi*, breathed his last in the evening of the 30th September 1943, in the 79th year of his earthly life.

Within the compass of a magazine article it is not possible to give an adequate idea of the genius, personality and achievements of this consummate journalist. Moreover, there is no authentic biography of this illustrious publicist.

Born of poor parents in the Bankura District in 1865, it was with great difficulty that he could educate himself. Mr. Chatterjee started his career as a teacher and worked for some time as a professor of Kayastha Pathshala in Allahabad. With a very moderate source of income at his disposal he started the Bengali Journal, the *Prabasi*, in the year 1901. For a good many years the Monthly was conducted, as it had to be, at a deficit annual balance sheet. In 1906 he preferred to resign rather than to be subservient to the dictates of the Managing Committee of the Kayastha Pathshala. His total savings hardly amounted to even a month's household expenses. This, however, did not damp his ardour. He took a leap in the dark and made up his mind to conduct a standard English monthly, named *The Modern Review*. Subsequently he returned to Calcutta from Allahabad and started the well-known Hindi Journal, the *Vishal Bharat*. He married Manorama Devi, whose all-round activities almost equalled his own. Together they worked feverishly for many a cause.

Ramananda had been a journalist from his teens. He wrote with terrible frankness and truth, with strong humanist sympathies, luminous but kindly. He never went to any school of journalism to take lessons, nor did he desire to imitate anybody. His was an enviable ambition. Old age and infirmities never hindered his way. He spent his whole life like a prodigal and never hoarded life as a miser hoards gold. He wrote much on religious, economic, educational, social, political, historical subjects and on music, arts and crafts. It is a pleasure and a delight to go through his articles and comments. There is in his writings nothing of the hurry of the 20th Century and its feverish

unrest. He was one of the foremost creative publicist, not of our time, but of all times. His reputation was never noisy, but it steadily went up with the increase of years. Like Lewis Harcourt he possessed a capacious mind, moving without haste and without deviation.

Much is said of Mr. Chatterjee's simplicity of style. It is his own, the natural, the necessary. Clearness and simplicity, coupled with precision and logical sequence, are the secret of his success. There is form and substance, flame and spirit. He would be the last man to worry his readers to weariness.

The omniscience of an editor is a well-known joke. He was a serious student of history and laws of nations and their constitutions and governments as also of eastern and western religion and philosophy. As fates of all peoples and nations are inextricably interwoven, he could not do without a sound knowledge of world economics and would feel more at home in international politics. His house was littered with books. Certainly the man of learning he was, as Macaulay said of Milton. He would never fight shy of discussions on commerce, industry, finance, banking, sociology, anthropology, religion, psychology, race-culture, education, village and town improvement schemes, and so many other vocations and professions. You may tap any subject you like. He knew jurisprudence, penology, geology, and mining and forest laws, tending to the conservation and promotion to the interest of the people. Questions relating to labour, agriculture, railway, transportation, shipping, navigation and aviation never escaped the meticulous examination of this critic. Having astonishing vision he, like Kipling, gave the impression of encyclopaedic knowledge. With the spirit of Haldane he would always take you into his confidence.

Mr. Chatterjee led a very simple life. People always wondered at his simplicity and frugality. He was a seer, a Rishi, who always took unalloyed interest in human welfare. Though a self-disciplined Sanyasi, he was never a religious bigot. To him true Satvikata consisted in righteous activities. "Indeed," wrote Tennyson, "what matters it what a man knows and does if he keeps not a reverential looking

upward." The name of the Almighty was as familiar on his lips as it was on the lips of Gladstone or Tagore. Like Bryan he mingled religion and politics in the same breath. For what Thomas Hardy called the 'professional optimist' he had unaffected scorn. The world is with those, he would tell you, who, like Browning's Grammarian, are for the morning.

As for his ideal of womanhood many of his comments, addresses and writings have to be read. Like Mrs. Pankhurst he stood for the complete civic and political emancipation of women, and for their full and equal citizenship. A woman has like a man, he observed, right to see how her nation should live. He believed in the equal opportunity for all, in freeing women from all disabilities which hinder them from obtaining their just right and contributing their due share in the regeneration of their motherland. The famous saying of Charles XI of Sweden, "Madame, I married you to give me children, not to give me advice," still represents much of the thought of men in relation to women. But it hung like a dark pall over his spirit.

His patriotic writings are characteristic, with a mordant humour and swiftness of retort. He felt strongly that the barriers of mutual suspicion and hostility between classes and communities were the real impediments on the way to our achieving national self-realisation. He was anxious that the idea of Pakistan should die an easy and early death. He dreamed and thought and talked of the freedom of India. He demonstrated at the third Session of the All-India Indian States' Peoples' Conference, held in Bombay, on the 9th and 10th June 1931, and which was presided over by him, that the ancient Hindu ideal of kingship was not absolute but limited. As for the provincial autonomy he pointed out as far back as 1937 that the ordinary powers which the Government of India Act, 1935, conferred on the Governors were such that the usefulness and the beneficence of all ministries depended upon the good grace of the Governors. "With the Bande Mataram Song," he remarked, "are associated the memories of innumerable deeds of heroism." A brilliant man, full of energy, full of capacity, he was still young though over seventy. "The one prudence in life," says Emerson, "is concentration." Mr. Chatterjee had the concentration of the fanatic. His varied national reconstruction activities

were bewildering and like Llyod George he was loyal till last to his simple faith.

As a social reformer he rendered invaluable service to his country. He was often grieved to think of the different castes and creeds and was distressed over the miserable lot of the untouchables. His advocacy of the compulsory and free primary education, inter-caste marriage and abolition of the caste distinction shows that his activities were multifarious and that his love for service was insatiable. He was equally devoted to Indian culture. His love for villages and rural activities as also for Indian architecture and painting, music and dance was genuine and touching. How deeply he loved India's arts and crafts becomes clear even to a casual reader of any issue of *The Modern Review*.

Mr. Chatterjee did another important work in teaching the modern India reverence for great men. He set before us in a most effective manner, through the columns of his esteemed journals, eminent persons of international fame, who lived and toiled, dared and suffered and achieved for the betterment of the world.

In religion and philosophy he was of the line of our ancient religio-philosophical teachers, whose religion and philosophy are fused component of the whole. His desire to strengthen and purify Hinduism never meant hatred of Islam and other religions. His ideal was the same as that of Raja Rammohun Roy who led India out into the freedom of time and space. 'India is the home of all that is great and noble—a noble religion and a noble philosophy.' This is the message that Mr. Chatterjee has left us.

The friendship between Mr. Chatterjee and Tagore was conspicuous. That he had great admiration for Tagore is testified by his following words:

"I have been privileged to publish perhaps a larger number of poems, stories, novels, articles, etc., from Rabindranath's pen, in Bengali and English, than any other editor."

Tagore also equally esteemed Mr. Chatterjee. They were as inseparable as Castor and Pollux, or Dr. Johnson and Boswell, or David and Jonathan.

His death is like a fall of the mighty and majestic tree, which has left a lonesome place against the sky. Who can take his place? His death means withdrawal of a great sage, philosopher, patriot and scholar.

Udaipur

MR. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE'S CONTRIBUTION TO BLIND EDUCATION IN INDIA

By SUBODH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), M.A. (Columbia), Lecturer, Calcutta University, Professor, Loreto College, Hony. Secretary, All-India Lighthouse for the Blind.

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee is already well-known to the Indian public as a gifted journalist, a deep political thinker and a staunch patriot. His three famous journals—*The Modern Review*, *Prabasi* and the *Vishal Bharat*—have been imparting knowledge, inspiration and entertainment to countless men and women in this country. The fame of *The Modern Review* has even transcended the boundaries of India and, before the outbreak of the present war, this journal had a fairly good circulation abroad. While in New York, the writer had an opportunity to meet the world-renowned scholar and writer, Mr. Will Durant and his wife, and both Mr. and Mrs. Durant paid a high tribute to the informative and thought-provoking notes which Mr. Chatterjee used to write for this journal.

But, until very recently, the number of those who knew about Mr. Chatterjee's contribution to blind education in India, was indeed insignificant. This deplorable ignorance is a clear indication of the lack of public interest in the education of the blind in this country. Mr. Chatterjee's contribution to this cause is, however, of supreme importance for what is was as well as for what it did.

The credit of devising Bengali Braille is Mr. Chatterjee's. It is quite remarkable that Mr. Chatterjee who apparently did not have any special knowledge or training in blind work, could devise a system for the blind 51 years ago which is still in use in a slightly modified form. This simply speaks for the versatile genius of Mr. Chatterjee, and his contribution should receive a grateful acknowledgment from workers for the blind in India, although, professionally speaking, he was not one of them. Strangely enough, so far as the writer is aware, no one made a reference in writing to this work of Mr. Chatterjee before 1940. How could this great contribution be shielded from public knowledge for about half a century?

In order to appraise properly what Mr. Chatterjee has done for the blind of this country, it is necessary to know something about the Braille system and about the state of blind education in India at the time when he made his contribution. The present article is not intended to be either technical or exhaustive. Consequently, only a very brief survey of the

points referred to above is undertaken in the following paragraphs.

Braille is a system of reading and writing employed by the blind and it is made out of six embossed points or dots arranged in various positions and combinations.

Before the introduction of Braille, several systems of reading and writing for the blind were devised and experimented in Europe and America, but none was found to be quite satisfactory. In 1829, Louis Braille, himself blind, invented this system which is known after his name and which is at present the only Point System used by the blind in every country. But Braille had to wage a long and continuous war against its rival systems for recognition. Even in the French school where Louis Braille was a teacher, this system was not accepted until 1854, i.e., a quarter of a century after its invention. In America, this rivalry, known as the "Battle of the Types," was the severest.

However, the intrinsic merits of the Braille System were gradually recognised and all the competing systems were abandoned in its favour. Of course, adaptations and modifications had to be made by different nations according to their alphabetic and linguistic needs; but the basic six dots formulated by Louis Braille have been universally accepted.

Blind Education in accordance with the Braille System, was introduced in India towards the close of the last century. In 1892, when Mr. Chatterjee devised his system, there were only two institutions for the blind in India,—one at Rajpur near Dehra Dun, and the other at Palamcottah, Madras. Both these schools were started by the British missionaries and they soon adapted the English Braille to the languages prevalent in those provinces.

If Mr. Chatterjee wished to establish a blind school in Bengal, he could have easily done so. But it seems that he was more interested in the afflicted humanity in general than in any particular section of it. "Dasashram" which was founded in Calcutta in order to shelter and protect all types of needy and handicapped persons, had a monthly journal of its own, namely, "Dasi," of which Mr. Chatterjee was the editor. This journal was started in 1299 B.S., i.e.,

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definitely established that Mr. Chatterjee is the originator of Bengali Braille.

The reason as to why Mr. Chatterjee's original adaptation was not put into actual use, is quite understandable. But it is indeed very difficult to explain how Mr. Chatterjee's great achievement was altogether ignored and forgotten by the public in general and by the workers for the blind in particular! As stated before, no one made any public reference to this work of Mr. Chatterjee before 1940.

In 1938, while engaged in the collection of data for his doctoral thesis, the writer quite accidentally came across the copy of "Dasi" in which Mr. Chatterjee's article on blind education appeared. The result of the writer's finding was passed on to other workers for the blind, and at present, Mr. Chatterjee's contribution to blind education in India has been fully acknowledged.

It is indeed very gratifying to note that the authorities, staff and students of the All-India Lighthouse for the Blind got an opportunity during Mr. Chatterjee's lifetime to express publicly their sense of deep appreciation for his long-neglected work for the blind. This was done by presenting an address to him at his sick-bed on the 5th September, 1943.

in 1892, and Mr. Chatterjee used to write about topics touching different social service fields. In the second issue of the journal, he contributed an article stressing the need of imparting suitable education to the blind. To this article he appended a complete plan showing how the English Braille could be adapted to Bengali. At this time, there was no school for the blind in Bengal and, so far as is known, there was no one who took any active step to start one. Mr. Chatterjee's adaptation of Bengali Braille did not, therefore, produce any tangible effect just then. Besides, with the extinction of "Dasi" in 1895 and Mr. Chatterjee's departure from Calcutta about that time, the whole idea of blind education in Bengal seems to have been shifted to the background.

The next device of Bengali Braille which is in use at present, is said to have been made by Mr. L. B. Shah some time after 1894. The writer's only source for this information is the Report of the Calcutta Blind School for 1939, page 4. Thus, from the point of view of time, Mr. Chatterjee devised his system at least two or three years before the one evolved by Mr. Shah; and since Mr. Shah's system differs very slightly from that of Mr. Chatterjee, it can be



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THE LATE BABU RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

By KALINATH RAY

AMONG the little band of distinguished Indians who have served their country and humanity during the last half a century with intense and unfailing devotion as well as with conspicuous ability and distinction Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, whose death is being mourned to-day by millions of his grateful and admiring countrymen will always have a pre-eminent and abiding place. And the most remarkable thing about this devoted and life-long service is that it was rendered not in the way in which most other illustrious Indians of Mr. Chatterjee's time and generation served their country and humanity, by taking an active and leading part in public movements or by moving or thundering public orations, but by quiet and unostentatious work in the field of journalism, and particularly of journalism of that most unobtrusive variety, periodical literature. It is true that for some years Mr. Chatterjee had regularly attended sessions of the Congress, and towards the close of his life he had been prominently associated with the Hindu Mahasabha. But he had won his laurels independently of and without any reference to his association with the Congress, and long before he joined the Hindu Mahasabha; and it is safe to assert that in thinking of him and his great services to his country and humanity not even the most ardent Congressman or Hindu Sabhaite ever thinks of his association with those great organisations. Primarily and principally if not solely he was known and admired as the editor of two monthly magazines, one in Bengali, the other in English, both founded by him and raised by him to the pinnacle of glory.

Here, indeed, was his chief distinction as a public man. There have been other cases in which Indians have before now served their country and won enduring fame as journalists, but they were for the most part associated with daily journalism, which necessarily riveted public attention on their work from day to day. The editor of a monthly magazine suffers from the great disability of appearing before the public eye only once in a month. The average reader cares more for topical subjects than for subjects of permanent interest, and most topical subjects naturally become stale by the time that a new number of a magazine makes its appearance.

Another and equally serious disadvantage of a monthly magazine is that the space at its disposal for dealing with matters of current interest is necessarily limited as compared with a daily or even a weekly newspaper. If in spite of these obvious and undeniable drawbacks the two magazines edited by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, the *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review*, won resounding fame and wielded tremendous influence over contemporary life and thought in India it was because he had qualities which distinguished him from most other editors of monthly magazines in this country. It was these qualities that enabled him to impart to the two magazines, almost from the first, the character of public institutions rather than of individual enterprises in the field of periodical literature. That character they retained to the last day of his life.

What are these qualities? The first and most noticeable of these qualities, of course, was Mr. Chatterjee's intense and passionate nationalism. I know of no newspaper or periodical in India which in every single issue bore the unfailing impress of this nationalism in a larger measure or a more unmistakable manner than Mr. Chatterjee's two magazines. In his selection of articles and of contributors an editor has naturally to think of many things, and no one can deny that Mr. Chatterjee had a peculiar knack of choosing the best contributors and articles available to him. But the discriminating reader was sure to find that even in this matter Mr. Chatterjee's guiding principle was his passionate love of country and his intense solicitude for its all-round well-being. This love of country and this solicitude for its well-being literally dominated and were, indeed, the most conspicuous feature of his editorial comments, even as those comments themselves were the dominating and most conspicuous feature of every issue of each of his two journals. In most other magazines editorial comments are regarded more or less as a conventional thing, and are overshadowed by contributed articles. Very different was the case with the *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review*. Here the first thing to which the habitual reader of either magazine was sure to turn was the editorial comments, and he was sure to turn to them not merely for pleasure or

enjoyment, but for inspiration and guidance. And in most cases he was sure to find what he sought. There was hardly any event of public importance, political, social, educational or economic, which had occurred during the preceding month, on which, until age and ill-health had enfeebled him and made it impossible for him to attend to his editorial work personally, the editor did not make his comments, and there was hardly any comment which was merely a repetition of what others had said or which did not bear the stamp of his genius. As time passed, his task in this respect naturally became one of increasing difficulty. The thoughts and ideas that had at one time been confined to a handful of writers and speakers of the first rank, among whom Mr. Chatterjee was one gradually became current coin. Here as elsewhere the paradoxes of one age become in the course of time the truisms and commonplaces of another. It thus came to pass that almost every single utterance of a statesman in an official position or an unofficial social or political leader was examined critically in most Indian newspapers from the point of view of nationalism, long before any monthly magazine could possibly appear with the editor's comments on it. But it is to the lasting credit of Mr. Chatterjee that even this did not deprive his comments entirely of their freshness and of their individual autochthonic quality.

The second noticeable quality of the two magazines, or rather of the editorial comments in them, was a singular combination of strength and self-restraint. The large majority of speakers and writers habitually mistake strong words for strong judgment, and cannot write strongly on any matter on which they feel strongly without losing all control over themselves. Temperamentally as well as by his training and character Mr. Chatterjee was, from first to last, at the farthest possible distance from belonging to this category. He never wrote otherwise than strongly on any subject on which he felt strongly, but his strength was the strength of argument and not of invective. Better than most men he knew that there are few things so essentially weak as strong words, that adjectives are too often the greatest enemy of the substantive. Partly no doubt Mr. Chatterjee, like other writers and speakers of potent stamp belonging to his category, was able to avoid the use of strong words by his style and his manner

of dealing with public questions and events. Unlike so many others, he did not consider himself a "public prosecutor for the universe," whose business is to draw up an indictment against all who differ from him, but a judge whose business is to examine patiently all sides of every matter that comes up for adjudication and having done so to make out a case for one side or the other on the basis of evidence and by means of argument, and then deliver his judgment. It was this analytical and argumentative manner that really distinguished Mr. Chatterjee's treatment of public questions from that of so many others, and made the use of invectives both repugnant and unnecessary to him.

The third noticeable quality of Mr. Chatterjee, and it is the last with which I am concerned in this short review, was his indomitable passion for freedom and for the independence of his country. He was among the first band of public men in India who worked for India's complete freedom, and he used his two powerful magazines for the propagation of the idea of independence. With him, moreover, independence was no mere matter of dream, no remote ideal to be realised in the long porcesses of time and endeavour. It was an immediate political objective which it was the right no less than the duty of his people to try and attain with all conceivable speed and by every legitimate means in their power. Here again Mr. Chatterjee's advocacy was argumentative and not dogmatic. He fully believed with Bal Gangadhar Tilak that Swaraj was India's birth-right, but he was not content with the mere expression of this belief. He built up a tremendously weighty case for the attainment of independence by India by means of an invincible array of facts and arguments based partly on logic and partly on history, a case which no one ever attempted to answer and which to this day remains unanswered. Of course, he did not stand alone in this matter. Others did the same work, and to some, by virtue of their personality or the accident of their position, it has been given to do it far more powerfully and effectively. But he was undoubtedly among the pioneers of the movement, and its life-long and indefatigable prosecutors and champions, and when in the not far-off future India will attain her independence he is sure to be one of those whose names will be written in imperishable letters in the golden pages of its history.—*Tribune*

A GREAT FRIEND OF INDIANS OVERSEAS

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

THE *Hindustan Times* of New Delhi has brought the painful news to me that Shri Ramananda Chatterjee passed away full of years and honours in the evening of September 30 at Calcutta. He arrived here a few years after the great revolution of liberation and departed during another struggle for Indian independence. To that formative period he belonged and to it he made his notable contribution. His death is a great loss to the struggling nation of India. He was one who was held in the highest esteem and respect by all with whom he came in contact both publicly and in his private capacity. He was one of the most distinguished figures in modern literature of India; he had besides his other qualities. It was impossible for me to miss any article signed by him. India has lost one of her most noble sons; the literary men one of their revered leaders and a large circle of acquaintance a friend kind-hearted, true and generous. Brave, sagacious and devoted to his profession, the Indian journalist circle contained no nobler and no abler writer. He was a man whom all would have been delighted to honour, and was beloved both for his amiability and kindness of disposition, and for more brilliant qualities as a patriot, journalist and author. For about forty years he laboured for India and gave her of his best. Those were among the most significant and pregnant years of our modern history when India was passing from one order of things to another—years of growing pains, of the crises and clashes of ideas and actions and the struggle to find our path as a nation to the future.

There have been a few men in our nation who have brought ideas and the life of our time into such a realistic relationship. The gift of doing this was the foundation of Ramananda Babu's influence, which was a good deal deeper and wider than he himself probably ever suspected. He brought to practical affairs a mind and an outlook which went much further than those affairs. He was in the world but not of it, and his background gave colouring to his practical activities which can only come from the inner spirit. Behind the practical man was the scholar and the philosopher who was deeply imbued with the ultimate religious values of life.

I met him many times during the last two decades and found him most sympathetic towards the cause of Indians abroad. Personally, he was a man whose companionship was invariably stimulating and instructive, frequently

fascinating. A bright and spirited curiosity about life was always with him. He was in no way hemmed within the range of his own subject. Charm was his, too, in an unusually high degree. He was a great champion in the cause of Indians overseas and played an admirable part to protect their human rights in the colour-ridden South Africa. It is impossible to produce a catalogue of continuous services rendered by his magazines, *The Modern Review* and the *Vishal Bharat* to Indian settlers domiciled in different parts of the globe, and personally I am indebted to these magazines for their encouragement and assistance towards my humble work in connection with the South African Indian community. Greater India was an ever-lasting passion with Ramananda Babu and the problems of Indian settlers always claimed his special attention. He was a source of inspiration to our late friend Sadhu C. F. Andrews who had rendered signal service to the Indians abroad. Our countrymen overseas have lost one of their faithful friends who gave them hope and comfort from time to time during their hours of trouble and tribulation.

Both as a leader and a journalist he left his mark in the present history of India. His death marks the close of one of the chapters in the history of remarkable men whose lives have been inseparable from the political, cultural and social advancement of this great country. Ramananda Babu was one of those journalists who were not content with the academic and intellectual side of their subject. Journalism meant not nearly enough for him if it did not enter into the affairs of humanity as humanity actually is. His 'human being' was not the abstraction which some of the journalists in that field of knowledge are content to interest themselves in. He sought the application of his ideas among his contemporaries, studying the life and people of his time with a keen, actual mind, taking facts as they were; not theorising about them, but using them as the tests of those ideas.

His work in the field of journalism will live after him, we may be sure, for it was based on very wide knowledge, intense personal sympathy and a constructive view of the many and baffling problems involved. He was the inspirer and guide of many young journalists in that usually depressing field in India, and the example of his courage, his labours and his undaunted hopes for the future will be sorely missed.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE AND THE MODERN REVIEW

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I deem it my sacred duty to pay my homage to the great soul on behalf of Indians overseas in general and the Indian community of South Africa in particular on this occasion of national mourning. An acute consciousness of the grievous loss that his death is, makes very vivid the sympathy of all who knew him with his family. Ramananda Babu held as high as any man the lamp of reason and knowledge, and it burns the more brightly because he lived.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE AND THE MODERN REVIEW

By DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND

APRIL 2, 1936

Is there any man who during the last fifty years has done more for the educational, social, moral and political advancement and uplift of India than Ramananda Chatterjee? If so, I do not know who he is. Mr. Chatterjee has been able to achieve so much partly because of his rare gifts as a thinker, teacher, writer and leader of men, partly because of his unsurpassed and absolutely unselfish devotion to the higher interests of his country, and what is of great importance, because he chose for his calling in life, for the instrument through which to do his work and influence others, the great profession of Journalism.

As all acquainted with him know, his journalistic work has been done through periodicals created by himself, three of them, namely *Dasi*, *Pradip* and *Prabasi*, published in the native languages of India, and the third, (?) namely, *The Modern Review*, published in English. Of the first three I am not able to speak from personal knowledge; others must do that. But of the last-named I have something to say, that seems to me important.

I have been acquainted with *The Modern Review* for thirty years; and, during all this time, I have read it more regularly and with more interest than any other periodicals except two or three of my home papers; and I do not hesitate to say that this unique and able monthly has been a perpetual wonder to me, on account of the breadth and wealth of its contents, covering as it does, and with such intelligence, the wide fields of politics, history, literature, art, education, economics, industries, social reform and religious reform. One might well suppose that it would confine itself to Indian affairs. As a matter of fact, it does give a surprising amount of important Indian information.



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stop with India. While doing all this for its own country, it passes on and takes actually the whole world for its field, and is amazingly rich in information regarding everything of most importance that is going on in all countries.

I speak with care when I say that we do not have in America, nor is there in England, any review or magazine that covers so wide a field, and that does it with such accuracy of scholarship and so interestingly.

For all these reasons, I regard *The Modern Review*, under the conspicuously wise and able editorship of Mr. Chatterjee, as an absolutely invaluable asset to India, and, at the same time, as a messenger from India to the outside world the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated.

[Santa Devi's Collection]

ROMAIN ROLLAND AND RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE ("Letters from the Editor," 1927)

I went to Villeneuve one day with some friends to pay a visit to M. Romain Rolland, the famous French author and intellectual leader, who lives there with his father and sister. Villeneuve is some 56 miles by rail from Geneva and is some two hours' journey. Journey by steamer is more pleasant but takes more time. We had to change at Lausanne. We travelled third class. There were no cushions on the benches. Perhaps that was better, as it is difficult to keep cushions scrupulously clean. The benches were free

distance to reach Villa Olga, where M. Rolland lives. That part of the road which leads immediately to the Villa is shaded by an avenue of trees with broad large leaves growing thick on the branches. M. Rolland and his sister Mmle. Rolland received us very courteously. Romain Rolland is past sixty and has the scholar's stoop. He did not appear to be in the best of health, having just recovered from an attack of influenza. His clear blue eyes beamed with intelligence, and love of man was writ on

his looks. He does not speak English, his sister does. I was very glad to learn that she has some knowledge of Bengali also. I may be permitted to say here that I had the privilege of being known to the Rollands by name through my son-in-law Professor Kalidas Nag, who, while in Europe, helped M. Romain Rolland in writing his book on Mahatma Gandhi. I found the portraits of Kalidas and my daughter Santa on M. Rolland's study table, and expressed pleasure at finding them there. Mmle. Rolland observed with a smile, "The portraits have not been placed there because you have come to see us; they are always there." I had the honour of shaking hands with M. Rolland's venerable father,

who is now past ninety. Considering his great age, the old gentleman appeared remarkably erect and healthy. I told him in English that I considered it a great honour and pleasure to shake hands with him. This was translated into French by his daughter. He, on his part, expressed pleasure at seeing visitors from India.

I was the only person in our party who was entirely ignorant of French. So what M. Rolland said in French was translated into English for me by his sister, and what I said in English was translated by her for her brother into French. For this and other reasons there was no sustained conversation between us. Only a few points that came up may be mentioned here. The question arose as to how far M. Rolland's works were read in India. As only a small number of people in India know French, some of his books are largely read in English translations. The English translation of his

book on Gandhi has gone through several editions. Similarly, his "John Christopher" is largely read in English translation. It was perhaps I who said that it was appearing serially in Bengali also. Mmle. Rolland observed, "Yes, it is appearing in *Kallol*," whereupon some one of our party asked whether she knew Bengali and, if so, how did she learn it. She replied, "Kalidas gave me some lessons." When the conversation turned on Rabindranath Tagore's visit to Italy, we learned some details of the attempt that was

made there to prevent the Poet's meeting with the famous Italian philosopher Croce. Mmle. Rolland showed us photographs of Rabindranath and his party, taken when they were at Villeneuve. We learnt that M. Rolland had read Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's *Srikanta* in an Italian translation, made from the English translation of that novel. The great French author remarked that Sarat Chandra was a novelist of the first order, and enquired how many other novels he had written. I told him the names of some of them. When we were led to speak of Sir J. C. Bose's work, M. Rolland observed that the Indian

scientist had also the imagination of a poet. Thereupon one of our party, Dr. Rajani Kanta Das, if I remember aright, dwelt briefly on the synthetic genius of India. M. Rolland wanted to know whether any Indian had written any work giving a synthetic view of the universe from the Indian point of view. I replied that I did not know that anyone had done so yet. He asked whether there was no one capable of doing so. I mentioned the name of Dr. Brajendranath Seal. Then M. Rolland wanted to know why he had not done it yet. That was a question which Dr. Seal alone could have answered. But I ventured

to suggest that perhaps he was diffident, perhaps according to his ideal of preparation for so great a task he was not yet ready, perhaps he was always learning or thinking out new things, leading him to revise his previous ideas, etc. etc.

I am sorry some inconvenience might have been caused to M. Romain Rolland's venerable father in getting him photographed. All of us, the hosts and the visitors, were also photographed together. Previous to that, Mrs. R. K.



Mon. Romain Rolland and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee

from the least speck of dust or stain. Otherwise, too, there was no inconvenience or trouble involved in travelling third class. It may be added here that there can be no comparison between third class carriages in India and in Europe. Travelling in third class, and some times in intermediate class, carriages in India gives one a foretaste of hell, or at least of purgatory. For this state of things our passengers are no doubt to blame to some extent. But if the railway management provided the public with clean carriages, with plenty of water in the lavatories and insisted on their being kept clean, much improvement could at once be effected. Nowhere in Europe did I see such dirty and dusty third class carriages as in India. The smokers' carriages were no doubt not so clean as the non-smokers.'

After getting down from the railway train at Villeneuve station, we had to walk a little



Standing (from the left): S. C. Guha, Mrs. Rajani K. Das, Dr. Das
Sitting (from the left): Miss Rolland, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee and Mon. Romain Rolland

Das put in order Mmle. Rolland's hair which had been slightly disarranged by the wind. Thereupon M. Romain Rolland complained with a smile, "You have not done my hair," which was done immediately. I add this slight touch just to prevent my readers from drawing an ever frightfully serious-looking mental picture of the great French intellectual.

The Rollands kindly asked me to see them again. I regret I was not able to do so.— ("Letters from the Editor," *The Modern Review* for May, 1927)

GREETINGS TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

In January last year Romain Rolland sent his salutations of love and respect to India through the small group of young writers, who conduct the Bengali magazine *Kallol*. His sentiments found expression in the following words, from the French.

"TO MY FRIENDS OF INDIA—

"Asia and Europe form parts of the same vessel, of which the prow is Europe and the watch-chamber India, the Empress of thought, with eyes innumerable. Glory to thee, mine eyes! Thou art mine and my soul is thine. We are but one and the same being.

ROMAIN ROLLAND"

country for decades. A people are to be judged not by the worst that they have done but by their ideals and aspirations. Hence we take Rolland to be a truer representative of his people than those who recently perpetrated the barbarities at Damascus. We are aware that few of us have realised in our lives the ideals and aspirations of India which have won for her the love and adoration of a master spirit like Rolland. But his words are to us a fresh reminder of what India stands for in the minds of men who belong to all the world. For this reminder and for all that he is and has done, we salute Romain Rolland with love and respect on the occasion of his completing his sixtieth year, when there is to be a celebration of the

A mes amis de l'Inde
L'Europe et l'Asie sont un même vaisseau. L'Europe
en est la proue. Et la chambre de veille est l'Inde, empire de
la pensée aux yeux innombrables. Dans à vous, mes yeux!
Car vous êtes miens. Et mon esprit est vôtre. Nous ne sommes
qu'un seul être.

Romain Rolland

29 janvier 1925

Romain Rolland's sympathies and appreciation know no bounds of race or clime. He belongs, therefore, not only to France, but to India and all the world. He has been able to love and respect even Germany, which has been looked upon by his countrymen as the enemy

event in Switzerland by his friends and admirers. May we not on our part be totally unworthy of that India which the great ones of our country and of the world have seen in their visions.— ("Notes," *The Modern Review* for January, 1926)

TO ROMAIN ROLLAND An Appreciation

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WHILE in America, I had occasions to talk about the rapid and enormous growth of organisations which attain their irresistible efficiency by eliminating the personal man and concentrating the mechanical one in a huge lump of system. I spoke of the spread of callousness and the deadening of the moral sense of responsibility in consequence of the machine representing man in most of his activities. Cruelty and injustice of an appalling kind have to-day been made easily possible, because, they can be done through an organised elemental force which ruthlessly takes a direct path towards the fulfilment of its purpose, trampling down all other considerations. We have seen how church can be blood-thirsty while the religion it represents is humane; how it is possible to cheat on a wholesale scale in the name of business, while the respectability of the sharers of profit remains untouched; how gross falsehoods are deliberately used for poisoning their victims by governments whose members have gentlemanly manners and traditions. When in loyalty to such gigantic institutions men commit terrible wrongs, they feel something like a religious exultation which smothers their conscience. It is the modern form of fetish worship with its numerous rituals of human sacrifice in the shadow of which all other religions have faded into unreality.



Romain Rolland

One of my hearers who was in sympathy with my thoughts asked me how it could be possible to fight these organisations without setting up others in their place. My answer was that my reliance was on those individuals who had made human ideals living in their personality. They may look small and weak by the side of the power they resist, as does a plant by the side of a huge frowning boulder. But the plant

that when anti-human forces spread their dominion, individuals with firm faith in humanity are born, who become acutely conscious of the menace to man and fearlessly fulfil their destiny through insult and isolation. We came to know such a man in England in the person of E. D. Morel who is dead now, but who can never die. When we see them, we know that

the living spark of human spirit is not yet extinct and that there is hope. Human civilizations have their genesis in individuals, and they also have their protectors in them. One of the few proofs that the present day is not utterly barren of them is the life and work of Romain Rolland. And that the present day needs him most is proved by the scourging he has received from it, which is a true recognition of his greatness by his fellow beings.—(*The Modern Review* for January, 1926)

Santiniketan,
October 5, 1925

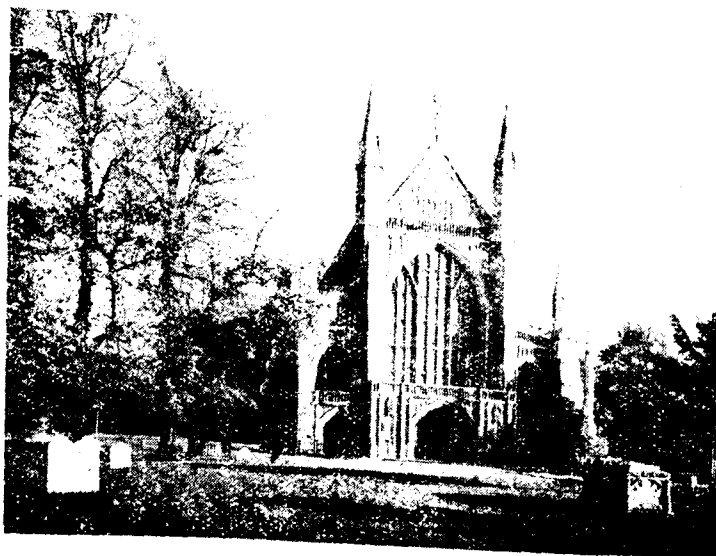
CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND

By NORMAN HILLSON

III

WINCHESTER

THE little English city of Winchester is full of historical buildings with old associations, manifested in nearly every street, but the stranger might have to enquire the whereabouts of the cathedral, for it lies in a hollow, and cannot be seen from the High Street.



Isolated within a walled close, and unimpressive at first sight, Winchester Cathedral is the longest ever constructed (526½ feet 158 metres)

In most cases the local cathedral dominates the surrounding city, but not at Winchester. It stands isolated within a walled close, and can only be approached through a side street, shaded by tall elm trees, which leads to a hole in the massive wall. Even when the church itself is revealed to view, it seems unimpressive, for its single tower barely overtops the surrounding roof, the outline is depressed and a little mono-

tonous, and there is a marked absence of lofty side porches which make the cathedrals of Salisbury and Lincoln such a joy to look at.

MASSIVE GRANDEUR

But that initial disappointment is completely dissipated once the visitor enters the church from the west door, for then the whole scene spreads itself out in massive grandeur, and affords him the spectacle of the most beautiful cathedral nave that was ever built. This is also the longest church ever constructed in medieval times, for its internal length measures 526½ feet.

The present building dates from 1070, one of the great ages of church-building in England. The visitor can see the original Romanesque work in the North Transept. It was built on a colossal scale and those sections which remain intact give an idea of how awe-inspiring and deeply religious the first church must have been.

OLD TREASURES

There are many old treasures to be seen in the great church. Winchester possesses a beautifully carved feretory, or reliquary of the saints. Below is the original entrance to the crypt, a narrow door called the "Holly Hole." It is appropriately inscribed:

"Corpora sanctorum sent hic in pace sepulta
Ex meritis quorum fulgent miracula multa."

In other days this lovely crypt was often flooded, for the level of the river has risen since the days of the foundation, and floods were

frequent until repairs were effected some years ago. It was found that the water had penetrated the base to such an extent that a miniature lake had been formed, and the work of underpinning had to be undertaken by diverse!

OXFORD

Most of these cathedrals are vast, but Oxford's Cathedral is one of the smallest in Britain. There has been a religious house on the site since the eighth century, when the church of St. Frideswide was occupied by a community of secular canons. You can still see traces of their chapel.

For centuries the site was given over to monastic worship, first under the Benedictine and then under the Augustinian rule. The monastery, although small, was not without adequate revenues, and it occupied an enviable position in the centuries when the University of Oxford was being formed in the adjacent town. The benevolent Lady Montacute gave to the monks the priceless treasure of half Christ Church Meadows.

CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE

When Cardinal Wolsey decided to build his Cardinal College on the slope of the hill above what we now call Foley Bridge, on the street called St. Aldates, he laid out an ambitious quadrangle which was to take the form of a cloister. The scheme was never finished, but the all-powerful Cardinal, in order to begin the work, calmly ordered that two bays of the monastic nave should be taken down, because they were in the way. One of them has never been replaced.

The college is now called Christ Church, and its fame is world-wide. After the fall of Wolsey, King Henry VIII, in 1542, raised the diminutive abbey church to the dignity of a cathedral. Such it has remained to this day, and it also serves as the chapel for the fellows and students of Christ Church, who have their own stalls set in such a position that the interior has an appearance not to be found in any of the other diocesan churches.

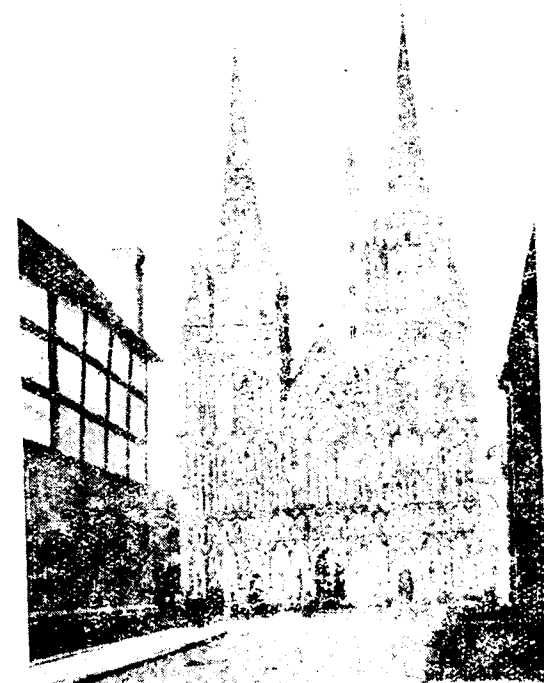
LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL

The great cathedral church of Lichfield, with its noble spires, stands in the heart of the county of Staffordshire in the North Midlands. The origin of the city itself is obscure, but there is a stone in the west door of the church which states that it was founded by Oswy, King of Northumberland, in 670 on the 15th day of February.

Under the rule of Oswy, a redoubtable warrior and a convert to the Christian faith, Christianity spread rapidly throughout the

district, and Lichfield, became increasingly important.

It was not, however, until the coming of St. Chad that the cathedral began to take shape. This venerable saint lived in pious seclusion in a college now marked by a fountain of water called St. Chad's Well. When he died, a Saxon cathedral was erected to his memory. No trace



The three spires of Lichfield Cathedral are locally known as the "Ladies of the Vale." The church is particularly noted for its stained glass

remains of this ancient building, for it was completely demolished in 1128-1148 to make way for a Norman church. This in turn disappeared, so that only the foundations remain, but on the site there now stands the three-spired building which was completed in 1375.

It is the existence of the three spires which gives Lichfield such a distinctive appearance. Locally they are affectionately called the "Ladies of the Vale."

Although the church is not so vast as York, Canterbury, or Winchester, its very loftiness in the nave and choir give it a grand appearance. Again, the lights, in spite of much spoliation at the time of the civil wars of the seventeenth century, are extremely beautiful, and have been constantly added to, notably in the Lady Chapel, where the glass was brought from the dissolved abbey of Herckenrode, near Liege in Belgium, and which dates from the sixteenth century.

THE LIVERPOOL CATHEDRAL

By JOHN STEEGMAN

On a hill overlooking the great seaport of Liverpool, a new Cathedral is rising. Its erection has continued through three Kings' reigns, two world wars, and through most of the life-time of its architect, Sir Giles Gilbert Scott.

LIVERPOOL is one of the great cities of the world. With nearly one million inhabitants, it is bigger than Istanbul, smaller than Cairo, and about the same size as Madrid, Marseilles or Baltimore.



Liverpool Cathedral is two-thirds finished—only the nave and upper portion of the central tower remaining incomplete

In appearance and in temperament (for surely cities have just as much temperament as *prime-donne* or race-horses!) Liverpool is commercial, tough and jealous of its reputation as a northern metropolis.

Liverpool is not a very ancient city. Its name, as a town, first occurs in the year 1191. For six hundred years it remained a small but important borough, one of the main ports for trade first with Ireland, then with the West Indies, and, later still, with the British Colonies in America. The American trade grew and grew, and towards the end of the 18th century Liverpool began to show signs of developing into what it is now. In the 12th century it was a small parish; in the 13th century a small town; in the 17th century an important town; and by

the end of the 18th century it had become one of the main ports of England.

During the 19th century, when England was growing steadily in influence and power, and progressing ahead of other peoples in civic consciousness, Liverpool increased enormously in population and commercial importance and also in civic amenities. There followed, one upon another, in succession, hospitals, libraries, museums, scientific institutions, a very fine Art Gallery and a University, now one of the most important in England after Cambridge and Oxford.

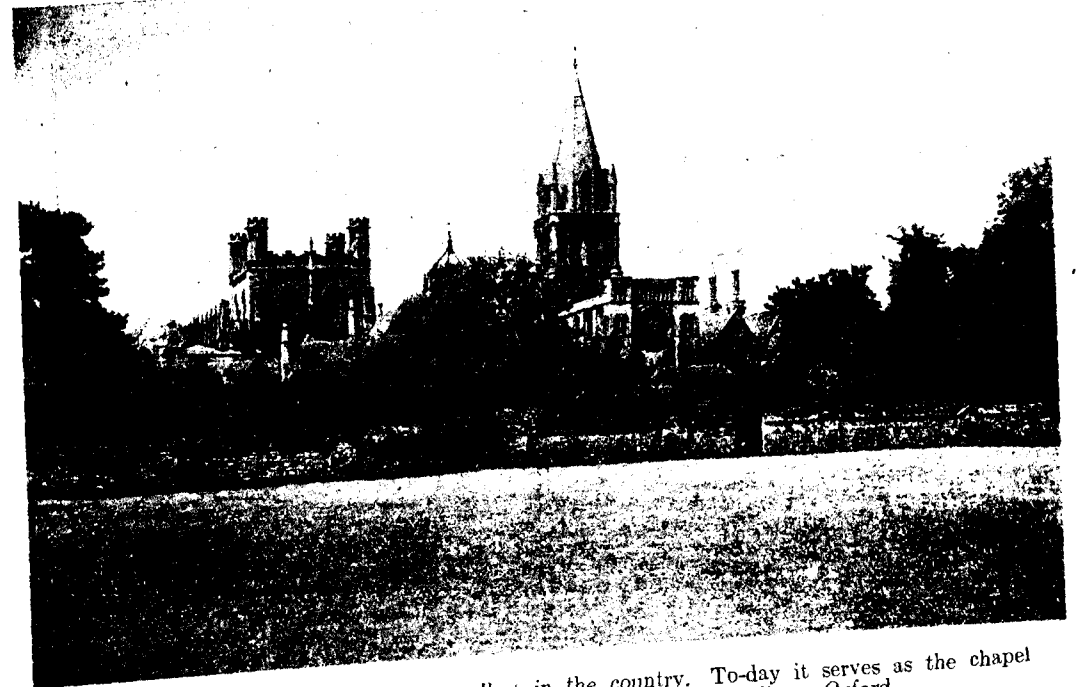
In the year 1880 the borough of Liverpool was officially termed a city and was also made the see of a diocese, with a Bishop. Yet, it had



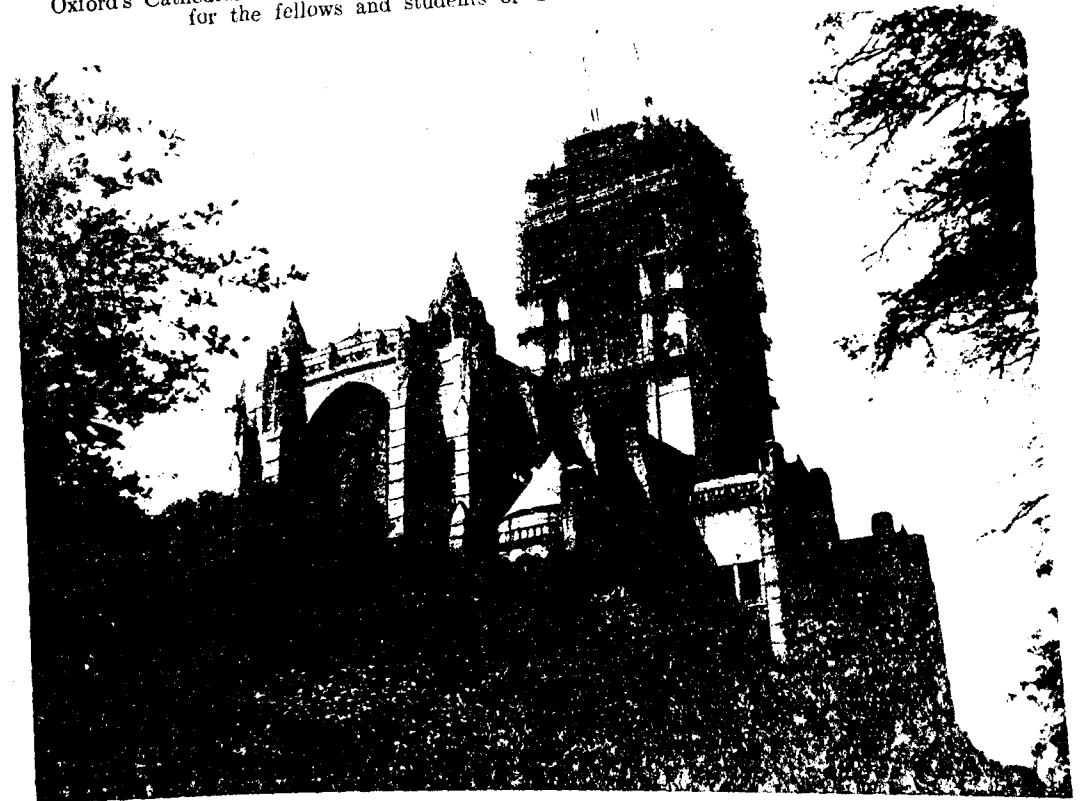
Sir Giles Scott appears in this photograph (on the right) with the Honorary Treasurer of the Cathedral Building Committee

no cathedral. To build a Cathedral worthy of so great a city, on a site, that should still be eminent in centuries to come, was a matter not to be hurriedly embarked. But at last decision was taken.

A site on rising ground overlooking the whole city was chosen, and designs were invited.



Oxford's Cathedral is one of the smallest in the country. To-day it serves as the chapel for the fellows and students of Christ Church College, Oxford



The new Cathedral at Liverpool when completed will be the biggest in England. The erection has continued through three Kings' reigns and two world wars



Truth is dead



Nobody could help them

The design chosen was that submitted by a young man of 21. That young man is now Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, one of the most distinguished living architects. He is now aged 62.

It is 40 years since he was chosen to build the greatest of modern English Cathedrals. In 1903 work was begun on clearing the site; in 1904, King Edward VII formally laid the foundation stone and the foundations were completed by 1906. The work has gone on ever since, with no interruption through two world-wars and a world-depression, and is now about two-thirds completed.

When finished it will be immense, with an interior height of more than 99 feet and length of about 622 feet. It will be higher than Westminster Abbey, and longer than Winchester Cathedral, which until now have been respectively the highest and longest churches in England. It will consist of a Lady Chapel, Chapter House, Choir, four transepts (not the more usual two), a great central space under the Tower, the Nave, and the Tower itself. At present everything is completed but the Nave and the extreme upper portion of the Tower. The Lady Chapel, the Choir, the Transepts and the great space under the Tower are finished, adorned and in daily use. Work on finishing the Tower continues, and when this is completed work will begin on the Nave. It took 16 years to complete the transepts and the central space, (which is about the same size as the central space under the Dome of St. Peter's at Rome) and it was opened in April 1941.

But what is the use of measurements and

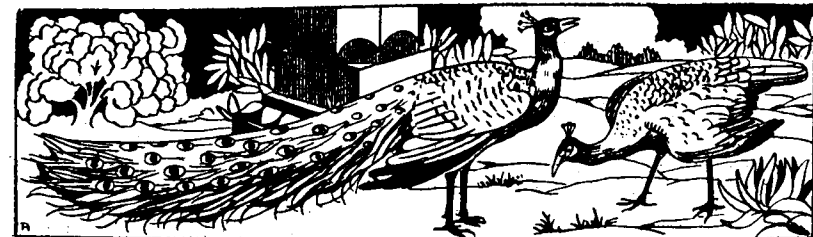
comparative sizes? What does it matter if Liverpool Cathedral is bigger or smaller than Westminster or Winchester? The important things are that this is a very beautiful work by any standard, and a very significant achievement to-day.



The choir boys of Liverpool Cathedral are seen rehearsing in the crypt

The beauty of this great Cathedral derives partly from the soaring vertical lines, partly from the harmony of the sweeping arches, whose curves contrast with one another and with the verticals, and partly from the sense of space. The architect has used spaces as though they were objects themselves.

What is the significance of this achievement? Here is a work which has grown for forty years, as a 20th century proclamation of Britain's faith; a superb witness to the present and future strength of that faith which Britain is to-day maintaining in arms.



"I SAW THIS"—

By AJIT MOOKERJEE, M.A. (Lond.), F.R.A.I. (Lond.)

It is only natural, says an art-critic, that to Goya should fall the distinction of representing Spanish thought during the drama of the French invasion which brought fire and destruction to the Peninsula between 1808 and 1814. He was sixty-two years old when this drama began. For



What is all that noise about?

nearly a third of a century he had been the official painter to the Spanish Court. He had already painted the portraits—startling, grotesque, satirical, adorable and vengeful—of that family of degenerates, of prostitutes and monsters, which ruled over Spain at that time. The intellectuals were dismayed, reaction and bigotry again raised their heads in the hope of a new lease of life for a system which had seemed doomed only yesterday. Goya "saw this," he often wrote in the margin—and which he used as models for his etchings on metal.

Goya was a spontaneous man, enamoured of the street and its life. His pictures were nourished with truth, which strongly contrasted with the convention and academical rules in use at that time. This same independence characteristic of his paintings can be noticed invariably in the character of Goya throughout his long life. This same independence leads him in the course of events, to profess liberal ideas and paint the most cruel of the satirical pictures an artist ever painted.

His subjects are those of the streets: the

populace, the mendicants and handicraftsmen, children and workmen, fresh and lively lasses, amusements, festivals, reunions, popular scenes, the gaiety and sorrow of every day life.

Goya paints with his own technique, describes with his own language. He feels what he paints. His maturity finds at the crucial moment the orientation of the mind. Out of this admirable conjunction, come the "Caprichoes," the dramatic drawings.

In these productions, he attacks, despoils, satirizes all the vices of an incult and decaying society, which lack of moral will attract the approaching disasters. He criticises the vices of the aristocracy, the hypocrisy of the ambient society, its religious fanaticism. All that is corrupt and stationary fell under his corrosive scalpel.

To him, the world is a dissection table where he cuts, disarticulates, is always in search of the entrails which are the cause of the evil.

In such work he always puts the best of his feelings. Monsters, prejudices, superstitions, weaknesses, everything is treated by him with irresistible jeer.

The "Caprichoes" are composed of "80 sheets engraved with nitric acid by my own hand," he writes in a letter to Cayetano Soler.

"A child's dead body, a soldier's trousers, the vomiting of a wounded man on the point of falling, or the livid belly of an assassin's victim, the shining blade of a sword and the blood-stained place of a mutilated sexual member, the shirt of a hanged man and his matted hair, all these suffice to emphasize the contrast in which there constantly appears the process so dear to all Spanish artists, which Goya, especially in his etchings, uses incessantly without ever fatiguing us, because it is life seized in its flight, the evidence of the extraordinary power possessed by all Spanish artists, and by him most of all: to give a brilliant impression of not knowing—and they do not know, therein lies their strength—where mind begins and where matter ends; whether it is the gleam of intelligence

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which darkens this glance, or the shadow of the eyelid which gives the illusion of the gleam, whether it is the furtive vision of a beautiful leg encased in a silk stocking which awakens our desire, even in a scene of carnage, or whether

skeletons dragged themselves along the roads and streets, stretching out their hands to the well-clad, wealthy passers-by who ignored them. "Shooting is no good," "Nobody could help them," such remarks and this appeal to the well-

to-do beings who are passing by a group of starving people: "Do they belong to the other race?"—are in strange contrast. He compares them from above and weighs them with his powerful hands. And Goya saw this.

The cup of human misery is emptied to its dregs. While the 'follies and extravagances' of private life are the underlying theme of the first part of the Caprichoes, the concluding part castigates the 'frauds and prejudices' of public life. But neither of these two spheres can be rigidly separated from each other. Superstition, class prejudice affect the private lives of the people, just as the private passions of their masters corrupt public affairs.

Worse than all the other



The worst is begging

it is desire itself which demands the interval of smooth flesh between the garter and the raised dress. Mystery of secret movement which unites the soul to the form. What would anger be, or lust, what would justice be, or mind itself, if we were unable to seize, or hope to seize, this shadow which vanishes after dashing to the ground the skull of a little child, this flesh which seems to offer itself to us but which its revolt denies us, this piece of bread which is tendered us but which our pride rejects, this pile of corpses which the murderers leave on the pavement before disappearing, this fairy land of shadows and clarities which our emotion reveals? What even is God, if the thinking world is not a reality? That is Goya and Goya is Spain."

The most moving of his captions which is already mentioned is: "I saw this." The famine of 1811 made the war even more frightful; women and children reduced to mere

evils which haunt the artist's nightmare are superstition and its exploitation by a sycophantic rabble.

An artist so profoundly in tune with the



For the common gravel

moods and aspirations of his people could not help transposing those topical snatches of doggerel, which provided the texts for the haunting songs and dances of Spain, into his own medium. And it is precisely the quality of vivid topicality, that forceful imagery so truly reflecting the mood of the people, which the Capricheos share with the folk-songs of their time.

Out of the spontaneous observation of an actual event, surpassing the wildest fantasy in its dramatic appeal, and inspired by its profound social feeling, Goya created a new

style. All the confidence and joy, the unshakable certainty of a better future which inspired the old master, is expressed in this fervent portrayal of Spain, uncouth and barbarous, but triumphant in its irrepressible vitality. These pictures are the true gallery of men and women who made the history of his time.

To-day Bengal is also passing through such appalling distress and suffering. But where is our artist? He is still copying and re-copying the mythological subjects, although the old India has vanished, never to return.

THE LATE RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Tributes from the Press

[Large numbers of obituary notices in different newspapers and periodicals all over India, mourning the death of the Founder-Editor of *The Modern Review*, have been received in our office. Extracts from some of them are reproduced below.—Ed., M. R.]

The death of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the well-known Editor of *The Modern Review* and the *Prabasi*, is an irreparable loss to Indian journalism and Indian nationalism. For nearly four decades these two periodicals have preached the gospel of Indian freedom and renaissance without fear or favour. *The Modern Review* has long been recognised as the leading Indian magazine in English and has done much to encourage research in Indian history and culture. It also published many works of Rabindranath Tagore. Mr. Chatterjee was not merely a journalist, he was an ardent social and religious reformer. On his eightieth birthday in May last he was felicitated by his numerous friends and admirers all over the country. They will doubtless deeply mourn his loss, but his memory will always be an inspiration to Indians, young and old, and particularly to journalists.—*Bombay Chronicle*.

BOMBAY, Tuesday.

At a joint meeting of the Journalists' Association of India and the Provincial Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, glowing tributes were paid to the memory of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, late Editor of *The Modern Review*, and a condolence resolution touching his death was passed. The resolution was moved by Mr. B. G. Horniman, who presided over the meeting.

Mr. Horniman said that Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee's name stood out prominently as the greatest figure Indian journalism had produced.

By his character, outstanding ability, and superlative service, not only to the cause of journalism, but that of Indian freedom as well, he had for 35 years been an inspiration to his countrymen.

After retiring from a notable career in Education, he had taken up journalism and leapt into fame not only in India, but even in the international world. "I have spent a life time in journalism. But, I bow down before him, for he has surpassed us all in a particular type of journalism," he said.—*Bombay Chronicle*, 14-10-1943.

Ramananda Chatterjee was a man of multifarious activities. He had an integrated view of life and knew that freedom in the political field could not be divorced from that in the social sphere. He was one of the

leaders of the social reform movement and the emancipation of Indians from the thrall of caste was dear to him. He was a staunch champion of the rights of women and in days when India's links with the outside world were few he provided in India's leading monthly of which he was the editor, a forum for connecting India with the cultural life of Europe and America. For *The Modern Review* of which he was the life and soul, attracted as contributors not only Indians but also Englishmen and Americans of note and distinction. J. C. Bose and Jadunath Sarkar, Tagore and Andrews wrote frequently. His knowledge of public affairs was almost encyclopaedic in its range and character and the editorial notes for which he used to be responsible in *The Modern Review* were marked by vigour of expression, cogency of thought and accuracy of information. His paper *Prabasi* has made permanent contributions to Bengali literature. The high quality which has been consistently maintained by *The Modern Review* was in itself no mean achievement. Fully alive to the importance of Hindi as a language of all-India importance, he added in later years to his publications a well-conducted Hindi magazine, the *Vishal Bharat*.

In private life Babu Ramananda Chatterjee was a man of the highest honour. The cause of temperance had a warm champion in him. He was a well-known authority on Indian art as the 18 volumes of his picture albums can testify. There was no righteous cause which did not appeal to him. Of the chief editor of this paper, the late Sir C. Y. Chintamani, he was a close personal friend and there was no one in the journalistic world of this country for whom Chintamani had a higher regard than Babu Ramananda Chatterjee. Not only Bengal but the whole of this country is poorer by the death of this doyen among Indian journalists. He has left behind him a memory of a life usefully spent in the service of high ideals.—*Leader*.

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee who has died in Calcutta at the age of 79, was a great Bengali, and more. His long generation he served finely as scholar, teacher, writer, journalist, politician, publisher, editor, commentator. His fame brought him invitations to visit other countries. His wisdom was studied far beyond India. He was more than his achievements. He was

always Ramananda. In the first half of his life he was prominent and influential as an educationist, both by his teaching and by the influence of his personality on young people. Of those earlier years he gave ten to the U. P. as a college principal at Allahabad. In the second half he came to the front as writer, commentator, speaker, editor. *The Modern Review* represents only a part of his abiding interests though some who have not known Bengal may have associated him chiefly with that periodical which has been a great institution. Journalists have been proud to think of him as a leader of their calling, and it is not long since Calcutta's journalists gathering at his bedside gave him proof of their admiration.—*Statesman*.

His devotion, his exertion, his business acumen are all matters of emulation. And no less so of course are his sterling moral worth and the sturdy independence of his character. Indeed, it is these latter qualities that more than anything else ensured his success and made him respected and revered throughout the length and breadth of the country. As a journalist, he never mined matters, never sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. It can well be said of him that he was as harsh as truth. Yet it is true of him that in the discharge of his duty and responsibility, not always pleasant, he was as gentle as the gentlest of beings. On questions of public importance and national well-being it lay on him to tell the whole truth and the hard truth. He fulfilled this duty to the last of his days; yet he did it all through his life in a way that never smacked of malice or grudge. His honesty was transparent, his straightforwardness unquestioned, and the tongue of calumny never had the opportunity to impute evil motive to him or accuse him even of lack of generosity. Those who agreed with him and those who differed from him have alike admitted his immense moral calibre, and on this solid foundation rests and will rest his fame of which Bengal is justly proud. Bengal owes a deep debt of gratitude to him. His unostentatious life, lived for the country, was an example to all. It was indeed a remarkable life remarkably lived.—*Hindustan Standard*.

Mr. Chatterjee made his mark as an educationist in Allahabad before he settled down in Calcutta to the career of a journalist. *The Modern Review* and its sister Bengali magazine, the *Prabasi*, have come to be regarded as the most prominent Indian journals in the field of art and literature. On a recent occasion, Mr. Chatterjee described how he came to publish the writings of the Poet Tagore. All through his life, Tagore's writings were a regular feature of *The Modern Review*. In his Editorial Notes, Mr. Chatterjee steadily maintained accuracy and balance. He was seldom provoked to violent language. A Brahmo Samajist of long standing, Mr. Chatterjee was instrumental in bridging the gulf between Hinduism and the Samaj which had at one time threatened to leave the reformed Church high and dry. Mr. Chatterjee was a prominent member of the Hindu Mahasabha and its President in one session. He could not have been much in sympathy with Mr. V. D. Savarkar's tirades against the Indian National Congress. Mr. Chatterjee was a staunch supporter of the Congress. By his death India loses one who has been a force making for unity and goodwill among all communities and castes.—*Indian Social Reformer*.

Distressed Bengal, last week, presented another tragedy for all India to lament over. Shri Ramananda Chatterjee, the doyen among Indian journalists, the veteran educationist and social reformer, is no more.

For over fifty years he occupied a no mean place in Indian public life. Nationalist to the core, he has always been in the struggle for Indian freedom in his own way. His zeal for it did not decline with age; nor did his fervour wane in the years of increasing storm and stress.

Among his multifarious activities, social and political, his editorship of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* did most to mark him out to the outside world as the unflinching friend of all progressive causes. Well-known contributors not only in India but also from America and England were attracted to that well-known English monthly, and found in it a forum for, and link between the East and West. Shri Ramananda Chatterjee's monthly has thus grown to be an institution respected by educated India.

As much against the iniquities of caste as against the other weaknesses of Hindu society that worked to the detriment of the community and the Nation, he worked hard to the last moment of his life. Of Akhand Hindustan he has been an unfailing advocate. No amount of sophistry, neither the growing strength of disruptionist mania nor the increasing scale of subservience to it, could deter him in his devotion to the Motherland free and united. Against the greatest of difficulties his fight was the keenest.

Another star has fallen from the horizon of Indian public life. It is the unfortunate lot of India that the noblest of her sons should fall away one by one, mostly frustrated in their life-long efforts, their great hopes of a free and progressive motherland still unfulfilled. Yet their memory shall abide with us who are left to strive for the goal they longed for and worked for.—*Social Welfare*.

The most colourful and venerable personality in the *Mahabharata*, our great epic, was Bhishma, the Grand Old Man and the hero among heroes, about whom it was said that he had the choice of the hour of his death. The great journalist who has just passed away and who had many things in common with that epic figure had just seen the last of the almost never-ending leave-takings by his admirers. He has chosen his hour and has passed away silently when there was little suspicion that the end was so near. He was the Nestor of Indian Journalism and we loved him and venerated him almost in the same way as the *Kurus* did the old warrior, their beloved grandfather. Shri Ramananda Chatterjee was the acknowledged leader of Indian publicists, and many were the ties that bound us to him. We had the privilege of his personal guidance and his charming companionship. The personal traits of his character endeared him to all of us and today the sense of a personal loss makes us unfit to do anything like justice to his memory. His biographer will find ample materials in his rich life for a contemporary history of India to the moulding of which he had a great though unobtrusive hand.

By nature of a retiring disposition and modest to a degree he had made himself the master of his own self by rigid self-discipline. He had a passionate love for his country and few men felt for the motherland in bondage as keenly as he did. Yet his writings were always sober, almost dispassionate and he relied more on intellectual than sentimental appeal. He always resisted the temptation of hitting even the enemy of the country below the belt. He knew that knowledge was power and like Mazzini of Italy, he devoted the fifty years of his public life to educating his countrymen as to their rights and responsibilities. Perhaps no other two journals in all India could show a collection of

writings so informed and at the same time vigorous, espousing the cause of India's freedom as the *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review*, edited by S. J. Ramananda Chatterjee. It is impossible to exaggerate the service that these journals have rendered to awaken political consciousness among our countrymen and evoke the interest of the world beyond India in India's case for freedom. His own writings remarkable for their mastery over facts and figures and their invincible logic would run into volumes. Yet he did not permit one unkind word or one statement that could not be supported by unassailable facts to get the better of his judgment. This composure of his mind was a marvel to us and did much to earn for him and for the paper he edited world-wide renown. Great writers and thinkers all over the world enriched the journalistic literature of his periodicals by their contributions. Many of them had not seen him, but recognised through his writings and his editorial selections the greatness of his mind as a store-house of knowledge and as the embodiment of fairness and of culture.—*Amita Bazar Patrika*.

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi*, has died full of years and honours. For nearly forty years he filled a big place in periodical journalism in this country. In his hands *The Modern Review* has been a powerful factor in political and cultural education. As editor of the *Prabasi* Mr. Chatterjee played his part as one of the leaders of the Bengali renaissance. The influence of such journals was bound to be lasting and widely felt, because Mr. Chatterjee's interests were varied. The interests of overseas Indians always engaged his attention. Greater India was an abiding passion with him. The minutest aspects of culture claimed his patronage, and publicity in his hands meant power. Not the least important among the services he rendered was the friendly interest he took in Rabindranath Tagore's early renderings into English from his original Bengali, thus helping the West to gain a full appreciation of the Poet's genius. A stout-hearted nationalist, Mr. Chatterjee's comments on current affairs were always vigorous, trenchant and fearless. The conviction he courted for publishing J. T. Sunderland's *India in Bondage* was proof of rare courage. The record of his long and varied services will be an unfailing inspiration to his countrymen—in particular, to those who have the pride of belonging to his profession.—*Hindustan Times*, New Delhi.

In the death of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, Bengal has lost a venerable old man and India the doyen of journalism. Though not much of a dynamic force within recent years, Ramananda Babu did exercise

powerful influence on the public mind through his great periodicals—*The Modern Review* (English), *Prabasi* (Bengali) and *Vishal Bharat* (Hindi)—the 'Three Musketeers.' Both by training and temperament, he belonged to a generation fast vanishing and a tradition nearly extinct. With him journalism was a mission: it was means to an end—the end being national regeneration. Under the influence of the old giants of the Brahmo Samaj he took to public life with a missionary fervour. He also came under the influence of the great W. T. Stead—and imbibed something of the spirit of a crusader. For cultural renaissance in Bengal—particularly art and letters—he strove with a zeal which had no parallel. But for the media he explored, the rich treasures of Bengali intellect would not have been half as familiar to the world as they were. He was, in a sense, the torch-bearer. With his death, coming not long after that of Tagore and Andrews, the Three Grey Beards that typified the spirit of Santiniketan, are beyond mortal ken. A grateful nation will cherish their memory, and Ramananda Babu will live as long as his journals will greet their innumerable readers, in lands, far and near.—*The Twentieth Century*.

It is with profound sorrow that we learn, as the final proofs of this issue are passing through the Press, of the death at Calcutta of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, the veteran journalist, in his 79th year. India and Indian journalism have sustained a heavy and irreparable loss. Ramananda Babu took to the editorship of *Prabasi* in Bengali and *The Modern Review* in English as a mission in life thirty-six years ago. He gave up his Principalship of the Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad, to devote himself fully to this task. His contribution, through journalism, to the cause of Indian progress during these momentous years has been invaluable. The introduction of art and artists to public notice, the ushering of Tagore, large portions of whose writings were published in the *Review*, to the outside world, scholarly contributions on manifold aspects of Indian Culture, past and present, and the able discussion of contemporary Indian problems, social, economic and political, are among the achievements to the credit of this foremost of Indian Monthlies in English. Its pages have been a treasure-house of information to the Indian student and to outsiders interested in India. The copious editorial notes that Ramananda Babu himself wrote, brief, telling, well-documented, outspoken and independent often marked by mild sarcasm and dry humour will long be missed. We pay our respectful homage to the memory of a most successful and illustrious journalist and nation-builder, and offer our condolences to the members of the bereaved family.—*The Triveni Quarterly*.

WHY HITLER WENT TO WAR WITH RUSSIA

By P. RAI

POLITICIANS and historians will long continue to debate why Hitler went to war with Russia. Was it his desire to show the world that he could succeed where Napoleon had failed, that none greater than he was ever born on this earth? And why of all days in the year he chose June

22nd—the same day on which Napoleon launched his offensive against Russia!

It is difficult to arrive at the truth. It may be that before he closes his eyes Hitler may write his memoirs and therein the explanation of it be found. We can only draw conclusions

WHY HITLER WENT TO WAR WITH RUSSIA?

from his speeches and actions. He has admitted that the decision of this momentous step cost him much thought and anxiety.

Of late the world was being divided into two groups, the Nazi or Fascist and the Communist. As the philosophy of living of these two schools is diametrically opposed the conflict between them was inevitable.

Hitler took the world by surprise when he entered into treaty with Russia—a diplomatic triumph indeed.

But luckily for democracies of the world this entente was short-lived. Russia in a short while obtained concessions from Finland and conquered Bessarabia, North Bukovina, Lithuania and Latvia. Hitler watched closely these movements of the Bear and not without much concern. Russian armaments and its methods of warfare did not impress him much. And the conviction that the Russian Army had been much hamstrung by the purge of 1937 gained more strength with him. The Purge he believed had caused much disaffection in Russia's ranks and were there no Quislings in Russia? He hoped to be in Moscow before the autumn leaves were falling. His opportune moment had come. His armies enriched by the booty he had seized were spoiling for battle. The Nazi multitudes reinforced by the Finns on the North, the Hungarians in the centre, and the Rumanians in the South, deemed themselves invincible and not without reason. Holland had fallen, Belgium had surrendered, France had capitulated. In Norway and Greece as well as in France, England had been swept into the sea. And even in Crete, an island fortress far removed from German air bases, and long prepared by England against attack, the German troops landing against heavy odds from the air, had swept the British Forces once more into the sea and enriched themselves by an all important air base from which they could endanger the Suez Canal. Furthermore, the German armies by a dashing and victorious sweep in face of the British planes and warships had cancelled the British Victory over the Italians on the North African Coast and stood now at Sollum on the frontiers of Egypt itself.

One country alone, should England be despatched, stood between Hitler and his dream

of world domination. That was Soviet Russia. With Russia defeated, the coal, iron and corn of the Ukraine and still more important the oil of Baku would relieve Germany from all anxiety concerning supplies. At her leisure she could starve, bomb or invade England into submission. The temptation was alluring and Hitler fell to it. Defeating Russia he was killing two birds with one stone.

And who knew England might herself decide to join him. Bolshevism was a menace to both civilisations, German and English alike. And Hitler knew that powerful forces in England and the U. S. A. dreaded communism more than they dreaded him. He calculated upon England's Laval and Petains to aid him. Could there be a greater disillusionment?

But Russia was an ally. True, but a false ally. Had she not sent a note to Bulgaria without consulting Berlin and was she not carrying on flirtations with Turkey?

This was the moment to break and Hitler can break a treaty as easily as he enters into it. It is his object to conquer the world bit by bit. Treaties and promises hold value for him, so long as they serve his purpose. Beyond it they have no meaning.

Besides, Hitler has always felt that Germans have a mission in this world. German culture he feels is the best and therefore the whole of the world should accept it. Frederick and Kaiser also believed that the Germans were the most superior race in the world. "Hitler," says Mr. Knicker Bocker, "is the manifestation of the unconscious will of the nation." Hitler holds the unconscious will of the nation that there must be only one Power in Europe. This ferocity of his goes back to Frederick the Great and his doctrine of the "unjustified existence of the weak." The writings of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer have given the stamp of religious sanction to this belief. "The German army is the German people." The whole nation has repeated that for generations. It is the German army and therefore the German people that is now at traditional butchery all over Europe. There is no escape from that; indeed the German people themselves have always repudiated escape, for conquest was and is their dream.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE armies of the Soviets have continued the drive against the Axis forces. So far the Nazi High Command has not been able to make a stand on any of its so-called defence lines. In Italy the position is somewhat different. There the Axis is fighting a delaying action battle, hoping thereby to give Mussolini a chance to rebuild the totally collapsed Italian morale. As the campaigning season in Europe is coming to a close, there does not seem to be much of a chance of a major assault being made on the fortress of Europe by the Allies in the near future. Major relief for the Russian forces, who are as yet shouldering the main brunt of fighting in Europe, may therefore be postponed for the time being. But for the present at least the Russian armies seem to be well able to maintain all the pressure necessary though the pace seems to have slackened somewhat.

The Axis positions on the Russian front have been further withdrawn in an attempt to establish a winter line where the defence will have a counter-balancing advantage over the assaulting forces in the matter of communications and supply arrangements. The Russian advance will naturally meet increasing difficulties of transport over areas systematically devastated by the retreating invader. Indeed one of the reasons that have prevented an assault in mass over a large front must have been this large-scale destruction of communications. The German attempt throughout this "strategic defence" withdrawal has been to impose an increasingly heavy handicap on the Russian forces as they advance further and further away from their established supply lines based on the Volga and the railways connecting the Moscow area with the Volga basin. This base line of direction of operations in its turn draws its supplies from the Urals, the Far Eastern armament production centres and the Allied lease-lend supply depots at the Caspian and Arctic ports. The supply arrangements between the production and import centres have been perfected by a miracle of organisation by the Soviets much to the dismay of the Axis High Command. Indeed the Senators' report to the U. S. A. Congress conveys a plain impression that the Soviets are now depending mainly on their own production and supply arrangements. But now the problem of taking

the supplies to the battle-line is becoming more complicated with the retreat of the Germans.

By now the Soviets forces have advanced to an average depth of about 350 miles all along the line of German withdrawal. In some places the advance has been over 500 miles and more. It must not be forgotten that this German retreat has been so far in the nature of an orderly withdrawal which means systematic destruction of all bases of supply and of all bridges, roads, railways and air-ports. This in its turn means that while the German lines of supply have been shortened that of the Soviets has had perforce to be extended over a broad belt of morassy terrain with all its communication lines and possible bases reduced to a mass of destruction. This probably is the main factor that has prevented a rapid deterioration of the Axis position in Russia, accompanied by mass capture of Axis fighting forces and materials.

Winter is now only a matter of days on the Russian battle-line, and with the coming of the winter will come the test of the "strategy" of the Axis High Command. If they are successful, then the Russian winter campaign of 1943-44 will be a minor-scale affair, if not, then the doom of the Axis forces on the Russian front will draw near rapidly.

In the Far East and the Pacific, the tempo of the Allied counter-offensive remains more or less the same, but the significant fact remains that Japan does not seem to be able to initiate any considerable counter measures. The initiative is passing, more and more into the hands of General MacArthur's forces. Japan is either expecting and preparing for meeting a large-scale offensive elsewhere, or else her armament production as yet has not attained either the quality or the mass—or both—that would enable her to meet the Allied challenge. It is quite certain that Japan as yet has not experienced any shortage of combatant forces.

On the Indo-Burmese front, great things are said to be impending. Much publicity has been given to the Allied conferences led by Lord Mountbatten. As yet it is too early to comment on any aspect of the coming offensive, though there has been some amount of talk in the United States in the nature of criticism of the nature of Allied planning and choice of leaders.

INDIAN MONETARY POLICY IN RECENT TIMES

By PROF. P. C. THOMAS, M.A.

IV

MONEY TO REMAIN NEUTRAL

CHANGES in price are the result of several causes. Whatever the other influences be, the quantity of money is an influence. Whether Irving Fisher's Quantity Theory applies in all its mathematical exactitude or no, the Quantity Money is a deciding factor in price; sometimes money tones up, sometimes it pulls down prices. Price variations due to variations in Demand and Supply are sometimes aggravated by unwise monetary policy. They can also be neutralised by judicious monetary policy. But, for some time past, especially since Wicksell wrote on the subject, a line of thought has been springing that money should do neither of these functions—neither toning up nor pulling down, neither aggravating nor neutralising. On the contrary, money should remain strictly neutral, should not exert any influence "autonomous to money." A thorough discussion of the conditions which money must fulfil in order to remain neutral is contained in J. G. Koopman's contributions to *Beiträge zu Geld-theory* and the term neutral money has been frequently used by Wicksell, Behrens, Hayek and others in their writings.

Neutral money is "a kind of money which leaves production and the relative prices of goods, including the rate of interest 'undisturbed,' exactly as they would be if there were no money at all."¹ Dr. Hayek says:

"If we eliminate all monetary influences on production . . . we may treat money as non-existent."²

Pigon and Cassel regard money as not exerting autonomous influences when the quantity of money fluctuates in terms of the fluctuations in production so that the general price-level is kept constant. Cassel said:

"The simplest assumption is, then, that a country has a paper currency so regulated as to keep the general level of prices constant."³

Professor Pigon says that if countries with paper currencies will regulate them with a view to keeping the general price-level constant, there will be no impulses from the side of money which can properly be called "autonomous."⁴

1. Piero Sraffa: "Dr. Hayek on Money and Capital," *Economic Journal*, March, 1932, p. 42.
2. Hayek: *Prices and Production*, p. 109.
3. *Economic Journal*, Vol. 38, December, 1929, p. 589.
4. A. C. Pigon: *Industrial Fluctuations*, 1929, p. 101.

Both statements imply that money so regulated to keep the price-level fairly constant (or absolutely if possible) exert no influence on price and that, therefore, a money so regulated would be 'neutral'. According to Dr. Hayek this is contradiction. If the object of regulating money is to keep prices stable, that money obviously exerts an influence on price.

"We should expect rather that, to be neutral in this sense, the supply of money should be invariable."

By money he means all money—"the total of all kinds of media of exchange (including all so-called 'substitutes' of money) used either in a closed economic system (i.e., in a country which has no communication with the outside world) or in the world as a whole."⁵ Again, by quantity of money is meant not the physical quantity of money, but the product of the quantity and the velocity. To borrow Fisher's famous formula, it is $MV + M'V$; or, if we can think of other kinds of "media of exchange," it is $MV + M'V + M''V$ and so forth i.e., $\geq MV$. Professor Hayek says:

"It should be fairly clear that the magnitude which . . . have called 'quantity of money in circulation' and that commonly referred to under the same name . . . are not identical . . ."

Dr. Hayek's is theoretical conception. The assumption of either a closed system or a uniform monetary policy for the whole world makes "neutral" money theoretical enough, and even in theory difficult. Though this question is not merely one of theoretical interest, "but also a question the answer to which may prove very important in the shaping of a more rational monetary policy," a rigorous application of the doctrine would be impossible and it would be "entirely utopian to expect anything of that kind from central banks so long as general opinion still believes that it is the duty of central banks to accommodate trade and to expand credit as the increasing demands of the trade require."

If this is true of the Central Banks Professor Hayek had in mind, it is more true of the Indian Reserve Bank. It is strongly held here that the Reserve Bank has something positive to do instead of taking a negative attitude in maintaining neutral money. A central bank cannot have a monetary policy which treats money as if it did not exist. If money is to serve only those purposes which it would serve if it did not exist, it is

5. Hayek: *Prices and Production*, p. 109.

futile to talk of a monetary policy and it would be waste to make central banks pursue such policy. Pierro Sraffa wrote :

"From the beginning it is clear that a methodological criticism could not leave a brick standing in the logical structure built up by Dr. Hayek."

ELIMINATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT THE OBJECT OF MONETARY POLICY

Lord Keynes has spoken at length about the objective of monetary policy being full employment. Unemployment is generally analysed into "normal" or frictional unemployment, due to "seasonal changes," the movement of labour from one job to another and the existence of "unemployables"; "special" unemployment, due to "peculiar causes" such as a collapse in the demand for a particular group of commodities so sudden that the labour cannot be transferred to other trades in a reasonably short time and cyclical unemployment due to the fluctuations in the productive activity which does not proceed except unevenly.

It is commonly accepted that central banks are not in a position to remedy the first and the second types of unemployment. India's chief unemployment problem is inherent in her main industry in which 80% of the population is engaged. The Indian agriculturist is not employed for more than 4 to 6 months in his occupation. To relieve this type of unemployment the classical remedy suggested is to develop cottage industries. This has been actively advocated by Mahatma Gandhi and several other students of the question. The co-operative society, the village money-lender and all other agencies of rural finance are directly and intimately connected with this. It might even be said that as they form in one way or other a source of rural finance. It can hardly be said to be a problem of central banking. Employment as the objective of monetary policy has been dealt with in recent economic writings, especially of, Mr. G. D. H. Cole. Trade cycle and the part central banks play in them have also received considerable attention at the hands of economists, though central banks have not always been able to incorporate their findings even where argument was possible among them. Professor Pigon, Mr. R. G. Hawtrig, Ludwig Mises, Friedrich Hayek, Keynes, Mr. D. N. Robertson, Haberler, among others, have dis-

6. Pierro Sraffa : *Op. Cit.*, p. 45.

cussed the question. It is assumed for the purpose of this article that Trade cyclical unemployment is not severe in India—nothing compared to similar unemployment witnessed in America and Europe in the last Depression. The writer believes the assumption is correct. The Indian problem is mainly how to create employment, especially for the rural population, on a vast scale. And it is also assumed that industrial development is the means of creating that employment. The question of Industrial Finance in India was examined in detail by the Central Banking Enquiry (Blupendranath Mitra) Committee.⁷

The relation of the Indian Reserve Bank with India's industrial development has an obvious parallel in the part played by central banks in other countries in their industrial expansion. The trend in recent development in central banking theory suggests that central banks should have nothing to do with industries as such. Central banks should deal only in "pure" credit. It should deal neither in industrial credit nor in long-term credit of any other species. Its credit should be short and absolutely free from risk element, i.e., pure credit. Central banking thus would be regarded as a financial appendage of the community dealing in pure credit, irrespective of the cost of that credit, just as the State High Court can be regarded the judicial appendage dealing in pure justice irrespective of the cost of administering that justice.⁸ This is pure theory. Some of the most powerful central banks, operating in first class money markets, such as the Federal Reserve system of U. S., the Bank of England and the Reichsbank of Germany, come far short of this theoretical perfection. The intimate association of the Reichsbank with industry through Germany's Industrial Banks, the recent practice of the Bank of England to lend to industries and similar recent development in U. S., Australia, Ecuador and other countries show how distant theory and practice stand. On the continent of Europe central banking and commercial banking are compatible functions and some central banks are commercial banks besides. In the case of banks in the secondary money markets, it will be long before they can approximate to this theory. Adherence to it at a premature stage, granting for a moment that it

7. Two other books on the subject are : Nabal Das : *Banking and Industrial Finance in India*, S. K. Basu : *Industrial Finance in India*.
8. P. C. Thomas : Article, *Mysore Economic Journal*, Vol. 28, No. 5, 1942.

is possible, would be pernicious, and in such places central banks have a duty of developing and stirring up the credit market. The standing aloof policy of the central banks was to be discouraged. In America, for instance, though the needs of an undeveloped and un-co-ordinated money market do not apply to that country, the consciousness was growing that the central banking system should be given a voice in the direction and quantity of the community's funds that flowed into the investment market,⁹ and that

"While it was not probably wise to have the Central bank assume the duty directly of controlling and supplying the investment market with funds, it nevertheless must be given a negative influence or power by authorising it to determine in what circumstances the investment market might draw upon the general pool of funds for capital goods."¹⁰

The Capital Issue Committee of the last war period and the Investment Auxiliary of the Federal Reserve system are instances in point. This duty of directing the flow of capital in investment goods has not been assumed by central banks in general. As Parker Willis says :

"On the whole it must be regarded as still undetermined whether in Central banking countries this duty of directing the distribution of funds will be definitely allotted to the Central bank or not."^{10(a)}

The Federal Reserve Bank Act of June, 1934, is a significant piece of legislation in this respect. Under it the Federal Reserve Banks were authorised to give industrial advances; they may discount or buy from "any bank, trust company, mortgage company, credit corporation for industry or other financing institute"¹¹ obligations maturing within five years entered into for the purposes of advances to industrial and commercial enterprises. In exceptional circumstances, the Federal Reserve Banks may make direct working capital advances to established private industries.

The Australian Royal Commission, on Monetary and Banking systems recommended, among other things, as the duty of the Australian Commonwealth Banks to pay "some regard" to the distribution by the banks of the volume of credit among different industries and see that the credit provided is made available "at appro-

priate rates of interest."¹² The attempt at regulating the flow of funds to long-term productive enterprises has spread to other countries as well. For instance, the new law on the organization and operation of the Central Bank of Ecuador promulgated on December 30th, 1937, authorises the Bank to de-discount 270-day agricultural bills and 180-day industrial bills.

What is India's position? India's credit requirements have been divided, though very broadly, into three and a representative institution to meet the needs of each also presented. For short-term agricultural requirements the co-operative credit society, for long-term needs the Land Mortgage Bank and for the needs of Industry the Industrial Corporations of those, the last had only made just a beginning. The question of supplying the capital needs of Indian industries came up for discussion before the Central Banking Committee, the External Capital Committee and other investigating bodies. In India public opinion has not come to include supplying industries with capital among the duties of central banking. That has to be done by the Government and the investing public. Industrial Corporations and Investment Trusts have to be increasingly started. Where necessary the Government should take a direct lead. The instance of the Industrial Corporation of the United Provinces was already mentioned. Even when the supply of capital is not considered a duty of the Central Bank, is there anything which the Reserve Bank of India can do to stimulate industrial investment and to help the banking institutions which supply such needs? Section 17 of the Reserve Bank of India Act deals with the main business the Bank is authorised to do in this connection. The Act does not in any way contemplate granting industries such help as indicated above. Section 17 sub-section (2) deals with

"the purchase, sale and rediscount of bills of exchange and promissory notes . . . arising out of bona-fide commercial or trade transactions . . . and maturing within ninety days . . .", "the purchase, sale and re-discount of bills of exchange and promissory notes, . . . and drawn or issued for the purpose of financing seasonal agricultural operations or the marketing of crops and maturing within nine months . . .", "the purchase, sale or re-discount of bills of exchange and promissory notes . . . and issued or drawn for the purpose of holding or trading in securities of the Government of India." etc.

Though the above sub-sections specify the nature and character of the accommodation the

9. Parker Willis : *Theory and Practice of Central Banking*, p. 39.

10. Parker Willis : *Theory and Practice of Central Banking*, p. 39.

10(a). *Ibid.*, p. 40.

11. League of Nations : *Commercial and Central Banks, 1937-38*, p. 201.

12. League of Nations : *Monetary Review, 1937-38*, p. 80.

Reserve Bank of India is authorised to give agriculture, commerce and trade in securities, they are silent about industrial accommodation. Critics of the Reserve Bank have not been satisfied with the existing arrangements for granting accommodation even to these departments of economic life. Any action of assistance the Reserve Bank can take in facilitating industrial investment and the supply of capital to industries has to be preceded by the building of banking institutions with capital earmarked for the purpose. Time and again the joint-stock banks of the country have stated in public and submitted before several Enquiry Committees

that they cannot be expected to finance industry for the reason, among others, that industrial needs are in the main long-term whereas the funds at their disposal are borrowed from the investing public on short-term. Till the rearing up in India of such Industrial Banks the Reserve Bank cannot make any effective attempt in directing the flow of the community's funds along specific channels. Till then the Reserve Bank cannot help actively in the country's industrialization. Till then the creation of employment cannot be said the objective of the monetary policy of the country.

(Concluded)

INDIAN FAMINE RELIEF MEASURES—OLD AND NEW

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

FROM the time the administration of the country was taken up by the East India Company we have records of the several famines that have visited India at different periods of history, and the details of the measures adopted for alleviation of the distress of the people. There is such a close similarity between the different measures adopted by the Government at distant dates since 1770 to 1943 that it is highly interesting and profitable to study them by comparison.

Before going into the details we may be inclined to give an idea of famine relief in the Badshahi Amal—the regime of the Moghul Emperors.

As regards Emperor Shahjehan (Famine in the Bombay Presidency in 1629-30):

"For two successive years the rains failed and the mortality and depopulation caused thereby were very great. The Emperor Shah Jehan was then at Burhanpur. . . . He ordered poor houses to be opened at Burhanpur, Surat and Ahmedabad for the relief of the famished, and food and money distributed. All taxes were remitted for two years."

Next we come to Emperor Aurangzebe (Report of past famine in the N.-W. Provinces by Girdlestone)—Famine in 1661:

"Aurangzebe personally superintended the relief of his subjects, one of his plans being to bring grain on a large scale from Bengal and the Punjab. . . . Several things tend to prove that the calamity was severe. The Emperor opened his treasury and granted money without stint. He gave every encouragement to the importation of corn and either sold it at reduced prices or distributed it gratuitously amongst those who were too poor to pay. He also promptly acknowledged the necessity of remitting the rents of his cultivators and relieved them for the time being from the burden of other taxes. The vernacular chronicles of the period attribute the salvation of millions of lives, and the preservation of many provinces, to his strenuous exertions."

The early British rule was visited by one of the worst famines in history, known as 'Bengal Famine of 1770':

"In November the Collector General saw an alarming prospect of the Province becoming desolate and the Government wrote home (23rd November) to the Court of Directors in the most alarming terms."

With what effect:

"They resolved to lay up a six months' store of grain for their troops. . . . In 1770, the distress was acutest in Behar; efforts were made, not very successfully to obtain grain from the British Officers at Allahabad and Fyzabad."

In 1943 we go to the Governors' Provinces (Sec. 93 Provinces, as they are called) almost with the same result. There is store for the Army, the Port Trust, Railways and men of other Essential Services i.e., factory labours, etc.

The Report says:

"But it is probable that private trade was active."

We have on Mr. Hunter's authority:

"The whole administration was accused of dealing in grain for their private advantage. It was in vain that the Court of Directors wrote one indignant letter after another demanding the names of the culprits."

The Court of Directors had also to write about "the corruption and rapacity of our servants. . . ."

Is not history repeating itself in 1943? If you want to be convinced of the grain trade between the several provincial governments with the Government of India at the top, please go through the proceedings and speeches of the members of the Central Legislature, the statements of the Ministers of the Provinces, particularly emanating from the Ministers of the Punjab. As late as the 4th of September, said Sardar Baldev Singh, Development Minister:

INDIAN FAMINE RELIEF MEASURES—OLD AND NEW

"In spite of our strong protest, no action seems to have been taken uptill now to check some of the Provincial Governments from making profit at the expense of the Punjab growers and their (Provincial Governments) starving population."

Compare the Government circular issued during the famine of 1783 with that of the present Minister for civil supplies, Bengal.

In 1783:

"We direct that you do in the most public manner issue orders by beat of tom-tom, in all the bazars and gunges in the district under your charge, declaring that if any merchant shall conceal his grain, refuse to bring it to market, and sell it at a reasonable price, he will not only be punished himself in the most exemplary manner, but his grain will be seized and distributed among the poor."

Says the Bengal Minister on the 7th May 1943:

"I have already warned all hoarders including the agriculturist hoarders that if they do not bring their stock on to the market, they will lose in the long run. I am determined to use all the powers of the Government to see . . . that these hoards are disgorged, and preliminary steps, which these gentlemen may find drastic, have already been taken. . . . I am giving a chance to the people to do it voluntarily, while I perceive my plans to make them disgorge the hoards. If they do not listen to my warning let them not think that they can run their hoards underground or that they will be able to succeed in dissipating the hoards."

There were several other announcements, etc., on this subject threatening ultimate freezing of the concealed stock.

Over-confidence in the stock of the province, disregard of the signs of scarcity and thorough unpreparedness for a coming scarcity or actual famine have been the cause of death of hundreds of thousands of lives in India. Emasculation of the people, dislocation of economic order, disruption of society and deaths from diseases coming in the trails of the famine have retarded the progress of India by centuries. During 1865 the timely warning of the Collectors of various districts in Orissa of failure of crop and suggestions for remission of taxes were met with sharp rebuke from the Government of Bengal and the Board of Revenue. Says the Famine Commission of 1878:

"In November and December more and more urgent reports were sent up from Puri in which district the famine first declared itself, of the extreme distress of the people and of the prevalence of deaths from starvation. . . . By the end of January, prices had gone up near or at which rate they stood till the end of March. The necessity of importation was earnestly pressed on the Board at this time (March), but in vain."

In February, distress began to show itself acutely taking the form of an influx of starving people into the headquarter town, and an outbreak of grain robberies. But the extent of the impending calamity was still far from realized."

In April the conscience of the munificent

public in different towns, particularly in Calcutta was roused to the gravity of the situation and relief committees were formed to take steps for mitigating the distress, "but the Board of Revenue still doubted whether there was any really great deficiency of food or any necessity for Government to interfere by any new measures."

In May it was clear that money was of no avail. "We want rice" was the cry of the Commissioner.

"Rice required for the troops, the prisoners and the Government establishments could no longer be procured."

In 1943, barring that sufficient store is being held for the troops, the prisoners and members of the essential services, no other provisions to meet the exigencies of the situation have been made. There was a sense of sufficiency in the minds of the Ministers and we find that the Civil Supplies Member, Bengal, "did not wish," on the 30th May, "to say that there was not enough rice in Bengal or that enough rice would not be coming from outside." Earlier than that on the 8th May he said that 'there was sufficiency of food-grains for the people of Bengal.' On the 29th of April speaking of the seriousness of the food situation, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, an ex-premier of Bengal, said that

"It had been reported to him by an officer on his return from tour that a man had died, and on post-mortem examination grass was found in his stomach—he could not digest it."

The situation had already become very serious, but the ministers "still doubted whether there was any really great deficiency of food." On the 8th May it was told that 'the solution was in sight' and the Finance Minister said on the very next day that 'in a short time the situation will greatly improve.' There were some efforts in inducing the Transport Member of the Government of India to make arrangements for flow of foodgrains to Bengal to which he replied on the 19th May that 'he would do everything in his power to facilitate the movement of food-stuffs from other provinces to Bengal.' Then the Ministers or Advisers, as the case may be, were approached. No sooner had the Bengal Minister expressed satisfaction on the result of such interviews, the public were regaled on the very next day by statements from responsible Ministers and Advisers opposing such arrangement. Giving out his mind on the Government of India Order creating an Eastern Zone of Free Trade, Sir Md. Saadulla said:

"I have been compelled to lodge a dignified and vigorous protest with the Central Government" and "I appeal to our traders and also to our growers not to export rice and paddy for temporary gain."

The Bengal Government in its helplessness devised their province-wide food drive to be

launched on June 7 and "The Bengal Food Grains Inquiries and Control Order" was published on the 4th June providing that "an authorised Officer may, together with such persons as he may consider necessary, enter upon any premises where he has reason to believe that food-grains have been stocked, etc." and an Ordinance was passed to the effect "that any matter intended or likely to incite opposition to, or non-participation in measures to be taken in Bengal to prevent, detect or deal with hoarding and hoarders of food-grains shall, before publication be submitted for scrutiny to the Press Adviser." The feasibility of such a measure was doubted but the people willingly submitted to such province-wide search in the hope of getting rice at reasonable price. On the 30th June, at New Delhi, the Civil Supplies Minister 'expressed satisfaction at the result of the food (anti-hoarding) drive.' But on the 12th July, in the Bengal Assembly, he was forced to say "that the general picture that he might present to the House was that practically in all places deficits have been reported."

His boss in the India Office said on the 14th July, in the House of Commons that

"The present difficult situation in India was due to the widespread tendency of cultivators to withhold food-grains from the market, to larger consumption per head as a result of increased family income, to hoarding by consumers and others."

Before passing on to other details the general condition of the people in August 1866 may profitably be compared with those of 1943. Says the Report:

"The mortality was highest in August, consequent on the heavy storms of rain. The people were then in the lowest stage of exhaustion; the emaciated crowds collected at the feeding stations and had no sufficient shelter, and the cold and wet seem to have killed them in fearful numbers."

To come to 1943 again, we find that while the Ministers were speaking of sufficiency and making no serious efforts to check the impending famine, the people at this time have been passing through great stress due to high prices of rice and other necessities of life. On the 3rd July (1943) "the District Magistrate declared a serious shortage of rice at Chittagong" and in a message dated the 14th July, delayed in transmission, the Bar Association and President of the Different Union Boards wired to the authorities "informing them of a horrible state of famine" in Bhola (Barisal). Pictures of acute distress in districts began pouring in from every part of Bengal at this time.

The leaders of the people and the nationalist press have been clamouring for a long time

against export of rice, which remained unheeded till the 23rd of July when "all exports of rice from India was stopped." It reminds me of past objections to export of rice from India when famine conditions prevailed in the country. During the famine in Bengal in 1873-74 Sir George Campbell, then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, wrote to the Viceroy on the 22nd October 1873 "that exportation of rice from India to foreign countries might be stopped." He further said, "that if there was a general failure in Bengal, all that India and Burma could supply would go but a little way to fill up the vacuum." The Viceroy objected to this proposal, to which the Secretary of State concurred. The grounds of objection are still the same as before. The Indian coolies abroad needed rice and "it would have been unjust to stop the supply of the usual food of the Bengal coolies in the Colonies." The other objection was that the people would eat more rice if export is stopped when it is known that "lowered consumption is the greatest safeguard against famine."

Export of rice according to the Government of India has to be made (15. 7. 43)

"In the interests of Indian labouring population" in Ceylon and elsewhere and "of the maintenance of production of vital war supplies."

Our attention is drawn to (15. 3. 42)

"The important problem of keeping India's fighting forces fully supplied with the best of food in order to sustain their health and spirits."

We have also to remember (1. 2. 42) that

"India, particularly suited to meet the requirements of the Empire and the various theatres of war in the Middle East and elsewhere, has harnessed all its available resources to maintain a regular food supply in sufficient quantity and of desired standard quality for the Defence forces in the country and abroad."

The policy enunciated above was followed till the 23rd of July 1943 with the following result:

Export of Grain, Pulse and Flour from India:

Year	Rs.
1939-40	5,08,82,988
1940-41	5,91,47,381
1941-42	10,42,64,211
1942-43	6,95,49,014

We have no separate figures for rice, but export of food-grains in very large quantities during continued scarcity (may be due to failure of imports) is bound "to create a vacuum which it is difficult of fill up" by statements, proclamations and ordinances.

I have had no idea that the "Eat Less" slogan is not an original idea with the Bengal Civil Supplies Minister but that it is a mere

paraphrase of the statement of a Secretary of State for India in 1873-74 which, as has been stated before, says "lowered consumption is the greatest safeguard against famine."

I do not know if the people of Bengal have not been living barely on lowered consumption for the last two years and his advice "Eat Less" and "to get themselves habituated to substitute food as far as possible" tendered on the 4th August is a mere waste of Ministerial, and hence costly, breath. When people do not get food they try to subsist on whatever they can get, not to speak of "substitute food." This is famine even if the Ministers refuse to call it one.

Price of goods was controlled with no effect whatsoever on the market. The Premier of Bengal, on the 23rd May "had no doubt that the prices of foodstuffs would be brought to a reasonable level within a short time."

The Department of Civil Supplies Press Note said on the 4th June:

"There is every reason to believe that prices have reached their peak" and again "there is ground for solid confidence that prices will begin to fall."

On the 1st August Mr. Suhrawardy thundered forth:

"I wish to take this opportunity of warning the trade that a scheme for controlling prices throughout Bengal will shortly be put in operation. . . . Most vigorous steps will be taken by Government to ensure that these controlled prices are maintained."

The prices are soaring high in thorough disregard of Governmental threats, and "controlled" commodities have disappeared from the market. There is a black market for the rich, and even the dead remembers that it exists, but our Civil Supplies Minister, when asked at a Press Conference on the 1st of September, said, *he was not aware of its existence either officially or non-officially. To those who were withholding stocks he had given them a stern warning.* Bravo!

In July when the situation became critical and people began to wander about for food, the Civil Supplies Minister announced in the Bengal Council about starting of gruel kitchens in different parts of Chittagong. With regard to the beggars in Calcutta he said:

"They can be looked after by the charitably disposed people here."

But in fact these charitably disposed people have been looking after a large number of these wanderers even long before the Minister has had any idea about it. This is a form of indirect taxation which the Government wilfully encouraged.

In spite of all tall talks of tackling the problem successfully people began to die on the

streets and dead bodies remained there for days without anybody to take care of them. On the 3rd August, the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, announced an arrangement 'for removing dead bodies off the streets of Calcutta to the morgues with the minimum of delay.' Between the period 13th to 17th August 120 dead bodies were removed from the streets and 127 persons were removed to improvised hospitals on the 16th and 17th August. The figures have mounted up and daily deaths in these improvised hospitals are numerous. Pathetic tales have been pouring in from the districts where rice is not available in the markets and people in all classes of society are dying in most tragic circumstances. The tale of the famine of 1770 is being repeated in its minutest details in Bengal and every human being in the Province has witnessed some of these with their own eyes and every description will fall short of the actual picture.

The Famine Commission of 1878 censured the Government of Bengal and the Revenue Board for failing to take notice of the signs of famine in time. The Revenue Board 'unreservedly admitted' that

"To be at all largely effectual, it was necessary that the discovery of the full truth should be made, and very extensive measures adopted, many months before the actual outburst of unmistakable famine occurred."

During the famine 'money was of little use, for it could not be exchanged for food.' They also admitted that 'they had no experience of any previous famines' and consequently they had been working under a serious handicap.

The Government of Bengal and the Central Government stand condemned today for inefficient handling of the situation allowing it to drift in the manner it liked. The needs of the civil population were quite forgotten and they had been fiddling when the tune of woes was rending the skies all over Bengal. On the 11th September Sir Jagadish Prasad, ex-Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, said "Bengal is faced with one of the worst famines in living memory." Sir J. P. Srivastava, the present Food Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council, said on the 27th August that

"The key to the solution of the present difficult situation in this Region is not one of economic policy but of practical, efficient and bold administration and the Provinces must see such an administration is set up without delay if it has not been done already"

—that it has not been done up till now is admitted on all hands. He has been pleased to pass judgment on the action of the present Bengal

Ministry and the Hon'ble Ministers at the Centre. The whole Government was found napping. On the 30th August he said to the *Associated Press* that

"He recalled that during his visit to Calcutta last November, he had consulted almost every section of opinion in Calcutta whether there was any danger of the food situation in Bengal deteriorating. No one seemed to have any misgivings in this direction at that time and he went away satisfied that there would be no shortage of food."

Concluding his statement he had the frankness to say:

"The fact of the matter is that we have all erred and the main thing now for us is to get together and do all we can."

He was not satisfied with mere speaking out his mind to the Press. On the 8th of September at a Press Conference at Lahore the Food Member further said:

"There is very acute shortage of foodstuffs in Bengal and the next three months are going to be crucial. The only way to tide over the situation is to get whatever grain one can have either by seizing, borrowing or stealing from other parts of India. This is the only method to save the starving millions of Bengal."

In our opinion the injury has gone too deep and the present prevailing market prices for each and every form of the necessities of life will bring out from their quiet hearths and homes more and more people who have so long refused to come to the gruel kitchens or to approach the public for any kind of help. The 'bottle neck' of Indian transport will retard the flow of foodgrains sufficient to meet the demands of Bengal and imports from outside is imperatively necessary. It is also necessary to prevent middle class people, the paupers of to-morrow, from falling into further depths of misery and thus check the swelling numbers of those who are already on the streets.

The truth about the ugly rumour of profiteering by the Bengal Government from the sale of Punjab wheat became first known in the Bengal Assembly on the 16th September. But nobody could suspect that during May to August, the profit amounted to Rs. 33.34 lakhs, "derived solely from sales of wheat to mills," and further "the Bengal Government are not concerned in any of the subsequent transactions," until New Delhi, on October 9, gave out the actual facts. The Government of Bengal had their share of profit in the sale of wheat to the mills and, it is strange, that they did not care to know if the output of the mills had safely entered the 'black market.' In addition to wheat sales the Bengal Government earned a "gross revenue of Rs. 6.32 lakhs from re-sales of wheat products" to the starving people of Bengal. Simply preposterous to think!

The Bengal Government was satisfied with the price control scheme by a sliding scale to take effect from August 26. With the announcement of the scheme "Government decided to buy rice and paddy" wherever available. Mr. Suhrawardy "claimed that the prices had been brought down" and "affirmed that their price policy had not failed" (Oct. 13 and 15). Mr. B. R. Sen, Director-General of Food, explaining (Oct. 1)

"the recent scheme of the Bengal Government in regard to the procurement of foodgrains, said that the scheme had evidently failed. The scheme was based on the system of descending scale of prices, i.e., till the middle of August the price fixed was Rs. 30 per maund and then the prices were lowered gradually for every successive week. The expectation was that the hoarded and the new crops reaped would come to the market for quick sale. But the result of the scheme was hardly encouraging; there was even a wholesale disappearance of rice in certain places."—(Italics mine).

Whom to believe? Our own experience, as also of many other responsible persons of the Province, agree with what the Director-General of Food was pleased to say.

The situation is too deep for handling by frivolous and irresponsible statements and communiques. Even Mr. Amery, who till October 14, said about Bengal famine as "scarcity verging on famine," and "these distressing conditions" was forced to yield on October 15 and call it "grievous condition of famine." The Food Member, on October 13 announced "the decision of the Government of India to take supreme control of the Indian food situation and to override Provincial Governments if necessary" and "cessation of food exports from India" perhaps finally for the fifth time, except under special circumstances amounting to not more than 1,000 tons per month.

Two things are absolutely necessary: (i) Food, and more properly equitable and prompt distribution of grains that have been pouring in from different parts of India and about which there is a great nervousness in the public mind; and (ii) Return of confidence in what the Government say and do. This latter has been at a very low ebb, brought about by the Civil Supply Member of the Bengal Government by his frequent irresponsible and big talks of hoarding and punishment, of sufficiency and distribution, of flooding of the market with food and so on and so forth. The Central Food Member, as a corollary to (ii) should stop the Bengal Authorities from shouting and to work silently, and if they so desire, to propagate the cult of Pakistan and other tenets of the Muslim League and refrain from meddling in food situation of the Province in which they have so miserably failed.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

ENGLISH

THE CRUSADE OF FREE SPIRITS: By Alexander Wametzos. Published by New Book Co., Bombay. 1943. Pp. xv+278 and an Index. Price Rs. 14.

The author of this book is a distinguished Greek refugee in India, who was Professor of Law in Athens. He presents in this volume the impassioned idealist's expectations about the shape of things to come after the war is over. He claims to be "by instinct and tradition, with those who are claiming the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." He is, however, an opponent of communism as anti-democratic. The discussions, are largely from the point of view of a European liberal, partly polemical, and ignore the revolutionary potentialities of the war. The author quotes copiously from current periodicals, statements, declarations and agreements. He discusses the question of the constitution of a "United States of the World," disarmament, retribution and the individual problems of most States under Nazi duress. He has a very sympathetic chapter on Indian problems. Students of blue-prints of post-war reconstruction will find in the volume a large array of information, particularly the point of view of the smaller States which is so often neglected. The author pitches his expectations on "Chinese stoicism, the silent Russian positivism and American liberalism."

In spite of its cumbersome arrangement and faulty expressions, the volume is a notable addition to the constructive literature relating to the Allied peace-aims.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

THIRTY MONTHS IN RUSSIA: By D. G. Tendulkar. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. 1943. Pp. 96. Price Re. 1-4.

Tendulkar's Russian diary is as colourful as his personality. According to his own admission, he was punished in his school days for refusing to pray for British victory in the last war, was labelled a communist by Sir John Simon in the British Parliament, was Hitler's guest in Marburg prison for a month, secured a tourist visa for staying only six months in Russia but lived there for two and a half years, earning his living with his pen and a Leica camera, learnt Russian and loved Russia. Bombay, Cambridge and Goettingen, where he studied, could not spoil him, and in spite of his petit-bourgeois instruction he could understand the living soul of Russia, the Russia of the Soviets of peasants, workers and soldiers, and realized true comradeship transcending all barriers of race and tradition. The author has not burdened his book with pedantic discourses on dialectics nor lost his sense of perspective

in interpreting Russian achievements. He has instead portrayed the intimate scenes of the daily life in the Soviets in delicate light and shade moistened with humane sympathies. Tendulkar devotes a chapter each to the status of women and education of children in Russia, and says that despite the general impression about Soviet social life prevailing abroad, the present-day Russians recognize that there is no substitute for mother's love and mother's milk to build up a healthy society and a sturdy nation.

Although primarily interested in fine arts, the author has not failed to notice the economic and social transformations that have made Russia such a mighty Power today, and his interesting chronicle will provide a significant background to the understanding of Russia's victorious struggle against Nazi Germany. "The patriotism of the Soviet people," Tendulkar observes, "is rooted in the fact that men and women who are giving their lives for their country are the very generation who created order out of chaos, wealth out of poverty, culture out of illiteracy. The Russian soldier is fighting with the same endurance as he fought twenty-five years ago, but with far better equipment, with greater skill and initiative, and with a more live and accurate sense of the issues at stake."

The book is delightfully illustrated with the author's own photographs which, I am sure, will serve as a telling advertisement for the "Leica Camera."

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE (BUDDHIST AND HINDU PERIODS): By Percy Brown, M.B.E., A.R.C.A., F.R.A.S.B. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 210, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. x+210. Plates xviii. Price Rs. 19.

Three methods have generally been employed in the study of Indian architecture, viz., personal observation and the study of temples either with the help of *silpa* texts or the aid of craftsmen to whom traditional architectural knowledge has been handed down orally from the past. Fergusson was the first to employ the method of personal observation on an extensive scale for the purpose of classification and the study of historical evolution. The author of the present volume has also depended principally upon this method; and, although much of the ground covered by both have naturally been the same, yet Mr. Brown has shown an independence of observation and judgment which should prove stimulating to students of Indian architecture.

Mr. Brown has limited himself in the present volume to Buddhist, Jain and Hindu religious architecture alone; but the period covered ranges from that of Mohenjodaro to about the seventeenth century A.D. Considering the vastness of the field, the author must be congratulated upon the way in which he has dealt with

the various styles and periods, and some of his observations will be considered as positive additions to our knowledge of Indian architecture.

In the matter of classification, Mr. Brown has more clearly drawn the distinction between some of the sub-types of the Indo-Aryan, e.g., the Solanki type of Gujarat from the Deccani type of the neighbourhood of Khandesh, than done by previous authors. We believe, that the late Prof. R. D. Banerji described a sub-type for which the name Malwa type was suggested; this being apparently identical with Mr. Brown's Deccani sub-type. If that be so, it would be proper to give preference to a name suggested already, if there are no positive grounds to the contrary.

With regard to the evolution of the form of religious buildings, the author has come to the very important conclusion that changes were brought about in certain cases by a change in the materials of construction and in others by progressive elaboration of the ceremonial connected with worship and prayer. Naturally these have not been supposed to exhaust all causes of change; but, so far as they go, these suggestions should prove helpful to other workers in the field who may follow up the question with profit. In connection with Buddhist rock-architecture as well as the architecture of Gujarat, Dharwar and the southern end of the Peninsula, Mr. Brown has shown that the form and ornamentation of pillars changed so steadily and uniformly that they serve as a suitable index for fixing the age of a building with a tolerable amount of certainty.

This brings us to the very important subject of the evidence on which dates of buildings are based. In the author's own words, dates and sequences can be largely conjectured "by the sifting of several forms of evidence, as for instance inscriptions on or near the building, the local history, details of style, and the influence of certain elements in the construction" (p. 171). These have been precisely the basis adopted by authors like Fergusson or Banerji. But as each looked upon different features of the buildings as the most significant trait, their schemes of evolution have generally not tallied with one another, and the dates suggested for particular temples have also varied within wide limits. Different elements of a temple do not change at an equal or even comparable rate in the course of time; some of them may be of more significance to the builder and some to the sculptor; and a failure to appreciate the artist's point of view is likely to lead to wrong results when one depends more or less exclusively on scheme of unilinear evolutionism. The facts of Indian architectural evolution seem to favour a multilineal development, which may both be a function of time and of relative territorial isolation. It is time therefore that some means of studying should supplement the older methods, and, at the same time reduce the chances of probable error to an appreciable extent.

With regard to the question, which is essential and which non-essential in any building, we believe, some of Mr. Brown's observations could have been improved upon by a reference to the traditional knowledge still in possession of craftsmen in different portions of India. Mr. Brown met many of them in course of his travels, but apparently he has not been able to utilize the knowledge lingering among them. In describing the ground-plan of the Deccani type, Mr. Brown says that "the designer's principal aim was clearly variety of effect, and he therefore began by placing the two essential parts of the temple diagonally astride the axial line, joining them at their inner angle" (p. 149). This

is also the reason why he says, "The Deccan shikara has a pronounced vertical band carried up each of its angles, taking the form of a 'spine' or quoin" (p. 148). Similar observations have been recorded elsewhere, as on p. 139, where he says, "The plan of these temples resolve themselves broadly into two kinds, those in which the two compartments are joined so as to unite the entire building within a parallelogram, and those in which each compartment forms a rectangle, in the latter case the two are attached diagonally." But this is really not the way in which a craftsman, born in one of the ancient guilds, would look upon the matter. Each side of an original square, according to him, is broken up into several planes by portions of the wall being set in resault. If the projection between the *pugas* is pronounced, the entire ground-plan may take the form of a parallelogram laid diagonally on the axis joining the centres of the two buildings. But still the ground-plan of each building would be interpreted by the craftsman as an extreme elaboration of a square. To an Orissan *silpin*, following the more Modern School, however much the projection of the *pugas* from one another, the distance from *Kanika* to *Kanika* should be just double the length of the *garbhagriha*; and a sixteenth of the latter length should be the module with which other portions of the building are measured. Thus Mr. Brown's quoin in a Deccani temple is really the *raka paga* for a craftsman, who would not see much sense in placing the *Rekha* and the *Bhadra* temples attached to one another obliquely. He actually looks upon the *Rekha* temple as male and the *Bhadra* as female, joined to one another by a sacred knot of cloth as in a Vedic marriage ceremony. A proper appreciation of the Indian craftsman's point of view would, in our opinion, have improved the text in certain places; and its unconscious underestimation has prejudicially affected the historical reconstruction in a number of cases.

But this is a limitation which is inevitable in all historical studies where the ground or the period covered are both of an extensive nature. They should therefore not detract from the essential value of the author's contribution in other directions. Mr. Brown's reconstruction of the earliest phase of Indian architecture is of outstanding merit, while his chapters on rock-architecture and on the temples of Kashmir and the Deccan have added materially to our understanding of these matters. Mr. Brown's aesthetic appreciation of different buildings and of styles is extremely instructive, for this is a field which he has specially made his own; although here, we are occasionally led to the impression that he has been unduly generous to certain over-decorated developments of later times.

One outstanding feature of the book consists in its illustrations. The conjectural reconstructions surely mark a new departure in the study of Indian architecture, and we warmly thank the author and his assistants for the pain and care which have been bestowed on this part of their task. Students will have to turn to Mr. Brown's book as an indispensable work of reference, even if it be mainly to consult its numerous architectural drawings.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

RIGVEDIC CULTURE OF THE PRE-HISTORIC INDUS: By Swami Sankarananda. Foreword by Dr. Bhupendranath Dutta, A.M., D.Phil. Price: Board Rs. 4-8 and Paper Rs. 4.

The book is a criticism of the prevailing views about the Indus Valley civilization revealed by the Pre-historic relics unearthed at Harappa and Mohenjodaro.

Sir John Marshall is of the opinion that the Indus civilisation is pre-Vedic. The author criticizes this view and says that the factors, which the said scholar has cited to prove the Indus culture as pre-Vedic, are in reality Vedic in form.

The author says that the presence of parabolic saw and spear-head with undeveloped mid-rib and absence of temples and horse- or ass-drawn vehicles in the Indus cities distinguish the Indus people from the Sumerians; and the presence of fish-hook suggests that these people were fish-eaters like the Vedic Aryans.

Absence of horse in Harappa and Mohenjodaro has been taken by Sir John as a strong ground to prove that the Indus people were pre-Vedic. But Sankarananda says that horse was unknown also to the Rigvedic people. He shows that the Vedic "Asva" is the Sun and not the horse. Reference of "Asva" is met with in two consecutive Suktas and several stray Riks in the Rigveda. It is interesting to note that in the preceding Riks of both the Suktas the word "Asva" is used to mean the Sun, while in the last few Riks the same is used to mean the horse. The author is of the opinion that the last Riks are later interpolations in the Vedic text.

The author recognises the phallic emblems found in the Indus cities as Siva Linga, which again, he argues, are the symbols of the solar deity. The Unicorn and the mother-goddess are also interpreted as solar deities. The symbol of buffalo found there is interpreted as the symbol of the Vedic God Agni; while the figures of serpents are correlated with the Vedic "Ahi." The three-faced figure which Sir John Marshall recognised as a pre-historic form of the Hindu Siva has been described as a sylvan deity—a type of godling found also in many parts of ancient Europe.

On the whole the book is interesting and contains many points for deep thinking, though at places the statements are found to be inaccurate. The author's statements about the Sankhya Philosophy and the Tantras are not wholly correct, and his enunciation of the Yugas is unusual.

The Foreword by Dr. Bhupendranath Dutta, has been a valuable contribution on the subject. He is of the opinion that Sir John Marshall's theory about Indus civilisation is untenable, and says, "The ethnic and other cultural similarities warrant the conclusion that the presence of the Indo-Aryans cannot be denied in the Indus Valley civilization."

SAILENDRA BEJOY DASGUPTA

ANCIENT RACES AND MYTHS: Pp. 132. Price Re. 1.

PRAGMATIC PHILOSOPHY: Pp. 110. Price Re. 1.

REFLECTIONS ON INDIAN TRAVELS: By Mr. Chandra Chakravarty. Published by Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 81, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Pp. 252. Price Re. 1-8.

Mr. Chakravarty is a well-known author of a number of books on various subjects such as religion, history, medicine, nationalism, education, culture, sexology, civilisation, etc. He seems to have wide range of study and versatile knowledge. In the volume named "Ancient races and Myths" the learned author discusses the rationality of myths as well as the common features of the ancient races of Aryavarta, Iran, Babylonia, Asia Minor, Egypt, Latium, Hellas, Germania, Slavica, China, Nippon and America. The author believes that for the first time he disentangles the racial components from ancient history and shows their contributions to ancient civilisation. He is to be heartily congratulated

for giving a rational interpretation of the ancient myths which were regarded as meaningless and grotesque. The myths are rightly interpreted to be really based on Nature phenomena such as—the sun, moon, thunder, rain, planets and constellatory configurations. The ancient myths are shown from comparative viewpoint to have many common conceptions. For instance, he says that Rudra of the Vedas is the same as the Sutekh of the Mitannis and Egyptians, Marduk of the Babylonians, Ashur of the Assyrians, Ahur-mazda of the Zoroastrians and Artemis of the Greeks.

The book contains much serious matter for further study and investigation. It appears to be the result of research-work and a nice introduction to comparative mythology.

The volume called "Pragmatic Philosophy" deals in general outline with "the physical impulses and problems and how far their adjustments are possible with our conscious or sub-conscious mind and ideals of life." It is a book full of some good and mostly bad informations relating to nutrition, puberty, marriage, pubescent hygiene, contraceptives and various aspects of sexuality. The volume is so obscene and vulgar that it should not go into the hands of young men and women. Such nasty publications are mainly responsible for the moral degeneration of our life and society. In the chapter on religion the author arrogantly questions the necessity of religion and opines that God or Soul is nothing but a 'metaphysical postulate.' However much the sexologists like our author may try, sexuality can never be made a sacred science or a sublime philosophy. To peruse such a book is nothing but to defile one's mind.

The book entitled "Reflections on Indian Travels" attempts to support by anthropological and historical data the Puranic traditions which misty with age have become meaningless to majority. The chapters in this book on Vanga, Kalinga, Andhras, Tamil Nad, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Saurashtra, Rajputana, Sindhu including Panchanad, Gandhara, Aryavarta, Magadha and Kamrupa are immensely interesting and contain much historical matter. Discussions on Racial History and civilisation of India, Hindusthani language and Kurukshetra war are thoughtful. An analytical index of contents is wanting in the book. The treatment of subjects is sometimes haphazard and sometimes irrelevant. For example, the chapter on Vanga contains two big informative paras on malaria and epidemic dropsy—the curses of Bengal climate. Digressions, however interesting, are always out of place and are never relished by the readers.

The author endowed with a rich historical outlook deals with the subjects impressively. His descriptions of the sacking of Somnath Temple by Mahmud Gazni, the treacherous assassination of General Bhaskar Pandit by Aliverdi Khan, and the wanton destruction of the Nalanda and Vikramasila Universities by Bakhtiar Khilji are very vivid and correct. An acquaintance with these historical facts will open our eyes to the real state of things in medieval India and will make known a hitherto unknown chapter of Indian history.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

REFORM OF EXAMINATIONS: By Mr. Deb-narayan Mukherjee, The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. Pp. 57. Price annas eight.

In this small book the author, who is Secretary of the Board of High School and Intermediate Examination, United Provinces, discusses the present system of High School Examination in his province with all its bad effects on education and suggests remedies. He has quoted various authorities, such as, the Government of

India Resolution on Education Policy of 1904, Calcutta University Commission 1917-19, and the Zukir Husain Report 1938 to show that all are agreeable to reform the examinations of the Indian System of Education but no tangible result has come out of these recommendations. The author severely criticises "vagaries of marking" and pleads that "scientific outlook should pervade the whole system of education." Reform of examination will go a great way to reorganise and vitalise the educational system of the country which is responsible at the present moment for the great waste of India's youth and energy.

Mr. Mukerjee's book deserves to be carefully read and suggestions seriously considered by all educationists of the country who desire reform of the present system.

A. B. DUTTA

AN ESSAY ON THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY: By V. K. R. V. Rao. To be had of the Registrar, University of Delhi, Delhi. Pp. 46. Price Re. 1.

Prof. Rao has very ably challenged some of the classical economic concepts. According to him, the assumption made by the classical economists that "a means of production, when economised (or to use the expression more in current use, when rationalised) will not only result in increased output on the part of the economised factor, but also be accompanied or followed by the employment of the released factor of production in either the same or other lines of production." This is the assumption of full employment which has been pointed out by Keynes as underlying the whole classical theory of economics. Prof. Rao contends that the application of this doctrine has created unemployment in place of full employment, then he says, "Employment is not only a means of living but also constitutes a value in itself; and if the effect of applying the principle of economy is to bring about a net decrease in employment, there is obviously something wrong with the unqualified exercise of this criterion in regulating economic activity." He also disbelieves the theory of unlimited wants as an incentive to economisation of resources. Prof. Rao has examined the relation of economic activity to the end of all human activity which he has described as the development of human personality. He has introduced four different constituents of work, viz., (1) the art element, (2) the dignity and pride element, (3) the personality-killing element, and (4) the character-forming element. He believes that these four elements in economic activity have a bearing on the "development of human personality" and therefore on the ultimate end of human activity, and as such must be taken into account "when laying down criteria of economic policy." After discussing the application of the principle of economy to the problem of choice amongst competing ends by the classical economists, Prof. Rao concludes that economic activity is of the nature of both ends and means activity; and its purpose is to secure exchangeable goods and services possessing economic value. Prof. Rao differs from the classical economists when he says "that economic activity is not of the nature of being merely a means, but is constituted of a combination of 'both means and ends'." This essay will be of immense value to the students of Indian economics in particular.

D. B.

THE DISCIPLES OF RAMAKRISHNA: Published by Swami Pabitananda. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Himalayas.

This volume completes the series of short biographies, of which the preceding volumes are the short lives of Sri Ramakrishna, the Holy Mother and Swami Vivekananda.

This volume contains the lives of men and women who are looked upon as the direct disciples of Sri Ramakrishna; they came in personal contact with him and caught the fire of his spirituality; so much so, that many of them renounced the world for God-realisation, later on we found in them the great Swamis of the order of Ramakrishna.

The book is written in an attractive style, its get-up is nice and it leaves an ennobling impression behind.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

BENGALI

NILANGURIA: By Bibhuti Bhushan Mukhopadhyaya. General Printers and Publishers, Ltd., Calcutta. Second Edition. 1943. Pp. 342. Price Rs. 3.

The popularity of Nilanguria may very well be judged by the fact that it has run into the second edition in the course of a year and a film version of this delightful fiction has already appeared.

The story is woven round the amorous experiences of a shy but self-conscious young man who is transplanted from his modest environments as a struggling student to an aristocratic home as a private tutor. The pivot of the theme is Mira, the pretty and capricious young girl in the family who alternately attracts and repels Sailen with her charms, conceits and emotions. Mira and Sailen, however, come to secretly nurse an attachment for each other which gradually they discover as genuine love. Things look like moving towards a comedy when the fear of social incompatibility and above all Sailen's own sense of dignity lead inevitably to frustration. The author's portrayal of the principal characters reveals his knowledge of the inscrutable ways in which the human psyche acts and reacts to particular situations. The characterization of the absent-minded, disillusioned father—Barrister Roy, the heart-broken mother—Aparna Debi, the charmingly clever little Taru, the well-meaning faithful friend—Anil, the eternal housewife—Amburi, and the boyhood sweetheart—luckless Soudamini, apart from Sailen and Mira, is vividly fresh, living and psycho-analytically consistent. The author's analytical style will easily remind the reader of Thomas Mann, but it will be felt that the explanatory soliloquies, sometimes carried to inordinate lengths, could have been usefully treated with restraint for the sake of maintaining a livelier interest in the drama itself and to provide a more intense aesthetic entertainment.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

GUJARATI

SORATHA NE SIMADE: By Gokuldas Raichura. Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1942. Thick cardboard. Pp. 160. Illustrated. Price Re. 1-8.

"On the Frontiers of Soratha" is now running into a second edition. It is a semi-historical story relating the fortunes, in a romantic vein, of some of the members of the Chudasama Rajput families of Kathiawad. These Rajputs are a race of heroes and the story therefore thrills the reader.

K. M. J.

INDIA'S PLACE IN A FUTURE WORLD ORDER*

By HORACE G. ALEXANDER, PROF. N. C. BANERJI, PROF. B. N. BANERJEA AND RAI BAHADUR B. B. MUKHERJI

BENOYENDRA NATH BANERJEA

BLUE-PRINTS of the 'new' world order are already in the market: beginning with the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms of Mr. Roosevelt down to organised and influentially-sponsored schemes and 'ideas' of 'leaders' of thought as well as cranks. Most of them ignore India and even China: most statements and schemes seek to cover European countries or the 'Powers.' Yet, not a few of the world's master-minds have realised that as a consequence of the forces released by this war revolutionary changes are in the offing: and not merely the erstwhile big powers with their military and financial sinews, but the under-dogs, the coloured people, Asiatics and others who had been so long the unwilling victims of the orgy of industrial and imperial cupidity—would bring their contributions and make themselves heard in order to secure their freedom, may be each in his 'local' context. The sentiments expressed by Tagore in the course of the last message to the world are indeed a significant pointer:¹

"I had one time believed that the springs of civilisation would issue out of the heart of Europe, but to-day when I am about to quit the world that stubborn faith has gone bankrupt altogether.

I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in this history after the cataclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Perhaps that dawn will come from this horizon, from the East where the sun rises."

One can not ignore the vital importance of a free India in the planning of a new world order on any sound basis. The history of European diplomacy in the last century has not a little turned upon India as a pivot and it is in this context that it is urged that the problem of India's freedom is a world problem.² To quote Gandhi:

"Both America and Britain lack the moral basis for engaging in this war unless they put their own

* Substance of a talk given in an informal meeting of the Politics Club, Calcutta, held under the Chairmanship of Prof. Nripendrachandra Banerji.

1. *The Crisis in Civilisation*.
2. Vide, *The Modern Review* (July and August, 1941); articles by R. Chatterjee and Lajpat Rai.

houses in order, by making it their fixed determination to withdraw their influence and power both from Africa and Asia and remove the colour bar. They have no right to talk of protecting civilisation and human freedom, until the canker of white superiority is destroyed in its entirety."

The demand made by rationalists in India for an enunciation of the post-war aims by Britain and the allied powers and action in the immediate present, corresponding to such aims, is not un-understandable. The logic behind such a demand as expressed by Nehru in the course of a message to the Chinese people, is apparently not inconsistent with his outspoken anti-fascism.³ He observed:

"With China unfree our own freedom will be endangered and worth little purchase. Whatever we do now, constrained by circumstances, is aimed at the achievement of India's independence, so that we might fight with all our strength and will against the aggressor in India and China. We believe that this great war is a mighty revolution which will only succeed on the basis of freedom for all peoples. Without Indian freedom now, it will fail of its purpose and lead us all into blind and dangerous alleys."

In fact, post-war reconstruction proposals leave many in India cold not merely because a Clarence Streit, for instance, does not find room for India in his federal union, or because the principles of the Atlantic Charter is of uncertain application to India, or because the Cripps proposals pegged the position of India in the 'Commonwealth' to dubious phrases—but also because of the continuing strain of the White Man's Burden in the speeches of Churchill, Amery, Smuts and Eden, and of the bitter memories of British support to Japan even as late as July 1939 in the course of the Tokyo Agreement, and of the reports from South Africa, U. S. A. and Australia and from the evacuees of Burma of racial discrimination.

There is of course the school of thought which urges that the immediate problem is to check the onslaught of fascism and then to set our own houses in order. The very process, if purposively pursued, is likely to release forces which will make the emergence of fascists and pseudo-fascists in a post-war world increasingly difficult. To the votaries of this school the fate

3. *Ananta Bazar Patrika*, November 21, 1942

of India's masses, (as against the classes who might desire even a coalition with white capitalism in order to reap the fruits of a national government controlled by brown capitalism) is linked with the results of the present war, in so far as it relates to the fate of Soviet Russia and the conversion of the war into a genuine 'people's war.' Nationalism, according to some of the exponents of this school, is an 'antiquated cult,'—nay even a pernicious one when the alloy of totalitarian ideology in alliance with capitalist greed debases and transforms it. The corollary of this would be the search for a 'place in the sun' in collaboration with a group of states who agree to work together on the basis of certain principles: such a status would be a matter of realisation and not dependent upon the gift or guarantee of others, whose credentials in the matter of fighting for the said principles may even be questionable.

Lastly, there is the question of the home-front. After all the position of India would depend on the maintenance of a stable internal equilibrium, economically, politically and socially. Partly these are world problems: and undoubtedly as a legacy of war and the factors which cause war—problems of nutrition, industrial development, raw materials and their utilisation, education would require 'national' as well as intra-national co-ordination and planning. Possibly, a right economic approach might cure the communal virus in the body-politic, because it would place the exploiters, who profit by such wire-pulling for creating dissensions, out of bounds. I very much doubt in the efficacy of Gandhi's idea that a mere political vacuum would be the prelude to a political settlement: nothing but drastic economic—and consequently as others would say moral—changes internationally and internally, can usher in an world where the 'four freedoms' are guaranteed. It is evidently necessary to have before us detailed and comprehensive blue-prints for a new order—it may not be possible to cover the whole world according to one only for sometime to come. Thinkers must collaborate with practical men in this world-planning from the Indian side, which involves a political, economic and social scheme which just at present only the Gandhi-ites in their own limited way and the slender band of followers of M. N. Roy in a more concrete form have ready at hand, on an all-India scale. The lopsided discussion of group or class or communal demands in the perspective of dependence has unfortunately blurred our vision and hence the unpreparedness

to fall in with schemes for radical world-planning.⁴

In concluding, two points may be mentioned. The colour bar certainly colours Streit's statement that India and China are not in his union because they are "politically inexperienced" or Ivor Jennings's contention that they are below "western standards of education." The pack-wolf mentality as evinced by certain 'politically experienced' and educated European countries do not place them on any higher plane of crowd-psychology than the people in the East. Unfortunately, still the portents on the horizon indicate that the colour bar issue may yet remain undecided for sometime to come: and that is a menace to any settled system for peaceful change.

Moreover, there is the question of population. A country like India with its population may be entitled to such a large representation on a democratically formed world Government that it might frighten many. The obvious answer is that the principle of equality of representation on a federal body would be welcomed by India provided the smaller states are also accorded the privilege. In a federal pattern for the collaboration of democracies it is necessary that uniformity in the application of principles is followed, and the discrimination in the League system between the smaller and the stronger states is not entrenched.

HORACE G. ALEXANDER

India may well play a large part in shaping the World's future because she has traditionally upheld certain principles and values that the World needs to-day. There is in India a different sense of proportion and estimate of values from those that are current in the West. Seeing that Western Civilisation—whatever positive values it has reached—has led the World into two vast holocausts within a generation, there is a clear case for a radical reconsideration of standards and the world may fairly look to India, a country in which the tradition of tolerance, of non-violence, of reverence for life, is still deeply rooted, to assist in this revision of human values. Further, India can look at the world scene from a somewhat detached angle, being far removed from some of the main theatres of war and not having suffered actually from war's immediate ravages. It is not premature to think about the future world after the war, for it is a fallacy to imagine that there can be a sudden

⁴ *Vide, Independent India (Weekly), Vol. VII, Nos. 1-3 (1943).*

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transition from war and destruction to peace and reconstruction. There can be no sound reconstruction unless men and women throughout the world agreed on some fundamental principles of reconstruction. Truth, instead of screaming propaganda, reverence for life, toleration, instead of violence and destructiveness; such love for beauty that the squalor of modern cities becomes unbearable: if these values take possession of men's minds, the political and economic structure of the world can be re-shaped in accordance with them.

Great issues affecting all mankind, such as the population problem, involving emigration, the equality of races, regional grouping for economic and political purposes are facing us; and well-conceived plans based on knowledge and a right sense of values are called for. The creation of a world organisation to give effect to certain accepted ideals is imperative: the ideals will determine the nature of such an organisation. To the clarification of those ideals active minds in all countries and in India and China in particular should devote their energies without delay.

B. B. MUKHERJI

Rai Bahdur Bijay Behari Mukherji stated that the part India would play in the post-war world would depend upon India's real political status. To play any part effectively India must be in a position to express herself in her genuine personality. Else it will not be her voice. If it is not her voice it will hardly ring true. If it does not ring true it can not do the great effective work that each nation or country is expected to do in the New World that one likes to posit for the post-war future. India's freedom politically is, therefore, essential to secure her the most effective contribution to post-war reconstruction. It seems to the speaker that the two most important conditions to be realised by India are her political freedom and the safety of Indo-British goodwill. Since the Indo-British connection started, remarkable good work was done by the Association. Integration politically of India was largely brought about. A definite system of administration in every branch was introduced. Most of the crucial problems were discussed and the problems at issue were grasped. India got into the way of a Modern State without much political upheaval. Many of her sons have a clear vision of the possibilities for good and of the risks of pitfalls. The standards for public services, for the public morale, for the public spirit all have been clarified though

in practice not achieved yet to the full. But beyond the point the association is not producing the expected good any more. The national consciousness makes a demand at each point to which old minds in power naturally find difficulties to adapt themselves. The result is friction, this friction causes bitterness, this bitterness end in anger and unpleasant memories. Anger and unpleasant memories ossify into hatred. Hatred hardens into complete distrust which is mutual. One sees the curious spectacle today that no Indian whatever his record is trusted by Englishmen except when he is a police spy and no Englishman is trusted by an Indian. This neurosis has to be solved. This, in the speaker's view, only, can be solved by the political independence of India. The Indian will then look round and seek out friends. It is the speaker's belief that in the choice of friends the Englishman stands the best chance. Possibly then he will function under conditions when he will be at his best. The Indian too freed from many inhibitions will be at his highest level.

It was said by Lord Birkenhead in his Rectorial speech at Aberdeen for which he was much criticised that 'motive of self-interest was, and must always be the mainspring of human action.' Assuming, though not admitting it, to be wholly true, the speaker would say that friendship had a pragmatic value. Friendship is an economic asset as much as it is an ethical and a spiritual privilege. Hence the political independence of India is an essential condition precedent for her to play her great part in a new world that is hoped for and in that alone lies the security and chance of permanence of Indo-British goodwill. In the continuance of that goodwill lies the prospect of harmonious blending of East and West when alone the oriental spirit of Christ can be truly understood by the West and the primordial energy and physical activity of the West can be leavened to play its part in the advancement of humanity, not in arrogance, not in defiance, not in exploitation, but in the service of the world.

NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI

This issue is being clouded by mists, both political and academic. There are those who opine that so long as India does not get full independence, any talk of her place in a world-order is more or less futile. There are others who would like to discuss the topic as an academic one, avoiding direct political issues. There may be some who would dismiss the issue as

non-existent in a world of strife, anarchy and disorder. Some others may possibly not be inclined to believe in the evolution of a world-order at all, in any length of time.

The world however exists and India and England are both real spaces in the map of the world: neither of them exists in vacuum: there are the geographical, the commercial, the cultural and the political links. Viewed through the blinding haze of the raging and devastating war in which Europe, America, Africa and Asia are locked in a death-embrace and divided into various camps, the evolution at an early stage of a real, practical world-order seems remote.

But some order is bound to emerge out of all this bloody strife: some feeler towards a safer, saner, and surer world-polity: some realisation of the greater harmony of economic, social and cultural values which is the aim, meaning and justification of human civilisation: some resolution of the colour-conflicts: some reshaping of control of the high seas, Atlantic and Pacific, and of the air-ways: some regrouping of produces of raw materials and manufactures of finished goods: some redistribution of the sociological forces: a fresh economic adjustment of the *haves* and the *have-nots* in all countries. The barring of such concepts, disbelief in these readjustments, is an admission of defeatism, a pessimism making for the destruction of all moral and social values, ultimately leading to international *hari-kari* and race-cum-culture-suicides.

Those of us who put their trust in the inevitability of human progress and realise that progress does not come in straight lines but always in spirals, believe that some sort of order is bound to evolve out of all this bloody welter of chaos and mass-murder.

At present the fight is between the Anglo-American alliance (plus *Russia and China*, neither of which have any cultural or racial affinities with the Anglo-Saxon world) and the German-Italian alliance (plus *Japan* which again has no cultural or racial similarities with either Germany or Italy) for world-domination i.e., control of the markets of the world helped by predominance of sea-and-air-power. The main protagonists, for the present, are Hitler vs. Stalin and Roosevelt-cum-Churchill vs. Hitler. The Nazi and the Communist are at each other's throats at one end: the two so-called Democrats and the Yellow autocrat at the other. The

Atlantic Charter promulgated by the Roosevelt-Churchill clique is meant for the consumption of white races bordering the Atlantic and for the drawing-in of all such races into the Anglo-American net, for the perpetuation of the economic and cultural slavery of the big African and Asiatic peoples and the adhesion of the smaller and less-developed white races in Europe, North and South America and Australia and New Zealand: this Charter is aimed not at any world-order envisaging greater harmonisation of the peoples and races of the entire world but is a pistol aimed at the ambitious rivalry of Hitler's gangsters. Bolshevist Russia evidently can not be an active and acquiescent party to this fanfare: neither China: nor India. The living interests of these three peoples are in the new order of the Pacific and India's is a pivotal position in this link—for India is the link between the Atlantic and the Pacific, between Europe, Asia and Africa.

For the present, during the deafening din and noise of the world-war, India's claim to independent nation-hood, though heard throughout all the world and enforced by the death and imprisonment of thousands of patriots, is being brushed out: the benevolent despotism has given place to a bullying and unashamed totalitarianism. China is fighting a more or less lone fight against superhuman odds for years: Russia's magnificent stand against the Nazi hordes is making new history. The British and American armies are putting up an effective resistance to Hitler's armies in Africa and Japan's incursions into Australia and India. But it is a ding-dong fight: up and down, with varied fortunes, with mixed motives, with hearts muddled with greed and visions inflamed with violence. The result is in the lap of the Gods: but it appears that it will be a stalemate. Then after a patched-up peace in which the old riddles will hardly be resolved and the megalomania and earth-hunger of different nations will only be leashed up for a time, there will, it is feared, be new bursts, new alignments of forces, new alliances. After this blood-bath which may take 5, 10 or 15 years (we are no time-prophets), a new objective world-order may arise, in which India will take her place alongside other civilising and humane forces, a place of absolute equality, even a place of arbiter of human destiny. It is in such hopes that the real *Gandhite* in India lives.

A RATIONAL RATIONING AND PRICE-CONTROL POLICY

By PROF. H. K. SEN

EVERY one in Bengal seems to be in a quandary and a fix, overwhelmed, as we are, not only with war, inflation of currency, shortage of food-stuffs, of other essentials and imports but also with almost a state of economic anarchy and their natural concomitants, starvation, disease, distress and death.

In this circumstance, every one seems to be throwing the blame on the others, without owning responsibility and showing results and sometimes making political capital as well as confusion worse confounded. Why not emulate then the examples of Madras and of Bombay and find out a comprehensive rationing policy? We have had a sufficient trial of one party following another, also of free trade, zoning and de-zoning, price control, agency control, rever-sion to free trade, a few "controlled" shops, inadequate Government shops and a jerking down of the ceiling prices, with stocks disappearing from the market, each accompanied by uncertainty, untold suffering, black marketing and profiteering.

The problem and its solution might be an all-India one and should be treated as such, with well calculated basic prices for producing and distributing areas or trade zones, but the Provincial Governments might be more helpful by a comprehensive rational and psychological approach to this completely new and unprecedented socio-economic problem, which was foreseen and forecast by individual investigators but not by politicals and the officials, whose business it was to look ahead as well as to plan. Most of the measures, half-hearted, unilateral, unrelated and incomplete, as often they were, simply added to panic or confusion and its natural consequences. Nominal control prices have been the results of pious resolutions, infirm action and an inadequate appreciation of the economics of price-control.

In fact, rationing or price-control before obtaining physical control (difficult though in this country yet not insuperable) over a substantial part of the food-stuffs or upon the distributing agencies is like to putting the cart before the horse. The Government, therefore, should first address itself to the task of building up of a suitable machinery for distribution, that must be cheap, honest, easy and elastic and above all composed of the different sections of the people, specially the producers and consumers, who are vitally interested. Physical control over the things should come next, with or

without the help of the normal channels of trade, but more and more with help of the Co-operatives in any case. But the channels of procurement and of distribution should be kept separate as far as possible to prevent corruption as well as surreptitious buying and selling, though not so much necessary in the case of the Co-operatives, that may be divided into producers' and consumers' primary stores, the wholesaler's case being different.

The Bombay scheme of rationing would be costly like the one reported to be chalked out for Calcutta by starting 400 Government shops, each of which will cost, about Rs. 300/- to the tax-payer and we have only a few started, so far, to supply the needs of millions. Why not adopt then the cheaper and more elastic Madras scheme of utilising the Co-operatives? It is reported that Bombay also recognises them as accredited agents of the Government but not in Bengal so far. Mysore also has followed suit. The Co-operatives' accounts and stocks are always open to inspection and should be above board, and outside the arena of petty squabbles, party politics and malpractices, being subject to the triple control of the supply department, the Co-operative department as well as the members or the man in the street, who are expected to be more free from routine and red-tapism, and delivered and distributed according to accepted principles.

Madras has shown a fine example of what the Co-operatives could do for rationing and price-control. From 85 they rose to 800 during the war period, and their business touched a crore of rupees during the half year. There is a wholesale in each district, federating all the primaries in the district. The local Government recognised them all as suitable agencies for equitable distribution of essential food-stuffs on their behalf, and extended them various facilities and concessions, allowing them to sell to non-members during the war. The Triplicate Urban Co-operative Store, the most outstanding example and the most successful primary store, not only stood by the Government for supply of food-stuffs during the emergency period but was for a time the sole supplier of food in Madras town, where there was a threat of invasion and a complete disorganisation. It nearly doubled its 35 branches to cope with the Government's task, for which the Government financed the stock of purchase at their emergency Godowns, and further advanced 3 lakhs of

rupees, Government even paying for several overhead and extra charges. So much was the success of the Scheme that the Provincial Government have extended the scheme of distribution in 94 district towns through the Co-operative agencies. Government staff are used for supervision and to be in charge of the stores. It has not eliminated private traders—a necessary evil, even if you would call them, but it has checked their instinct of profiteering, brought prices down to reasonable levels, ensuring equitable distribution. Nearer home at Krishnagar, a district town, a similar successful attempt was taken in hand, though limited in scope, with the same object in view by the first Co-operative Store started in Bengal during the war, with ration cards and quotas fixed for the members, which not only supplied rations at a cheaper rate but kept prices considerably down in the city. The Krishnagar Public Servants' Co-operative Stores Ltd., with about 500 members, developed within eight months into a big concern, was designed for service to the people as well through Consumers' Councils etc., and could easily be utilised for rationing the whole city, even the whole district, if only there were a co-ordinated rational policy behind, of using the Co-operatives as well by opening the safer sluice-gates of the channels of distribution, instead of a subtle and unforeseen obstruction from unexpected quarters.

Can Bengal not do the same at a cheaper cost and largely through elastic and automatic voluntary efforts, taking much of the burden off the shoulders of the harassed Government Officials of the congested, if not the somewhat cumbrous and unwieldy, machinery of the Civil Supply Department? Their function should be to lay down a policy and a procedure; then to guide, to help and to control rather than take an unaccustomed hand in the details of distribution or procurement that are best left to Co-operatives and Controlled traders.* And let there be competition between the two as to who could serve the better and then you will get the results, the profit-motive supplemented and supplanted by altruism as far as practicable. Control, Co-operation and Competition, all the three factors must be co-ordinated and synthesised in any rational scheme of price control

*In "A National Policy for Industry" London, 1942, Mears and Caldwell the authors reprobated State-ownership and management by the Civil Service, approved Statutory Corporations in the larger field and co-operatives in the small—as they are not essentially different from private enterprise.

in present circumstances, as no one, by itself alone, could possibly deliver the goods, unless we have got a thorough regimentation of the economic life by totalitarian methods which call for either a ruthless Dictatorship or a thoroughly honest, efficient and imaginative hierarchy of officials, fired with a spirit of service and free from the shackles of routine and red-tapism, determined to achieve results and not to obstruct. But they cannot be made to order overnight; they require to be trained in the art of social service and economics over long periods.

Government interference with the laws of economics and industry has always been looked upon with somewhat a natural suspicion or aversion in all Anglo-Saxon Democracies. "Hands off" or "Laissez faire" has been the usual cry. The exigencies of the war and the stirrings of a new life and stimulated social conscience have, no doubt, changed all these and the Governments of Britain and the U. S. A. have become semi-totalitarian and socialistic in their outlook, the social and economic programmes and plans forcing an increasing share on their attention under the impact of the war. In this country, the people used to look up to a paternal Government urging them to remedy all their ills but the character of the Government having materially changed of late, in this period of transition, a suspicion and fear complex has now been added to the old spirit of dependence and helplessness—the experimental machinery of Democracy having very nearly failed to replace the old efficient instrument of bureaucracy, but none of them possibly informed or enthused by the modern social and economic ideas or ideals, even if the seats of power, responsibility and distress were the same.

This was no doubt the crux of the new politico-economic confusion through which the country passes. It would be idle to look for an immediate adjustment of these problems. But we may choose the line of least resistance for immediate alleviation and improvement. Hence the necessity for alternative channels of distribution *viz.*, the Co-operatives as well as the seasoned traders, who are, and must be made susceptible to control by a rational price control policy. And such policy must be designed to allay panic and to restore confidence by accepting the sincere co-operation of the people and preventing hostility of the honest traders, whose honesty must be restored and retained. By adopting an all-out policy of any one or new type, we might easily

make the mistake of jumping off from one ditch to another. The long-term policy should be carefully thought out, planned and adopted gradually with successful experiments in areas and commodities. Another alternative would possibly be the starting of a big Corporate body, one for each province or economic zone, somewhat on the models of the Commodity Corporation of America or the U. K. C. C. with shareholders' Capital, limited profit, Directors Management, strict Government supervision, no party or political affiliation, utilising the Co-operatives and the normal channels of trade for procurement and distribution based on a uniform price control policy dictated by the Government. But that also would take time. When the house is on fire we should adopt the line of least resistance and greatest effect *viz.*, controlled traders and Co-operatives supervised by Government and supplemented where necessary, in the shape of a limited number of Government wholesale and retail Index shops, more for the purpose of check, experiment and comparison.

By all means it is necessary to jerk and force the food-prices down but in doing so, we may not try to uproot or unnecessarily disturb the existing economy, which could have only the reverse effect. And possibly we cannot jerk the traders out of existence and make the producer shy without disaster and blackmarketing run amok, till we have built up a set of reliable and dependable alternatives touching all classes of people. The trader, no less than the producer by tempting exchangeable goods other than paper money, must be coaxed and cajoled into submission and made to fall in line with reasonable profit assured to them but with proper checks and safeguards provided in the form of competitive non-profiteering substitutes. Monopoly of any one agency again would possibly make it difficult and dangerous as well as open to graft and corruption. The Co-operatives, in any case, can reach even the far-off rural areas as well as the producers and consumers, and there is an organised department to extend a helping hand. Past experience or partial failures are no criteria to the present pressing needs. Now the only alternatives are "Co-operate or Collapse."

Such a course would ensure economy of food-stuffs and other essentials, of wagons and transport, of establishment and costs, for instance, a simple "bread-zoning in the 6 capitals in Australia released 1500 men, 1400 vehicles, and

saved £700,000 a year." What is more, it will mean an increase in the total war efforts and a steadying up of the morale of chiefly the labouring and other classes of people, who form the backbone of agricultural and industrial life, which once destroyed will take a century to rebuild.

All India is anxiously watching. If Bengal's famine or fire is not localized and put out by judicious control and measured import from outside, which must not be allowed to disappear in any unknown or unaccounted sink, other parts of India also might easily catch up and the situation might get out of ordinary control. Hence the necessity for speed and decision to adopt and enforce a rational and practical price control policy. But then it has to be supplemented immediately by a deflation of Currency by depleting a part of the Sterling reserves, greater insistence on economy or check on extravagances in Civil and Military expenditures and following Lord Keynes' well-known prescription by a roping in or a practical immobilization of the new war wealth or purchasing power so far as individual consumption goods are concerned to prevent speculation and over-trading as well as to defer expenditures, at least through extensive war loans, deferred payment and heavy taxation etc., mostly within the purview of the Government of India.

Since the above was written, Gregory Committee's report on food-grains policy has been out, lending some colour to the above thesis. The remedial measures suggested are (1) the tightening up of the procurement machinery; (2) improvements in the techniques and measures of production as well as equitable distribution of production in urban areas; (3) statutory price-control of food-stuffs; (4) overhaul of the administrative machinery and readjustment of relation between the centre and the provinces; (5) making India a net importing country during the period of war—to which might have been added a co-ordination of purchase and supply policy of food-materials between the Army and Civilian needs as well as the provinces which could be done by a replica of the U. K. C. C. or by the Government of India food department with wide and increased powers given to them by Statute or by Ordinance. In actual procurement and distribution in the provinces, nevertheless the principles, propounded above, should hold good, as they will further the fundamental object, the committee was charged to find a solution for.

MR. G. D. BIRLA AND THE "COMMODITY" INFLATION

A Study in Inflation and of its Remedy

By PRAKASH CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

(Allahabad University)

THE much heated controversy on India's sterling balances and inflation is now turning towards another controversy, where the very fact of inflation is being questioned. Besides the Government, this school is mainly led by big producers and business magnates. We did not take it into account so much when Sir James Taylor, the Governor of the Reserve Bank, said in August 1942 that there had been no inflation of currency. Neither do we accept blindly the Finance Member's logic that we have confused cause with effect and this rise in prices is due to "loose talk and wild exaggeration" which led to "panic buying and hoarding": for we know that it is the duty of the Government to support its own action. But when our big industrialists, in whose hands lies the key of much of our production and commercial activities, come forward to disprove the patent fact of inflation and allege it to be the cry of "all those who are perturbed at the quick rise in price level," it becomes the duty of all sober-minded men to wage a vigorous campaign against this flagrant distortion of facts and to educate the mass mind against this muddle. Sir Chunilal Bhaichand Mehta's argument against the inflation has been well refuted by Professor B. P. Adarkar of the Allahabad University, where the learned Professor has very ably exposed the fallacy underlying such notions as the withdrawal of money from the market in the forms of Defence Loans and Treasury Bills as a measure for anti-inflation. Now comes Mr. G. D. Birla with a new theory, which we may call the *scarcity theory of inflation*, in his brochure, *Inflation or Scarcity?* (February, 1943), where he has been at pains to show that "the real problem is not inflation, but scarcity of goods," and hence "no amount of currency deflation or control of prices or rationing or enforced saving or freezing of income will solve the problem of dearness." The solution, according to him, lies in more production and more consumption on the part of the public.

When one analyses the nexus of the clumsy logic that has been put forth in the above pamphlet, one is inevitably led to the conclusion which is far different from that of the author, and with which, it is not even difficult to disprove the very thesis of the writer. Here we shall examine all the arguments which Mr. Birla

has tried to put forward in support of his conclusion that there has been no inflation.

(1) To begin with, he says that the peak of the last war as regards price index has not yet been reached and there is not much danger of inflation, as yet. From 121 (1873=100) in 1899, the weighted index reached the highest level of 302 in 1920, whereas, this time the index has risen from 134 in 1939 to 250 in November 1942 (though now it is much above that level). Here the author falls into a great statistical fallacy. The rise of 181 points (302-121) before 1920 was spread over a period of twenty-one years, whereas, the present rise of 116 points has taken place within a period of three years only. It is not the rise in prices so much, as its rapid and galloping jumps which is meant by inflation that causes untold misery to the people. Moreover, the rise in prices during the six years of the last war was 115 points (from 187 in 1914 to 302 in 1920), whereas, this time the first three years of the war have brought a rise of 116 points and the pace of rise is daily increasing. The first three years of the last war brought a reduction in price level by one point (from 187 in 1914 to 186 in 1917). No one today denies the fact of inflation in England during the last war, and yet the rise in prices in Great Britain during the first three years of the last war was less than what it is now in India (from 100 in 1914 to 160 in 1916 and 206 in 1917=106 points by 1917).

(2) Mr. Birla then attributes this rise in prices solely to the insufficiency of consumable commodities, because "now the war is eating up a large portion of the goods," and hence no amount of deflation, according to him, can bring any remedial measure. But then the question arises, how is it that in England and the United States the rise in prices has been negligible during the year 1942? In Great Britain, the rise in 1942 is only 3½ per cent over that of the previous year, whereas in India the price level, from January 1942 to December 1942, has increased by about 55 per cent. The production of consumable goods for the public must surely have gone down to a far greater extent in England than it has been in India and this fact has also been admitted by the author in his brochure, where he states that

"In England since all available man power is employed in producing goods for war purposes, there

is no scope for any increase in production to satisfy civilian needs."

The real fact is that in England and America, the surplus purchasing power at the hands of the public having been taken away by the Government through War bonds and additional taxation, the people are not in a position to increase the prices of the limited consumable goods. This deflationary measure is also now the only alternative left to the India Government so as to avert an ultimate monetary collapse.

Of course, we agree with the author that "in England the standard of living was high enough to permit during war time a large curtailment of consumption," but at the same time no one can deny that a portion of our population has become fattened by this war, though in varied proportions, and a great curtailment of their purchasing power is urgently needed. They are now the most potential buyers, as the fixed income class has already tightened its belt to the necessary limit.

(3) Next the author goes on to make a distinction between expansion and inflation of currency and defines the present case as expansion, because "our issue is fully covered by sterling, the purchasing power of which has not so far depreciated." We also agree with him. But this does not mean that there cannot take place any inflation under such circumstances. No doubt, our expansion of currency has taken place due to our continuous favourable balance of trade during these war years and this, as the author puts it, would have also been the case if our currencies were backed by gold or dollar. In the latter case, we would not have hesitated to call it inflation, if such a drastic and rapid depreciation of our notes had taken place. But the fact of the matter is that under normal conditions when the currency is backed by gold, this sort of huge and continuous balance of trade in favour of a country cannot go on for a very long time. Rise of prices in the country due to favourable balance brings an automatic adjustment in its balance of trade and further expansion of currency is either arrested or even reduced. Under abnormal circumstances, such as war, imports of the country may not increase *pari passu* with the prices, due to the difficulties in shipping and transportation. But then again, had our currency been backed by gold instead of sterling, it would not have been possible for England to pay us such a huge amount of the metal and naturally she would have been forced to curtail her purchases in India; and this excess-

sive balance of trade in favour of India being thereby reduced, the expansion of currency leading gradually to inflation could not have taken place. Here, on the other hand, the India Government are issuing paper against paper and hence there is no check either on England's side or on the side of our own Government. Therefore, inflation is inevitable, unless strong anti-inflationary measures are adopted. This was a peculiar draw-back of linking the rupee with sterling in 1931, which then passed unnoticed.

If our favourable balance of trade were mitigated by our import of gold, even then the author says, it would not have been possible to check the expansion of currency; for since 1913, the table has turned and "instead of hoarding gold and silver India has been selling and exporting them." Here the argument of the author is very hazy and unconvincing. The rise in the price of gold since 1931 was due to an external factor and hence it was exported; while the rise now is mostly due to an internal factor (i.e., hoarding, etc.) and this internal changing of hands would surely not require the Government to expand the currency. The real fact is that we are clamouring at present to change our sterling balances in terms of gold or dollar not as a remedy for inflation, but as a more stable standard of value.

(4) Now we shall attempt to analyse his arguments when he goes to show that the expansion of currency has not affected the prices. He admits that the production in India has not increased "to any appreciable extent" and argues that the present rise in prices is only due to the additional demand created by the Government for Defence purposes. But if that is so, then what function on earth are these additional 450 crores of rupees doing? To deny its effects on prices, unless it is assumed that all this money has been hoarded away, is to deny the very essence of the Quantity Theory of Money. The truth of the fact, however, is that the increased demand on the part of the Government has, no doubt, raised the prices of the commodities, owing to the limitation of their supply, but at the same time the huge expansion of currency is pushing the prices constantly to a higher and still higher limit. No doubt, the reduction of the note circulation from 590 crores to 179 crores, would not mean more cloth, more food, more salt, more kerosene, more cement or more wood, as the author puts it, but at the same time he forgets that this reduction will certainly reduce the prices of those commodities

and thus effecting hoarding as unprofitable, make them available to the common people. The author can not make out how taxation and heavy borrowings "will eliminate the distressful sight of queues waiting for hours before grain shops to get a few seers of wheat." The reason is, however, not very far to seek. This pathetic sight of queues is not due to the shortage of food grains alone, but it is mostly due to the hoardings by businessmen as well as by the public. When the Government would stop expansion or take away the money in effective circulation, the cause of hoarding would also vanish and there would no longer be any flight from the currency. People do not hoard so much for high prices as in the apprehension of it, and it is the duty of the Government to nullify this apprehension. This predominance of a psychological factor in inflation has been made explicit by Keynes when he states that

"What concerns the use of money in retail transactions of daily life is the rate of depreciation rather than an absolute amount of depreciation with some earlier date."

The check in the drastic expansion of currency will also relieve the India Government *cum* H. M. G. from paying higher and higher prices, leading to more and more expansion of currency, for the same amount of their demand.

(5) Then the author deviates to a different topic and introduce a novel method of calculating the velocity of the circulation of currency and shows that the velocity has tremendously gone down in recent months. Hence the author thinks that his thesis is proved, because "money can secure goods and raise their price only if it is used for payments. So far it has not been used, at least by the private consumer, to the extent which its volume seems to suggest." The author takes the example of the velocity of bank deposits and since it has greatly gone down in spite of the increase of deposits in the banks, he readily concludes that the velocity of currency must have also gone down.

Years	Demand Liabilities of Scheduled Banks	Total clearing House Returns	No. of Times
1938-39	123.8	1,929	15.6
1939-40	132.6	2,211	16.7
1941-42	202.0	2,569	12.7
1942-43 (First 8 months)	333.0	1,635	4.9

So he concludes that in 1939-40 when the issue of currency was Rs. 179 crores, in all they must have functioned as (179×16.7) —the velocity of bank-deposits—Rs. 2989.3 crores. In 1942-43, in spite of the increase of currency like that of bank-deposits, the velocity (of bank-

deposits) having gone down, they have done the work of $(590 \times 5) =$ Rs. 2950 crores only.

The correlation which the author presupposes between the velocity of bank deposits and that of the currency is not only arbitrary but also fallacious. This decrease in the velocity of bank money rather proves that there must have been an increase, on the other hand, in the velocity of currency. This is because, the reduction in the velocity of bank money means a stagnant position of our industrial and commercial activities, and this being so, the influx of currency into the market from the Reserve Bank's vault implies a rise in prices, which in its turn leads to a flight from the currency. This flight, in other words, simply means that the rapidity of circulation has increased. This is actually the picture of what is happening in India today and every day it is on its way to increase. Further, the author himself states that the credit has greatly ceased to play its part and "most of the buying and selling is now done on a cash basis." This again implies that the velocity of currency circulation must have gone up very high (cf. The Cambridge Equation of the Quantity Theory of Money).

(6) Then the writer tries to show that a considerable withdrawal of silver rupees has been carried out thus reducing the effective circulation of currency. In his zeal, the author advances so far as to readily conclude that there has also taken place a hoarding of notes. It is a new thing indeed. We have heard enough of the gold hoardings and silver hoardings in our study of the Indian currency system. But now we hear also about the hoarding of paper notes, particularly at the time when they are depreciating daily.

(7) Lastly, the author has introduced the prices of a list of commodities, mainly foodstuffs and raw materials and has tried to show from a comparison of their price-trends with the successive amounts of notes in circulation, that the rise in prices had little to do with the currency expansion. By this he has spoilt his case more thoroughly. This sort of comparison is of no use where there is an element of price control, though it might have been greatly ineffective. The writer has tried to prove that only the prices of those commodities that commanded the Government demand have risen greatly, irrespective of the currency expansion; and in this category, he includes wheat, rice and cloth. The currency between October 1939 and October 1942 has expanded by about 148 per cent, and

the rise in prices of wheat, rice and cloth during this period has been 97 per cent, 100 per cent and 179 per cent, respectively. But what about the price of kerosene which rose by 174.5 per cent during this period? Then again, sugar also is of no less importance than wheat, rice or cloth to the Government. Still its price rose by 12 per cent only. The real truth about this is that the degree of rise in the price of a certain commodity depended upon the efficiency of the price controlling machinery over that commodity. A bright example in this respect is that of sugar, where the price control has been more successful and, hence it has not risen to the same extent as the cotton cloth, over which there is no such control. Moreover, prices of foodstuffs and cloth have risen more because along with the Government's demand for it, these are also the immediate necessities of the people at large; whereas, cotton, groundnut cake etc., being not such essential commodities, their prices have not increased to the same extent.

This price list has done one more good to us. People might have still looked to the present high prices and inflation with a little sympathy, being guided by the idea that the agriculturists, who were almost on the verge of bankruptcy during the great depression, are now being benefited by the high prices of their commodities. The figures in the price list itself show that the rise in the prices of foodstuffs and raw materials has been far less than the rise in the prices of other essential commodities, such as cloth, kerosene, etc. And this is the reason why in spite of the higher agricultural prices, the standard of living of these 70 per cent of the population has not increased. The agriculturists can not hold up their produce for long and hence they have to sell it within a limited period of time at whatever price it fetches. On the other hand, the essential things which they purchase are disrupted by the present dislocation and difficulties in transport facilities, and further, they have to pay the black market price, which is more prevalent in rural areas than in the big towns. The last depression brought about an alignment or a severe disruption of the cost-price equilibrium and in this war, so far as the agriculturists are concerned it is still the same, though in a different way.

Thus, all the arguments of the author fall flat in the face of a critical analysis. The broad-daylight fact of inflation in its "naked" form is there and no jugglery of arguments can now conceal the truth. Sir James Taylor similarly confused the issues when in his speech at the last

Share-holders' meeting of the Reserve Bank, he denied the very fact of inflation and considered the high prices as an "unavoidable result of the large purchases of goods and services" by the Government. Inflation begins everywhere at first by this abnormal demand on the part of the Government. It started due to the same reason in most of the European countries during the last war, and that classical hyper-inflation in Germany was also, at its infancy, similarly nourished and brought up by the heavy demand on the part of the German Government. This war has brought benefit to none, except of course, to the big industrialists and businessmen and also to those few fortunate men who are concerned with the business of military contracts. It has not brought good to the agriculturists, to the rentiers (as the interest rates have not increased), to the fixed income group and also to the wage earners (as the prevailing rates of dearness allowance are too low to be considered).

There is no one-way remedy for this inflation. This "hyra-headed monster" should be attacked on all fronts. After liquidating all the foreign investments in India, our steadily increasing sterling balances should be sterilized, as was done in the case of gold by the U.S.A. Government. This would check the rapid expansion of our currency. At the same time three great campaigns should be carried out in India, namely, (1) the curtailment of the purchasing power of the public through loans and taxes; (2) the reduction of purchases in India by his Majesty's Government; and lastly (3) the mobilisation of all the resources of the country for more and more production. A little elaboration of the implication that is involved in the curtailment of purchasing power through loans and taxes seems to be necessary, as it has been misunderstood even by many of the experts. If the proceeds of the taxes and loans are again spent out immediately by the Government to meet their day-to-day war expenditure and purchases, the effect of contraction is nullified. Hence the withdrawal of money through defence loans and treasury bills by the Government of India has not given effect to any sort of contraction of the currency. This intricacy of the problem was misunderstood by Sir Chunilal B. Mehta when he was trying to disprove the fact of the present monetary inflation, while presiding over the 32nd annual meeting of the Bombay Shroffs' (Bankers') Association in January last. In his opinion, the rise of Rs. 215 crores in bank deposits, the withdrawal by Government of Rs. 130 crores through defence loans and the

remaining through treasury bills accounted for a total withdrawal of Rs. 410 crores out of the then increase of Rs. 450 crores in the circulation of money. A more conspicuous contradiction has been made by Mr. C. N. Vakil in his booklet *The Falling Rupee*, where he writes that the "repatriation of debt followed by new rupee loans is anti-inflationary in its effects" (p. 7—2nd edition), while at the same time he admits in the next page that "rupee loans were, however, issued to meet the revenue deficits due to war expenditure by the Government of India" and also "to provide the rupee finance in India on behalf of His Majesty's Government" (p. 7). So what is required is to set aside such extra money as a separate reserve and to repay it when the depression sets in during the post-war years. The fundamental idea of these extra loans and taxes is not to meet the war demand but to achieve the contraction of currency and this implication of the matter should be properly realised. The present poor contribution for the Defence Loans, already floated, may raise doubts in the minds of some people about the feasibility of further loans to bring the necessary contraction. For this, however, the Bank Rate and consequently the interest rates should be raised above the present level. The idea of this *three per cent war* should be revised by the Indian Government, according to the prevailing monetary condition; otherwise, this cheap money policy will cost heavy to the public, as well as to the Government. As regards further taxation, the country's sentiments may run against it. No doubt, the burden of taxation has already reached very high limits, but it should be at the same time remembered that inflation is a far heavier type of taxation and perhaps the easiest way for the Government to delude the public. In this case, as Keynes has explicitly stated in his *Tract on Monetary Reform*,

"The burden of the tax is well spread, cannot be evaded, costs nothing to collect, and falls, in a rough sort of way, in proportion to the wealth of the victim."

We do not, of course, agree with this last proposition of Keynes. We believe, on the other hand, that the incidence of *inflation-tax* falls heavier on the people having smaller income and hence it is a regressive form of taxation; but anyway, this discussion is out of our scope here. It is true that there is no ethical or economic ground to exact almost all the surplus incomes of the richer class through taxation, for this may produce a psychological effect against any sort of productive activity in the country. But, as mentioned

above, if the proceeds of the additional taxation and loans are not spent away to meet the ever increasing demand of the Government at war and are set aside with a guarantee of paying them back with the interest accrued to them in the post-war period, we do not find any reason for resentment on the part of those tax payers. One may regard this as a type of the "compulsory savings scheme" of Keynes, if one is annoyed with the term, taxation.

It may be argued by some people that as, unlike in England and the United States, our richer group consists of a negligible portion of the whole population of the country, the reduction in its purchasing power would not bring any effective decrease in the total demand for consumable goods. The socio-economic justification for the temporary curtailment of the purchasing power of the upper class during the war, however, is that it will also bring a corresponding reduction in the standard of living of the lower middle class or the people belonging to other classes. This reduction of the purchasing power will bring in a psychological change in the outlook of the different strata of the society and people's emotion will be guided by the *look shabby and be proud* slogan. This is a process which should initiate from above and should gradually come down to the lower strata; the reason being that in the society there is always an unconscious effort on the part of a particular class to adopt the standard of living of its next higher class, and this explains why no class is ever satisfied with its own economic or pecuniary condition. Every business-man should remember the statement made by Rai Bahadur Rameshwar Prasad Bagla, in the course of his presidential address at the Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce, held recently at Cawnpore, where he has observed that

"The duty of businessmen in India is not to look at things from the point of view of enormous profits they are making at present, which is only an illusory fortune at the cost of a great damage done to the country."

Anyway, our conclusion is that if more and more unnecessary currency comes into the market from the "printing press," there is no way out, but to take them away and to turn them barren and ineffective. The greatest danger of inflation is still ahead. But the bell has rung and the time has come to put forth our every effort to fight this monster and thus to save ourselves from the threatening crisis.*

12th March, 1943.

*On account of pressure on space this article could not be published earlier.



THE TRAGEDY

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By Sarita Mukherjee

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NOTES

Britain's Post-war Role in Asia

A Reuter message says :

The former Finance Member to the Government of India, Sir George Schuster, in the first of a series of articles headed "India's World Role" in the *Spectator*, this week-end discusses the American journalist Walter Lippmann's book on United States foreign policy.

Sir George Schuster writes : "How can we find a way of political progress which satisfies the principle of national self-determination yet sufficiently preserves the unity of the Indian Ocean region and its capacity to exist as the nucleus of order and support for the structure of world peace? Can British power in a new form, not as a dominating rule but as a unifying and supporting influence, become 'lawful' through acceptance by the peoples of the region? The solution of this problem is essentially a British responsibility, but it is the interest of all the United Nations. Will they, and especially America, help this country in its supremely difficult task? Or will they, by expressions and criticisms superficially made and easily misunderstood, make it more difficult?"

"Mr. Lippmann in one of the most arresting passages in his book, says that *British policy which continued nineteenth century imperialism, would forfeit for Great Britain the support of America, lead to conflict with Russia and thereby, in the end, disrupt the concert of the victorious powers.* Nobody in this country, seriously thinks of perpetuating British imperialistic domination. But might not the other extreme policy, a policy of complete abandonment of the British role in Asia endanger no less the grand alliance of powers by engendering chaos in the Indian Ocean from which dissension would ultimately arise?" (Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.).

British role in Asia during the past century and a half has been one of controlling the trade routes and the markets. Attempt to prevent, failing that, to defer industrialisation of the East has also been another important aspect of

her activities in the East. China and India provide glaring examples. Middle East is also not out of the picture. If the desire to prevent chaos in the Indian Ocean be genuine, why not leave an independent India to deal with that? The country, which even in the midst of her deplorable economic conditions, supplied within three or four years commodities worth nearly Rs. 700 crores on credit to Britain with the prospect of the money not being paid back, may reasonably be expected to build and maintain an effective navy. Stoppage of home charges alone may divert an annual grant of Rs. 45 crores towards the maintenance of her navy..

India's Aid to America

President Roosevelt, in his twelfth report on Lend-Lease to the American Congress said :

"While no official report has yet been received from the Government of India, our army reports total expenditures by India for reverse Lend-Lease aid of approximately 56,900,000 dollars divided as follows : Military stores and equipment, 5,421,000 dollars; Transportation and communication, 3,161,000; petroleum products, 13,127,000; construction, 31,413,000; subsistence, 3,778,000. We have received aviation gasoline, motor gasoline and lubricating oil and lesser amounts of other petroleum products from the Indian Government for use by the American forces. Part of the motor fuel has been used in a number of trucks and passenger cars given to our troops without payment as reverse lend-lease aid. In addition United States army groups have been afforded postal, telegraph and telephone facilities, water and electric power, furnishings for buildings and items of clothing, including mosquito and gasproof outfits."

The amount of this aid, in Indian currency

the charges about censorship and pictured the press in India as little short of a paradise. He said, "The Government's policy was and has always been to rely as much as possible on the restraint voluntarily imposed upon itself by the Press and on co-operation with Press Advisory Committees and as little as possible with statutory control." Mr. Conran-Smith has not said the whole truth. The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference should tell the public whether the consent of the Press Advisory Committees were obtained—to quote only the most recent cases—before passing orders on (1) *Hindustan Times* requiring it to submit for pre-censorship all news and comments concerning Prof. Bhansali's fast; (2) *Hitavada*, *Indian Nation* and *Patna Times* requiring them to divulge the source of information regarding the news of the resignation of an I.C.S. officer; (3) *Jugantar* suspending its publication, and (4) a certain newspaper in Bengal requiring it to submit for pre-censor news and comments on the Bengal famine? Did the Bengal Government consult the Press Advisory Committee when the daily *Bharat* was suppressed? Let Mr. Conran-Smith and Sir Sultan Ahmed answer.

Sir Sultan suppressed the truth about the Provincial Press Adviser's functions and powers when he said, in reply to Mr. K. C. Neogy's pointed question in the Lower House, that the Press Adviser had no power to issue orders at all. Any advice that he gave was in answer to questions put to him. He might have given advice voluntarily to the Press but they were not bound to accept to his advice. This is a gross travesty of truth. The Press Adviser's functions, in reality, are not so innocent as they have been presented by Sir Sultan. The Press knows at its cost that disregard of Press Adviser's "advice" would invariably lead to the issue of an Order by the Government against which there will be no remedy, constitutional or judicial. Even a mention of that Order may be made punishable.

The position of the Press vis-a-vis the Press Adviser was made clear by Dr. S. P. Mookerjee in a meeting held in Calcutta to pay homage to the great journalist Ramananda Chatterjee. He said, "It has been said today that Indian journalism is passing through a critical stage. This is a hard fact. Today orders are passed over the telephone from the Secretariat and in some cases written orders are issued in respect of many matters, which we believe, every journalist has every right to publish in his paper." He emphasised the need for a combined

resistance against the open and surreptitious encroachments on the liberty of the press. He said: "If the journalists and proprietors of newspapers combine and decide to resist this attack on the liberty of the press at any rate, then the liberty of the press will be maintained. If there is an attack on one particular individual newspaper because it had the courage of its conviction and gave expression to views and news not palatable to the authorities then we should not allow that newspaper to remain lonely and alone to receive the frowns of the authorities; but the journalists should make it a common cause and stand for the sacred rights that belong to them."

In 1822, W. B. Bayley enunciated Government of India's press policy when he said in his memorable minute, "The liberty of the Press, however essential to the nature of a free state, is not in my judgment, consistent with the character of our institutions in this country, or with the extraordinary nature of their interests." This same policy continues down to this day with a short interregnum during the Metcalfe regime for which that gentleman had to pay dearly. In older days, rigours of censorship depended on the attitude of the Governors-General, while in the present time, the entire Press has been left at the mercy of petty civilians.

The Indian press has so long pursued a policy of co-operation with the Central and Provincial Governments even at the high cost of honour and self-respect. The result is manifest. Time has now come for a wholesale revision in their relations with the Government.

Creditor India at the Mercy of Her Debtor Britain

The economic problem Field Marshal Wavell will have to face during his Viceroyalty was mentioned by the *News Review* of London in its issue for July 1. The paper pointed out that things had changed since 19th century palmy days, when India meant the soil of that country plus everything and everybody on it. For the first time a Viceroy has been recruited who does not belong to the scions of hereditary nobility and this war-scarred man from a new environment will have to face the greatest economic problems that will arise in India as soon as the war is over. Economic relation between Britain and India is entirely changed. India now emerges as a creditor of Britain with a continually downward trend of British imports into this country. Indian industry, with its steady growth, faces keen competition from British

capital both in England and in India. It is only a truism to say that the progress of Indian industries cannot be maintained, a state of full employment cannot be created through a planned distribution of production, unless and until India is free. This tremendous problem has begun to be realised in Britain and America, although partially, as would appear from the following extract from the *News Review*:

But the political situation in India has gone far beyond the control of any one person, however strong his personality.

Sooner or later the Indian problem will become more than a question of gaoling and freeing political offenders, turning on emergency powers, coaxing the Muslim League or appeasing the Congress.

For, underlying the political problems in India, there is an economic one, which may well in the end be the one that will determine whether India is given independence or not. It may have to be decided in Viceroy Wavell's day. The trouble is that India does not fit into a world economic scheme which meets with the approval of any nation but Great Britain, and it is axiomatic today that every nation will have to make sacrifices for the common peace.

To those who replied that India had already progressed beyond the colonial stage economically, could offer her trade where she liked, American economist Kurt R. Mattusch recently offered interesting figures. True, the sterling assets of the Reserve Bank of India had increased by millions of pounds. True, India's sterling debt was almost negligible. And it seemed that by war's end India would have become a creditor nation, with Britain as its debtor.

But, said economist Mattusch, this was not so impressive as it looked. First of all, it did not take into account the amount of private British capital still sunk in Indian industry, even in cases where Indian capitalists had apparently acquired virtual control of a particular industry. Nor did it reckon with the fact that most of the large banks in the country were either Government-controlled or branches of British and other foreign banks, so that Indian industrialists found it very difficult to finance enterprises of which the British did not approve.

It forgot, too, the Managing Agency system, under which a small number of managing agency firms, a cross between a holding company and an investment bank, controlled whole industries—coal, for instance, and jute, tea, cement, engineering, insurance, oil, paper, sugar, shipping.

As for the fact that India was likely to become a creditor nation, that, too, appeared to be a doubtful benefit. For the people of India will not be able freely to determine what use shall be made of the sterling credits they have in London. That decision rests with the British Treasury. Probably, after a considerable amount had been deducted to pay part of the Government of India's Home Charges (in the form of sterling pensions and provident funds), the rest would be considered as a long-term loan granted to Britain.

In that case, adds Mattusch, "the old adage that the creditor is at the mercy of the debtor will be illustrated once more." That is one of the enormous economic problems Linlithgow is leaving and Wavell is going to meet.

Field Marshall Wavell's first task, with the cessation of hostilities, will be to recover from

England well over one thousand crores of rupees which will be due to India by then.

No European Died in Bengal Famine

Mr. Amery told Mr. Sloan (labour), in answer to a question put by him in the House of Commons, that he had not heard of any deaths of European British subjects among the victims of the present famine in India.

Not only that there were no such deaths, but they had thrived pretty well. Sir Frederic James can certainly be believed when he told the members of the Central Legislature something about the extravagance in restaurants and hotels in Calcutta and Delhi. He said that during his recent visit to the Middle East, he had seen four meatless days for all alike when there was shortage of meat. Had any British hotel in India ever thought of reducing its dietary below the level of luxury during the great famine? Regarding wastage in military circles, almost exclusively under British management, Sir Frederic said, "There was a good deal of waste in military circles. He spoke of an instance in which a distinguished scientist was approached by the authorities of a prisoners' camp to tell them how to make compost out of surplus bread. That was when people were starving!"

House of Commons Debate on Bengal Famine

Mr. Pethwick Lawrence opened a full dress debate on Bengal Famine in the House of Commons. Different speakers gave different causes for the famine, among which may be mentioned (1) act of God, (2) enemy action, i.e., capture of Burma by Japan, (3) inflation, (4) bad harvest, (5) administrative inefficiency and lack of foresight on the part of the Government of India, and (6) political deadlock. Mr. Amery was in a much more tame mood this time and faced the Parliament with a written statement. The debate was wound up by the Chancellor of Exchequer Sir John Anderson, and not by the Secretary of State for India. The general trend of discussion showed that the members of the opposition, specially the Labourites and the National Liberals, were fully alive to the responsibility of Britain for this famine and thought that Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow had created a very bad mess in India. Mr. Amery's tribute to Lord Linlithgow's Viceroyalty elicited some cheer from a handful of tory blues, and a loud retort from the opposition members who shouted, "He should be impeached, not cheered."

Mr. Pethwick Lawrence laid emphasis on the primary cause of the famine :

The main cause of this increase in price was inflation. For that inflation, the Government of India and nobody else could be held responsible. He did not think Mr. Amery would dispute that inflation was, at any rate, one of the causes—he would say one of the main causes—of the present situation. Mr. Amery had stated on October 21 in reply to a question that inflation was a contributory cause. "We may differ as to the degree of importance which is attached to this particular thing, but as a fact, it has been a contributory cause. If any evidence is wanted on inflation—and I am using the word inflation deliberately as distinct from the rising in prices caused by other means—I think it is more or less proved by the fact that increase in prices is not confined to food-grains but extends, as far as I can learn, throughout all commodities, though not precisely to the same extent."

"My information is that the general index has risen something in the nature of 300 per cent. The things the farmer wanted to buy had increased in price from 400 to 500 per cent.; food-grains from 500 to 700 per cent. and specific commodities as much as 900 per cent."

Some remedies for combating inflation were suggested. Besides borrowing and taxation, many responsible men both in England and in India, favour the supply of consumers' goods like clothings, bicycles, etc., as a counter measure to inflation, which, in their opinion, would induce the peasant to part with their surplus stock. There is a big fallacy in this statement. The enormous quantity of money manufactured by the Reserve Bank, has mainly gone into the hands of the industrialists, contractors and the middlemen, and not to the peasant. According to the Flood Commission, only 8% of the Bengal peasant may be said to have the power of holding surpluses. The Bengal peasant's cash crop jute continues to rule unremunerative to him. The price of Madras peasant's principal cash crop has risen by 85%. Bombay and C. P. peasant's cash crop cotton records a rise of 100%. The two other chief sources of Indian peasant's cash income, linseed and hides and skins, have risen by 90% and 25%. Only the Punjab wheat producers are a bit better off with a rise of 250%. These increases in income are more than set off by the increase of food prices by 500 to 700%, and other necessities like cloth by nearly 400%. These accounts are taken from the Monthly Survey of Business Conditions in India issued by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India. A dispassionate study of the Index Numbers would show that the Indian peasant, under the present conditions, can with great difficulty balance his family budget, in the majority of cases living on the verge of starvation and thus can have no surplus

purchasing power with which he may hold stocks of food-grains. An actual house to house survey all over Bengal had proved that no such surplus in fact existed.

A proper investigation of the actual distribution of inflated money will certainly reveal that it has been concentrated in comparatively fewer hands at the top. Not bicycles but an ample supply of motor cars with unrationed petrol will do the job better to draw out surplus purchasing power. Judicious taxation at the top with a bribe-proof machinery for tax collection will be still better.

Assam Premier's Fatalism

The *Sylhet Chronicle*, an influential weekly of the district, published a statement giving the mortality figures of the terrible malaria epidemic raging in Baniachong, a village in Sylhet. The statement was issued by two journalists who had visited the ill-fated village. They say :

From 29th April last to the end of October, there have been 17,414 cases of Malaria in Baniachong alone. This information we gathered from the Chairman of the Habiganj Local Board. He further told us that large number of people did not attend the Dispensary before the 28th April and another large number remained under private treatment. Quite a number were unable to attend the Dispensary for want of conveyance. Taking a modest estimate such number, he said, would be not less than 4,000.

The Local Board Chairman further told us that the Medical Officer of Baniachong Dispensary reported 1,530 deaths due to Malaria upto the middle of October. He disclosed further that from responsible persons of the locality he had it that nearly 4,000 people died.

As to the causes of such heavy mortality, the Chairman told us that the Sub-Assistant Surgeon was of opinion that "there was some bad type of cerebral cases which could not be properly treated and the main cause of death is want of resistance of the people. Owing to high cost of food articles, people cannot take nutritious food and the vast number of landless labour population of Baniachong have been very badly affected by loss of work by malarial fever. After two or three relapses which are very common, such people have no power to resist the violence of the disease."

These mortality figures relate to one single village. The statement was published on November 9. Nine days after its publication, an adjournment motion was moved in the Assam Legislative Assembly to discuss the failure of the Assam Government to prevent death of a large number of people due to starvation and malaria and other diseases at Baniachong. During the discussion, one member pointed out that no minister had visited that village. Replying Sir Md. Saadullah, the Chief Minister, said that "his Government took all possible steps to fight out diseases." The result of such

"steps," if any had been taken, was quite clear from the statement quoted above, published barely a week before the Chief Minister had made this declaration. The summing up by Sir Muhammad was simply staggering. He said :

Nobody could extend age or longevity of a man and if any one was destined to die he could surely die. No Government, whether Assam Government, British Government or any other Government in the world, had any power to change the destiny of a man. The Public Health Department did its best to alleviate the suffering and to cure diseases as far as possible.

Opinion of a competent medical man on the spot definitely stated that the spread of the epidemic and the consequent deaths were due primarily to malnutrition and lack of proper medical aid. Food and medicine together with a little planning would certainly have changed the destiny of these people and their lives extended. Sir Muhammad Saadullah lost no time in taking up cue from Sir John Anderson and pleading fatalism as excuse for administrative inefficiency and neglect.

The American Negro

The roots of colour prejudice in America, the arsenal of democracy and the guarantor of four freedoms, still run deep—much more than skin deep. Although technically freed, the American negro remains as before a virtual slave. His black skin cries his serfdom aloud. A special correspondent of the *New Statesman and Nation* has drawn pointed attention to this problem in two issues of this weekly dated May 29 and June 5 last. He sums up the general conditions and status of the negro in these few words :

The war has elevated the problem of the American negroes to the rank of a world problem. For the 13,000,000 Americans who are descended of African slaves, the abolition of slavery meant little more than transference to a condition of social serfdom. From chattels they became wage-slaves and share-croppers; their material plight remained virtually unchanged. In the cities they are segregated in crowded slum areas. As workers they are confined to the most menial occupations. As share-croppers they live abjectly, in perpetual debt to their white landlords. They are barred from many universities, and though they are not barred from the professions, prevalent social taboos compel them to exercise their callings exclusively amongst their own kind. While the right to vote is legally theirs, the poll-tax, illiteracy, indifference, and sometimes open intimidation, prevent all but a small minority from exercising that right in the South. A bill to repeal the poll-tax was defeated by a Senate filibuster last November. In the North they may sit in the same trains and cinemas as white people, but they are rigidly excluded from white hotels and they are rigidly excluded from white residential districts. Below the Mason-Dixon line segregation is absolute. There are separate trains, separate buses, separate cinemas, separate restaur-

ants, separate everything. The Southern negroes need not, however, wear a yellow star. Their badge is their colour.

A negro is denied equal opportunity even as a day labourer. Their employment in defence services is negligible. As late as June 1941, President Roosevelt addressed a letter to the Office of Production Management in which he declared that "no nation combating totalitarianism can afford arbitrarily to exclude large segments of the population from the defence industries." A few days later the President outlawed this discrimination by an Executive Order. It remains, however, to be seen how far this Order could be traced to genuine desire for democracy or whether acute shortage of manpower compelled this liberal attitude towards the employment of negroes. Lynching is still not uncommon. The correspondent goes on to say :

When early in 1942 Detroit negroes attempted to move in to a Federal housing project that had been officially designated for negro occupancy, they found their way barred by a mob of self-appointed white vigilantes. The police sided with the mobsters, and in the riot which ensued they arrested 215 negroes—and 5 whites. More than two months later the scheduled tenants moved into Sojourner Truth under the protection of armed troops. But the damage that had been done could not easily be undone. The Southerners regard Jim Crow and lynchings as part of the natural order of things. In my youth I spent some time with my uncles in Arkansas. On my first visit I arrived in town shortly after a lynching had taken place. It was a routine lynching, as lynchings go in the South. Some poor negro suspected of assaulting a white woman had been taken from jail, dragged through the streets behind an automobile, and then covered with petrol and burned at a stake erected in front of the town post office. Even more horrifying than this account was the commentary of my favourite aunt, to whom I am still very much attached : "I suppose you've got to do it sometimes to keep them in their place."

In the defence services too, the negro is treated as an inferior being. The stigma of racial inferiority is always implicit in the treatment meted out to him in the Army although they are no less tough fighters than any white martial race in the world. The Negro 15th Infantry Division in 18 months of the last war suffered 40 per cent casualties, never lost a single prisoner and never yielded a foot of ground. In spite of this record, a small number of them are permitted to hold officer's commission in combat units. No negro was permitted into the Air Force until 1942. Early that year, a single negro air training centre has been established and one all-black pursuit squadron has been formed. In the Navy, he is excluded from all positions beyond that of a mess-boy. The correspondent reports :

Even since Pearl Harbour, his position has not much improved and three negroes have been brutally done to death by white mobs. The correspondent says, "it is true that there has been no lynching for almost six months now." The negro is no longer bought, but the average American still seems to regard him as the white man's pack animal which is a much regrettable blemish in the magnificent democratic record of the U. S. A.

A valuable paper on the Biological standardisation of drugs has been published in *Current Science* for October last. The concluding portions of the paper, quoted below, shows the backwardness of this country in the standardisation of drugs and which explains the low quality of the Indian products. Public opinion has compelled the Government to afford some opportunities which still remain in an embryonic state.

The much needed fillip to the wider employment of standardisation procedures in the field of drugs came through the establishment by the Government of India of the Bio-chemical Standardisation Laboratory under the direction of Sir R. N. Chopra. Though far from ideally equipped and not endowed with facilities com-

Dr. M. R. Jayakar presided over the Bombay Conference organised by the National Council of Women in India to discuss the legal status of Indian women. Dr. Jayakar explained exhaustively several aspects of the problem of the Indian women's legal status, such as succession, inheritance, adoption and marriage under Hindu Law. In his opinion, defective translations of the laws in Sanskrit Script was responsible for various legal disabilities suffered by Hindu women for centuries past. The whole trouble, he said, centred round the fallacious belief that woman was incapable of independent action. Expressing his apprehension about the possible outcome of the Hindu Women's Right Bill now pending before the Central Legislature, Dr. Jayakar said :

Concluding Dr. Jayakar said, that he was looking forward to the day when there would be one legislation for all the women of India, as, after all religion had little to do with property rights. Divorced from religion, a civil bill of property rights encompassing all the communities would be an ideal.

The fear that it would be difficult to have a progressive measure of this type passed in a

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It is however a matter of doubt whether Hindus would swallow this rather cheap bait and abandon their demand for a United India. The need for unity and the dangers of sub-division have been unmistakably demonstrated during the past few months. India is one and indivisible, and must remain so.

Activities

A short account of the work done by the All-India Village Industries Association at Maganwadi, C. P., has been published in the *Hitavada*, an extract from which is given below :

Since its inception the Association has been propagating the use of hand-pounded rice. In these days of food shortage hand-pounded rice is not only better from the nutritive point of value but from the economic point also. The Bombay and the Travancore Governments have realised this and have advocated undermilling of rice. In Travancore, it is said, the rice mills are banned for the time being. Various institutions are certified, recognised or affiliated to the Association have been selling hand-pounded rice in most parts of the country. The Bombay Government have been kind

In Bengal also, the A. I. V. I. A. were doing valuable work by providing employment to thousands of men and women through numerous Khadi centres. The Association had been banned and its centres closed down following the 9th August movement last year. The need for this and similar organisations in the post-famine reconstruction of Bengal is keenly felt and Sir Thomas Rutherford can do a signal service to this province by lifting the ban on them. Temporary closing down of the rice mills, as has been done in Travancore may also be seriously considered.

The special correspondent of *Tribune* reports :

Dr. Carpenter opines : " Give India freedom ; let her have modern education—let her govern herself and most, if not all, these religious difficulties will simmer down to the comparatively small proportions. We have in our own country all too persistent, but relatively limited, religious differences. For my part I am sure communal antagonisms would not make Indian Government impossible. Rather, freedom for India would definitely help to alleviate communal differences. The principles of freedom, religious worship and conscience would unquestionably be recognised in any Government set up. I cannot see any reason for Pakistan or religious States in India . . . I feel sure Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims, Jains and Christians will combine to make an Indian nation possible."

A liberal education and a correct appraisal of the real causes of economic distress will bring Hindus and Moslems closer. Freedom will remove the breach altogether. The die-hards know it. The Imperialist grip on educational and economic life in India, for this reason, has always been firmly retained with the help of

reactionary local plutocrats. The educational and economic problems of this country will never be solved until freedom is won.

Division of Rural Population to Industry

Sir Jogendra Singh, Agriculture Member for the Government of India, speaking in the Central Legislative Assembly on the "Grow more Food" campaign, claimed that the cultivated land was already overcrowded and that the salvation of India lay in diverting at least 30% of the rural population to industries. This brought him to the question of industrialization, for which purpose it was necessary that there should be a rise in the purchasing power of the masses.

75% of India's population, or 300 out of the 400 millions, live in villages. 30% diversion means diverting 100 million people on to the industries. The number of people at present employed in industry is only 17.5 million. It is well-nigh impossible to conceive how an expansion of centralised machine industry can absorb a huge labour force of one hundred million. But employment of these people is within the range of practical economics if rural industries are revived and consumption industries, being completely decentralised, are worked as a complement to the village artisan. The Congress had the foresight to visualise it and the National Planning Committee set up by the Congress conducted their investigations with this object in view. Electrification of Indian villages through extensive grid systems has been successfully attempted in some Western Ganges districts. Cheap power, cheap raw material, rural credit and well-organised marketing system can make the village industry a success. This is the surest way to divert India's teeming millions to industry and find employment for them.

French Imperialism in Lebanon

The small republic of Lebanon, situated on the Eastern Mediterranean, comprises most of the coastal strip, with capital at Beirut. The population is largely Christian and Moslem. Out of a total of 8.6 lakhs, in 1929, 3.4 lakhs were Christians and 2.9 Moslems. The Lebanese Republic was proclaimed a State in 1920. It was recognised as an independent State, along with Syria, and then France had been assigned the mandate for her which was confirmed by the League of Nations in 1922. A treaty had been drawn up by France with

Lebanon, on the model of British treaty with Iraq. According to it, Lebanon was to receive full national independence in 1940—if the French Chamber of Deputies ratified the treaty. After the fall of France in 1941, General Catroux, in an open declaration, recognised Syria and Lebanon as fully sovereign independent States.

Since the entry of British forces into Syria and Lebanon, for reasons of Middle Eastern security, relations between Britain and Free France has continued to be strained. Once General De Gaulle got into these States with the help of British arms, he began to oppose the evolution of the Arab States towards independence and greater unity, and at the same time his energies were partially diverted in opposition to Britain. She however swallowed these insults and made De Gaulle practically supreme in the French Committee of Liberation. General Giraud had American support, but he was unable to pull on with De Gaulle and has had to quit. During the Giraud-De Gaulle controversy, a conservative British paper, *The Spectator*, remarked, "Personal questions appear to have baulked large, and the general impression created is that General Giraud has shown himself reasonable, General De Gaulle unreasonable and General Catroux a tireless and invaluable conciliator." General Catroux also did not like the existence of British forces in Lebanon. What General Giraud thought is not known.

Leaders of the Lebanese people in their own way proceeded towards the realisation of full independence. The progressive ministry formed by Premier Riad Bey Solh wanted to amend the constitution to make independence real. The President concurred with him and the amendment was passed in the Lebanese Assembly.

This was too much for the fighting French. Memorable November 11 was selected for crushing Lebanon's desire for independence. On that day, the President, the Premier, all the ministers except one who had fled and all the deputies who had voted for the amendment were arrested and removed to an unknown destination. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved. The people made violent demonstrations against this drastic action of the French. Martial law was proclaimed and there were mass shootings. The French tried to set up a *jo-hukum* Government with Emil Edde as Premier and instructed to organise new elections following dissolution of the Chamber. This attempt however failed.

Local authorities were unable to cope with the situation. General Catroux flew to Beirut.

The whole Arab world, in the mean time, had strongly protested against the action of the French. Nahas Pasha wrote to General De Gaulle: "In my opinion the French mandate no longer exists since the French and British Governments have recognised the independence of Syria and Lebanon. They admitted that the League of Nations was no longer working and neither Syria nor Lebanon could wait for the resurrection of the League under its original form to have a French decision approved." Iraq, Saudi Arab and other Arab States supported Nahas Pasha. The French contention was that although sovereign independence for Syria and Lebanon was proclaimed by General Catroux on behalf of the then French Committee in 1941, the French mandate over these States remained in force because its termination could only be judicially effected by a legally constituted French Government and by the League of Nations or its successor. This argument that the French Committee cannot recognise Lebanese independence and that this question must await the decision of a reconstituted League of Nations or its successor is new. No such qualifications were mentioned at the time the pledges were made. Lebanese independence and full national sovereignty were then recognised as established facts. M. Catroux seems later to have realised the unreasonableness of the position taken up by the De Gaulrites and succeeded in persuading them to give way. He released the leaders and had personal interviews with the President and Premier. *Status quo* has been restored. The main point however still needs elucidation. The terms arrived at with the Lebanese leaders regarding the amendment of the constitution have not been clearly stated.

Two lessons have come out of this conflict in bold relief. The Moslems and the Christians of Lebanon, who were always suspicious of one another and had never before united, resisted with one mind the "Free" French aggression on their independence. This is another evidence of how freedom brings even conflicting interests together.

Secondly, the success of Britain's educative work has been amply demonstrated. During her long association with France, she effectively educated her into acquiring a lust for Empire. France which was unable to defend her own land against enemy aggression, which lies prostrate at the enemy's feet, has shown a remarkable alertness for defending her position as a

"protector" of Lebanon, with the sole objective of holding on to a crumble of her disintegrated Empire.

Prices of Cotton and Cloth

In a Press Note issued from New Delhi on the 18th November the Government of India has announced its decision to maintain the price of Indian cotton between the floor of Rs. 400 per candy (of 784 lbs.) and the ceiling of Rs. 550 per candy by offering to purchase any quantity of the new crop 1943-44 season cotton. In the event of the price reaching the ceiling the Government will requisition such cotton as is required by the mills. This is a half-hearted measure which does not go far enough and will thus fail to attain its object.

It is, however, a landmark in the commercial policy of the Government in this country. The price of cotton current in the Bombay market is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 440 which is unjustifiable, for in January 1942 it was Rs. 176. Speculative buying and hoarding explains this phenomenal rise which resulted in the high price of cloth and consequent suffering of millions. Some Bombay cotton magnates admitted this hoarding when in April last the price soared to Rs. 610. The ceiling price under the circumstances should have been fixed much lower than at Rs. 550—a fantastic figure which bears no relation to the cost of production of cotton to the grower who, while entitled to a fair price, can not be allowed to fatten at the expense of the consumers of cloth.

Even this weak measure will become meaningless if the Government do not show sufficient firmness in dealing with cotton mill-owners who were recently successful in deferring the delivery of their stocks manufactured before the 1st August till the 31st December. If the original date *viz.*, 31st October fixed by the Government were strictly adhered to, the price of cloth would have appreciably gone down and at least thousands of lives of famine-stricken people in Bengal would have been saved in this cold weather.—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya

Congress Leaders' Release Urged in Parliament

Sir George Schuster said, during the famine debate in the House of Commons, that there was a failure to take adequate and comprehensive action. It was a story of half measures and vacillation. Sir George could not find in the white paper that rice was ever seriously

mentioned or discussed in any food conference until December 1942. There was no attempt to control other prices and it was not until December 1942 that a Food Ministry was set up at Delhi. He thought that the most serious indictment in the whole story was that there was never an attempt to develop a comprehensive plan and it was only now after four years of war that a logical plan had been put forward by the Committee.

Sir George Schuster's indictment was further strengthened by the speech delivered by Mr. Cove. He said, "The war has provided an acid test for our rule in India. We have been there for 200 years and when a war of this character breaks out our machinery in India, so far as morale, etc., is concerned, has broken down. It is quite impossible to meet the situation unless we at the same time try to remedy the political difficulties in India. Our friends like Pandit Nehru and others are in gaol. We may as well be frank—there is no co-operation from the Indian side among leaders there for our cause and believe that it is due to our fault."

It is impossible to formulate any comprehensive plan for a gigantic task of feeding hundreds of millions of people, unless the leaders of the people, who know the country and the masses, co-operate. The Congress leaders knew their job and their co-operation would have meant formation of a comprehensive plan and enforcement of the plan with equal emphasis on the Provinces under the centralised direction of the Congress Working Committee. Refusal to accept the proffered hand of the Congress has drawn Britain into the quicksand of famine and pestilence, dragging down her fair name needlessly low.

Sir John Anderson's Reply

Replying to the Commons debate, Sir John Anderson said:

In 1942 the Government of India made an urgent appeal for help in procuring additional supplies of wheat. At that time a decision had just been taken to divert certain ships earmarked for military purposes in order that they might be put on the north Atlantic route to improve the British food supply position, which was then seriously running down. It was decided, nevertheless, that a number of those ships should be again diverted to meet India's requirements. This year further urgent appeals were received from the Government of India on the ground of the very serious situation developing in Bengal.

Action was taken, as the result of which supplies of grain were now flowing freely into Bengal. That process would go on until the end of the year. If the main paddy harvest was, as it promised to be, very

good, they would be very near the end of their troubles, at any rate, at the end of the year.

The primary responsibility for all services touching the life of the people rests with the Provincial Governments.

Continuing Sir John said: "It is no use talking as if the grant of responsible self-government made no difference. Where the penalty of failure has to be paid in human lives, suffering and death, we should be beware of the way we apportion the blame. The natural calamity has played its part. Wrong conclusions are often reached because the material for the right decision has not become available until after the event."

Banging the despatch box on the table in front of him Sir John said later, "This complaint that the Government of India might have acted much earlier refers to the time when the people were not dying. He agreed that it was unfortunate that there was not more prompt realisation of the dangers of inflation but the Government in India had not the same experience as the British had in the last war. He believed that they had now reached the peak of inflationary tendencies."

This statement coming as it does from an ex-Governor cannot but be regarded as an attempt to mislead people who have little knowledge about the constitution manufactured for India. The vital provincial services, viz., the Civil, the Police and the Medical, are all responsible to the Governor and not to the Ministers answerable to the Legislature. Even promotion, punishment and transfer of the Imperial Servants rest with the Governor, responsible to the Secretary of State through the Governor-General. The Calcutta High Court has correctly defined the position of the Ministers saying that they are mere advisers of the Governor and do not constitute Executive Government. Ministerial "responsibility" without any control over the superior services is a mere farce and provides an ideal condition for offering scapegoats. Sir John had worked this constitution and he knew what he said when he described this constitution as "admirably suited to the traditional task of Government in India."

Sir John said again:

"You have 40,000,000 people in Bengal living directly on the produce of small holdings of an average expanse of 3½ acres. You have 20,000,000 who are dependent on aggregate surpluses that can be gathered together from all these small holders."

The peasant in Bengal and India has been dragged to this position under the British rule. The sources of their subsidiary incomes earned through cottage industries have gone. The peasant has been compelled to make his patch of land the sole means of his subsistence. He gets no manure, and hardly any irrigation. Badly planned railway lines have destroyed natural channels of water supply. No serious effort has

ever been made to resuscitate the dead and dying rivers. Out of the same average holding, Japan gets three times and China twice as much produce as the Indian peasant raises. He is left illiterate, an easy prey to malaria and other preventable diseases, his vitality going lower and lower with continued starvation and malnutrition.

During the last three decades, production of food remained stationary while population increased by about 100 million.

Year	Rice (000 tons)	Wheat (000 tons)
1913-14	24,782	9,455
1932-33	26,201	10,027
1940-41	22,143	10,070
1941-42	25,351	
1942-43	24,533	

But things are entirely different in England. She paid attention to her own food production from the very beginning of the war and provided with a well-knit plan. The King has disclosed in his speech, proroguing the Parliament, that "On the home front for the third year in succession Britain had had a bounteous harvest."

Bengal is also going to have a bumper crop this year, but that is a gift of nature pure and simple, Government has had no hand in its production.

Proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform

British constitutional pundits are determined not to rest till they find out an Indian State system to their satisfaction. Sir Stafford Cripps favours functional representation which had been experimented in Italy and now stands exploded. Prof. Coupland wants to divide India into four autonomous units on the basis of river basins which would provide a confederacy with a weak centre, and would mean a revival of twelfth century political doctrine.

The larger number of this reticents, however, want an irremovable Executive for India and cite the U. S. A. as example. They conveniently suppress the truth that although the U. S. A. Executive is irremovable, and not responsible to the Legislature, salutary checks have been provided against its going despot. It is responsible to an elected President and the powers of the President and the Executive are both strictly limited by the constitution and laws passed by the legislature. President's veto is suspensory and not absolute. A great check against the President is the mid-term election of the Legislature. General elections take place

after the President, with the Executive appointed by him, has governed for two years. Irremovability of the Executive is a hot favourite with the British Constitutionals busily engaged in drawing up a future for this country, but the American provisions of checks against Executive despotism are not even mentioned.

Unanimity exists in their fundamentals, whatever difference in detail there might be. Indian constitution, according to them, must be manufactured in Britain, and not by any Constituent Assembly in India. The efforts of these busy bodies are primarily directed towards a discovery of ways and means for excluding the Congress, as far as possible, from participation in the government of the country.

The opinion of Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras and one of the ablest civilians who ever came to this country, about the effect on India of an elaborate constitutional superstructure, both designed and operated by natives of Britain six thousand miles away, may be cited here:

The strength of the British Government enables it to put down every rebellion, to repel every foreign invasion, and to give to its subjects a degree of protection which those of no Native Power enjoy. Its laws also afford them a security from domestic oppression unknown in Native States; but these advantages are dearly bought. They are purchased by the sacrifice of independence, of national character, and of whatever renders a people respectable.

The Press During The War

The *Spectator* of London makes the following comment on the presidential address of Mr. Gordon Robbins to the Institute of Journalists:

He was right in saying that the official attitude to journalists on the fighting fronts has been far more liberal and enterprising than in the last war. The truth, of course, is that the Government has become much more propaganda-minded and is aware that no publicity is more valuable than that which the newspapers can give on their own account. It made a good many mistakes, especially early in the war, and was severely, openly and effectively criticised. A great tribute is due to the Press itself, which has acted as its own censor, and has played its part in waging war far more effectively than it could have done if it had been under a British Goebbels.

In India, censorship has been imposed on subjects which had nothing to do with the conduct of the war in the remotest degree. The latest example is the ruthless suppression of news about the famine which needlessly delayed aid resulting in the death of thousands of innocent men, women and children. The playing

Food Debate in Central Assembly

The predominant impression created by the Central Assembly debate is that Government of India's debacle is complete. Plenty of figures were no doubt given by the Food Member about the achievements of the past few weeks although it was obvious that mere statistics do not prevent hunger. Sir Jwala Prasad took pride in having sent 82000 tons out of the 250 000 tons shortfall anticipated by the Governor of Bengal during the months of October, November and December but the people will consider it gross incompetence on the part of his Department in having failed to have supplied this entire quantity by that time. Mr. Hutchings's performance proves that he is a misfit in the Food Department where vigour, intellect and imagination are needed; his services may profitably be used in some clerical department where dehydration of intellect and imagination will be a help and not hindrance. Mr. Hutchings claimed that he was a "dehydrated" bureaucrat and announced that the Government now had a plan and a pious wish to do something in the future. When he announced the Government's grim resolve to enforce rigorously the Food-Grains control order, members demanded to know how far the Government had succeeded, to which no answer is reported to have been returned. Besides announcing future plans of the Government, Mr. Hutchings, the Secretary of such a vitally important Department had nothing to say about what the Government had actually done. Even Mr. Jinnah had not a good word to say about the Administration. He said: "You cannot get away from the charge that you have been guilty of gross negligence, you have failed in your duties and responsibilities." Mr. K. C. Neogy was very near the truth when he described the famine primarily as State industry bearing in certain respects the hallmark of genuine British manufacture. During the debate, the Government spokesmen pleaded helplessness against some Provincial Governments' adamant

The Congress Party resolution demanding a public trial of Mr. Amery, Lord Linlithgow and Sir John Herbert was not allowed to be moved. Other demands for at least some sort of inquiry into the food scandal was also negatived. Better results cannot be expected from a Government which Mr. Jinnah, the greatest friend of British Imperialism, described as a "system which is irresponsible, irremovable and thoroughly incompetent, tied down by fetters to their master, the Secretary of State."

●Release of Sir Oswald Mosley

Sir Oswald Mosley, the British Fascist leader, has been released on grounds of health. This release comes at a time when the greatest anti-fascist leaders in India remain locked up behind prison bars. Sir Oswald's release has evoked a storm of protest in England. Mr. Churchill's attitude in conceding this release can certainly be called into question when his past appreciation of the Fascist leaders is recollected. In 1927, Mr. Churchill, then the Chancellor of Exchequer, told an Italian newspaperman in Rome :

"I could not help being charmed, as so many other people have been, by Signor Mussolini's gentle and simple bearing and by his calm, detached poise in spite of so many burdens and dangers. . . . If I had been an Italian I am sure that I should have been wholeheartedly with you from start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism. I will, however, say a word on the international aspect of Fascismo. Externally, your movement has rendered a service to the whole world. . . . Italy has shown that there is a way of fighting the subversive forces which can rally the mass of the people, properly led, to valour and wish to defend the honour and the stability of civilized society." (Italics ours.—Ed. M. R.).

In appearance the Allies are all one, but if we analyse their political ideals, we find that some of them are diametrically opposed to one another. The British conservative principle remains to this day not far divorced from Fascist conceptions in reality although not in name. World Empire of the Imperialist is also the ideal of the Fascist. No reason has yet been advanced for thinking that Churchill of 1927 will be a different Churchill in 1947.

*The Initiation Centenary of Maharshi
Devendranath*

Seventh of Pous or 23rd of December is a red letter day in the history of modern Bengal. It was on this auspicious day that Maharshi Devendranath took his initiation in the doctrine of One God and devoted his life and property to the service of humanity. He gave a new life to Raja Ram Mohun's movement and succeeded in spreading it all over India and even beyond its shores. The Arya Samaj of North India, the Prarthana Samaj of Western India and the Veda Samaj of South India were all linked up with the Brahmo Samaj. The Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj have taken the lead in observing a centenary week for fostering the brotherhood of the Unitarian Churches. We sincerely hope their effort has been in the right direction and will be crowned with success.

Willingdon and Linlithgow

Mr. O. S. Edwardes, an Englishman resident in India during the period 1929 to 1937, writes in *The New Statesman and Nation* for June 12, under caption "How not to Start":

There are two excellent photographs of the two latest Viceroys of India. One of them shows Lord Willingdon, perhaps unaware of the camera, squatting on the steps of a Lahore hospital, smiling broadly, and writing his autograph for Indian urchins who through round him, peer over his shoulder, jostle him. The other is of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Linlithgow, posed on horseback in front of a viceregal wall : top-hatted, frock-coated : Victorian propriety in every rigid line of man and mount.

We could hardly expect a permanent chain of Viceroy's equal to the 1921-36 series. But with the guidance of recent examples, we can expect the next one or two to avoid queering their own pitch at the start. With ten years' previous service in India, plus a few weeks for looking round after his return, Willingdon said in his first public speech as Viceroy that he wanted to be India's first constitutional Governor-General before his time was up. In his first hour of office, with much less experience of India, Linlithgow broadcast a homily to the whole country in the manner of a benevolent pastor-master : telling it, in effect, how he hoped to be loved, but also how he expected it to behave.

Part of this Address was preserved :
 "To the Army in India and the Royal Air Force
 I speak as one who has shared their life both in
 peace and in war, and whose happiest days have been
 spent with the Colours. I recall with pride and pleasure
 that in Northern France in 1915, I witnessed the loyalty,
 discipline and valour of the units of the Indian Army.
 Of the decorations that His Majesty has been graciously
 pleased to confer upon me, there is none I prize more
 highly than the Long Service Medal of that branch of
 the Army in which I had the honour to serve."

And analogously to the Indian Navy and Police. He then directed that these extracts be framed and posted in appropriate spots all over India, and that on a day near the middle of May, one of the hottest months

in the plains, troops and police be paraded specially to hear the messages read once again by their officers.

He had been in office just about a week when he peremptorily sacked a whole battalion from guard-duty at the Viceroy's House because he saw what he thought were three or four sepoys, whom he thought to be on sentry-go, smoking or playing cards in the small hours.

A fortnight later, this letter went out from the Bureau of Public Information to one of India's newspapers :

papers :
 "I understand from the Viceroy's Private Secretary that His Excellency has been surprised to see the way in which the — publishes the Court Circular [he meant the Viceroy's, not the King's]. It is printed up in one box, under the heading "Social and Personal," with items of information about the movements of private individuals. His Excellency's view, I am informed, is that a newspaper such as the — might reproduce the Court Circular in approximately the same way as does the London Times. There, as you know, it is treated somewhat differently from ordinary "Social and Personal" items. There would, of course, be no objection to announcements from provincial Government Houses being published with the Court Circular, but His Excellency feels that the inclusion with it of items such as I have outlined in red, in the enclosed cutting, is undesirable."

In the paper concerned, the Circular was already being printed daily at the top of a column on the second-best page of news. The items "outlined in red" related to such "private individuals" as a senior member of the Government of India and an eminent Indian statesman. Their treatment differed from the habits of the London *Times* by the thinness of the line or "rule" obviously distinguishing them from the Viceroy's Court Circular.

Very admirably Lord Linlithgow presented three stud bulls for the free use of poor breeders in Delhi, and urged private enterprise to follow suit. But he need not have claimed, or allowed the claim to be made, that this was an original idea; the Punjab Government, for instance, had given over 4,500 free stud bulls in the eight preceding years. Official statements described a project "inaugurated by His Excellency the Viceroy" for the supply of free milk daily to schoolchildren—after he had seen how well it was being done by local authorities in Simla before he became Viceroy.

Personal incomes in India were variously estimated, at the time, to average between £5 and £9 a year per head of the Indian population. The Viceroy's salary was about £20,000 a year, plus a sumptuary allowance of £3,000. He also gets a grant, roughly equivalent to four times his salary, for his staff, his comings and goings, and perhaps a few other extras. Here are two items of expenditure in Willingdon's penultimate year and Lindlithgow's second year :

	1924-25	1927-28
Salaries and allowances	£1,000,000	£1,000,000
Grants-in-aid	£1,000,000	£1,000,000
Comings and goings	£1,000,000	£1,000,000
Staff expenses	£1,000,000	£1,000,000
Other expenses	£1,000,000	£1,000,000
Total	£5,000,000	£5,000,000

Private Secretary's Establishment	1934-35	1937-38
The Viceroy's Tours	£14,516	£26,023
	£29,156	£39,000

Some tax-payers wondered why ninety-nine people had to go with Lord Linlithgow on his "private visit" to an Indian Prince for ten days in October, 1936, and 124 when he went to another State a month later, for not so long.

In his original broadcast homily, he had said:

"In my judgment the appropriate forum for the exposition and, where necessary, the defence of Government policy is upon the floor of the legislatures."



The Bakule Institute, Prague (1926)
Sitting: Left, Dr. M. Winternitz; centre, Rabindranath Tagore; right, Ramananda Chatterjee
Standing (from right to left): Prof. Lesny, Mrs. Lesny, Mr. Bakule, Mrs. P. C. Mahalanobis and Prof. Mahalanobis. The boys and girls belong to the Institute

INDIA'S MILITARY DECLINE IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Conclusion

BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

In my first paper on this subject (August number, pp. 97-100) I showed how Indian warfare came to be dominated by European arms and tactics. The superiority of the new system depended on improved artillery and disciplined infantry. The full significance of the change and its implications, so far as Indian life is concerned, require to be studied in detail, as such a mere bald statement may make us miss the real lesson of this step in our history.

VI

In the Indian warfare of that period (1757-1804), infantry dominated the field, with consequences fatal to the Maratha armies, as Sir Thomas Munro pointed out as early as 1803. In Sindhia's army and others "modernised" on the same model, the cavalry had now come to depend on the support and initiative of the trained infantry and to look up to the infantry for protection, hence the cavalry had lost the habit and even the power of making an opening for the infantry by its own initiative and of coming to the aid of the infantry when the latter was hard pressed, as at Assaye. Hence the once-dreaded Maratha myriads of light horse either stood aloof or fled away at the first sign of defeat. Their only role now was to loot an enemy already broken and fleeing in disorder.*

Infantry had been the despised arm in the Middle Ages in Europe and India alike, before the invention of gunpowder. Early in the 18th century the French showed in South India two remarkable things: *first*, that no Indian troops of the old school could stand against European troops and European arms, even when the odds were a hundred to one in their favour, so far as mere number went; and *secondly*, that Indian

sepoys could be very successfully trained and led by European officers, so as to become almost as efficient as European soldiers and unconquerable by any Indian troops of the indigenous type. These facts were proved in a score of encounters between representatives of the rival systems during the two Carnatic Wars (1743-'48) and the Indian campaigns of the Seven Years' War (1757-'63.)

Thus, in the second half of the 18th century it became the rage of the Indian Rajahs and Nabobs to maintain European-trained sepoys of their own in addition to hiring private European military adventurers and white deserters from the East India Company's army and thus forming a Feringi company, especially of artillery. Each defeat of the old system only enhanced the prestige of the new. The most extensive and effective use of such European trainers and separate corps was made by Mahadji Sindhia and Daulat Rao Sindhia and Tipu Sultan, and to a lesser extent and much later by Holkar. Such forces in the services of the Peshwa and the Rajput Rajahs were negligible in number and practically worthless in the field. Before the Treaty of Paris (1763) disarmed the French in India, the European auxiliaries hired by the Indian princes were the regular troops of the English and French East India Companies, and they fought as subsidised allies and not as servants of the Indian Powers. After 1763, the only European soldiers in Indian service were private military adventurers or mere soldiers of fortune, without having any official status or connection with their Home Government.

The first extensive use of European trainers and their regiments (which were the property of their white captains) was made by Shuja-ud-daulah the Nawab of Oudh, after 1764. But on his death in 1775, Warren Hastings made his successor Asaf-ud-daulah disband his French corps. The Nizam's white-drilled corps was raised by Francois Raymond in 1792 and dissolved under Wellesley's orders in 1798. Under Haidar and Tipu, the white troops played a very subordinate part, in comparison with the indigenous troops who were armed with modern weapons.

* On 19th August, 1803, Col. John Collins, the British Resident with Sindhia, told General Arthur Wellesley, "I tell you, General, as to their [Maratha] cavalry you may ride over them, wherever you meet them, but their infantry and guns will astonish you." And Captain Blakiston, who had accompanied the General on this visit to Collins, adds, "As in riding homewards, we amused ourselves in cutting jokes at the expense of 'Little King Collins,' we little thought how true his words would prove," [on the battlefield of Assaye.]

VII

Yet the new system could not be adopted fully, nor worked very successfully in an India whose political and social life was still mediæval. The reasons of our military failure are easy to perceive now, centuries after the event.

A trained army must be a standing army. Men of this type cannot be secured by taking peasants away from the plough after harvest and sending them back to their work of tillage when the next sowing season comes round,—as King Alfred used to do with the English militia in fighting the Danes, and the Rajput clansmen did almost down to our own days. Hence, the employer of a disciplined army must provide a large and assured revenue for the punctual payment of his men all the year round. Drilled sepoy will lose all their special efficiency and their force will utterly disintegrate if they are left to "live on the country," as the Maratha light horse used to do. Modern arms and munitions also cost a good deal more money and require more frequent renewals than is the case with the equipment of indigenous troops armed with ploughshares beaten into the sword at the village smithy.

In steel production and fire-arms manufacture India was very weak. Though the gunsmiths of Munghyr and certain other places could make fine ornamental muskets and almost exact imitations of Europe-made muzzle-loaders, yet the arming of any large force of modern infantry was beyond the industrial resources of our old Rajahs and Nabobs, and hardly one of them had spare arms for even 500 musketeers. In armory our weakness was still more deplorable. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries we find Indian rulers frantically trying to buy cannon, even very small pieces, of European manufacture, secretly by bribing the French and English merchants, who were forbidden by the authorities of the East India Companies at Home to interfere in this way in the internal quarrels of the Indian princes. In spite of this wise order for neutrality in the civil wars of India, some smuggling of European arms and powder did take place, even as late as the outbreak of the First Burmese War in 1824. It was only by De Boigne in the North and Raymond at Hyderabad that good artillery was manufactured in the Indian States, but that was at the very end of the 18th century and under expert European designing and supervision, though the labourers at the foundries were Indians. An ex-watchmaker of Scotland named Sangster manufactured arms for De Boigne. A modern army

requires a highly developed industrial and mechanical organisation in the country; and this was lacking in India in those days.

De Boigne supplied this want. When organising a new model army for Mahadji Sindhia, he established gun-foundries at Agra, Mathura, Ujjain (and probably at Aigarh also, later). These had European modellers and mechanical supervisors of high skill and knowledge and they introduced the latest improvements in cannon-making then known in France. The workmen were all Indians and they developed remarkable efficiency (but obviously no originality) under constant European supervision. The result was astonishingly successful, and Sindhia's India-made guns when captured in 1803 excited the highest admiration of their English captors. Wellington wrote after Assaye, "We have got more than 90 guns, seventy of which are the finest brass ordnance I have ever seen." (Suppl. Despat. iv, 180). His aid-de-camp Capt. Blackiston writes of the same cannon, "The pieces which were cast under the direction of Europeans, were all of the best kind, and equipped in the most efficient manner." (*Twelve Years*, i. 176). So, too, of Sindhia's guns captured at Delhi—

"The brass guns, mortars and howitzers have been cast in India; . . . the whole are evidently the design and execution of an European artist. The workmanship is of as high a finish as any in the [English E. I.] Company's arsenal. The whole of the pieces are finished with well-made elevating screws, some are of the latest French improvement." (Martin, Wellesley Desp. iii. 668).

Similarly, Francois Raymond, in the service of the Nizam, cast cannon in a foundry near Hyderabad, about which John Malcolm wrote in 1798 :

"There were a number of brass cannon newly cast, which our artillery officer judged as good and as well finished as any they had ever seen. They also made swords, muskets and pistols. The specimens I sent will show the great progress they had made in these manufactures." (*Ibid.*, i. 686).

Saltpetre of very fine quality and in very large quantities was produced in North Bihar and shipped to Europe by the Armenian, English and French traders throughout the 18th century by the cheap lower Ganges route. But the transport of this raw material for gunpowder by land to Southern India or the Panjab, greatly added to its cost. Hence, the Deccan Powers tried to buy saltpetre and manufactured gunpowder from the European traders whose ships called at the ports on our Madras and Bombay coasts. The indigenous Powers of India had, therefore, to be very sparing in the expenditure of powder and

shot both in training their recruits and in fighting. In Europe, and became fossilised. An acute English officer remarked in 1792 :

VIII

The disciplined sepoys and their European officers in the service of the Indian princes were objects of intense jealousy to the military officers of the indigenous class and indeed to all the local nobles and ministers, because they drew salaries at much higher rates and were paid far more punctually, while in the old fashioned section of their masters' armies, the pay was as a rule in arrears from one to three years at a time and the soldiers had to live on loans from the grain dealers and camp-usurers.

The trained sepoys were of matchless value no doubt. But there was no reserve of them in the country, and as soon as their European officers were slain or captured by the enemy, there was none left to take their places and the particular force dissolved of itself.

In fact, the rock on which the modernised army of the Indian States in the 18th century broke down, was the lack of Indian officers of sufficient education and experience in training the men and using modern tactics in battles. Except for the Brahman caste (and a very few Prabhus) among the Marathas, all our Hindu military officers were illiterate and they prided themselves on this defect! Hence, they could learn nothing from books, nor increase their knowledge from the results of Europe's advance in science and the thoughts of the masters of the military art there. The best Indian officers of our Rajahs' drilled sepoy battalions in the 18th century were but imitations of the European officers under whom they had served,—such as Ibrahim Khan Gardé, an ex-captain of Bussy's army,—and usually deserting black captains from the English or French Company's army in India. A very large proportion of the foreign officers in Indian State armies were not pure Europeans by birth, and very few of them had exercised even the lowest command in any army in Europe. In fact outside the British Indian army, the sepoy battalions were commanded mostly by men of mixed Indo-European parentage from Goa or Pondicherry, and even by pure Indian Christians from the Portuguese colony. These men may have had some European blood, and something of the European spirit, but were without a tincture of European education, and indeed of any education worth mention.

After some years of stay in India, they lost all touch with the progress of arms and of arts

"The Maratha infantry, which formed part of the retinue that attended the chiefs at the conference [with Lord Cornwallis], is composed of black Christians, and despicable poor wretches of the lowest caste, uniform in nothing but the bad state of their muskets, none of which are either clean or complete; and few are provided with either ammunition or accoutrements. They are commanded by half-caste people of Portuguese and French extraction, who draw off the attention of spectators from the bad clothing of their men, by the profusion of antiquated lace bestowed on their own; and if there happens to be a few Europeans among the officers and men, which is sometimes the case, they execrate the service, and deplore their fate. The Marathas do not appear to treat their infantry with more respect than they deserve. . . . and on all occasions evidently consider them as foreigners and a very inferior class of people and troops. Indeed the attention of the Marathas is directed entirely to their horses and bazars." (Dirom, pp. 11-12).

These military adventurers were often moral wrecks, and, with a few notable exceptions,—like Madec, De Boigne and Perron, they are given the worst character by the European writers of those days and of our own. Witness the remarks of the French Comte de Modave in 1777 and of Professor Garrett in our own times. One thing, however, must be said in their favour: in spite of their glaring vices, they were good mixers, very resourceful as their hard lives made it necessary for them to be, and several of them took pride in the efficiency of their troops as far as their uncertain allowances would permit them to equip and train them.

IX

The men commanded by such foreign adventurers could not make a long stand against Oudh Rajputs finely equipped by the E. I. Company and trained and led by pure British officers, previously educated in European military schools, and stiffened by regiments of white troops fighting shoulder to shoulder with them. This was easily found out by the British officers who fought against the much vaunted French-trained *campoos* of Sindhia. Thomas Munro wrote in February 1804 :

"Sindhia and Bhosla opposed to us [infantry] men who never could be made as good as our own [sepoys]; from the want of a national spirit among their officers [viz., European mercenaries] and of the support of European battalions." (Gleig's *Munro*, 2nd ed., i. 392 and 395).

The general education and modern spirit of the common soldiers must tell on their efficiency or otherwise as a fighting instrument. It is an axiomatic truth. Sir Henry Durand wrote on

3rd April 1868, shortly after the Seven Weeks' War :

"So far as Prussian successes depended on the needle gun, and not on strategy or tactics, it was the intelligent use made of the weapon which procured for the Prussians such marked superiority over the Austrians. It must not be forgotten that comparing with English, French, Prussian, or any other armies of civilized European Powers, the scale of general intelligence which prevails among the Sepoys and native officers (in command of companies) raised from the ranks, it is futile to expect on the part of our native troops any analogously apt intelligence for the skilful use of the Snider or of any other breech-loader arm of precision. The teaching of a single European instructor of musketry cannot be expected to effect much against the counter-

poise of adverse conditions. Practically, for fighting purposes, the general intelligence will be of a low standard."

In short, the new system of warfare which the French and the English introduced into India in the 18th century, required an amount of intelligence and education in both the men and their officers, and a degree of general industrial advance in the country, which were entirely wanting here in the 18th and even in the 19th century. Will World War No. 2 remove this defect, or shall we have to wait till World War No. 3 engulfs us?

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE AS A JOURNALIST

By SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE achieved unique distinction as a writer and journalist. Though he occupied a pre-eminent position in his noble profession, the public services rendered by him for over half a century were not limited to this important and engrossing sphere alone. It will, perhaps, be no exaggeration to say that during the long span of his active life there was no movement for the uplift of his motherland that did not engage his devoted attention or with which he was not intimately associated. Whether as a teacher, an educationalist, a social reformer, a religious worker, a litterateur, a political thinker, writer and speaker, an upholder of numerous humanitarian and philanthropic causes, Ramananda Chatterjee did signal service to the cause of progress and humanity; and his high character and lofty idealism coupled with outstanding abilities and rare intellectual acumen along with his disinterested and selfless devotion to commonweal placed him in the forefront among the public men of the day.

Through his numerous utterances, written and oral, Ramananda Chatterjee played a conspicuous part in instructing and moulding public opinion in the country on the various complex and knotty problems of general interest that engrossed the attention of the public during a momentous period in the history of his country. The pages of *The Modern Review* and the *Prabasi*, the Bengali monthly, of both of which he was editor and founder, furnish valuable material to the future historian desiring to con-

struct an authentic and reliable contemporary history of India. It is Bernard Shaw who somewhere says that "The man who writes about himself and his own time is the only man who writes about all people and about all time." Ramananda Chatterjee, of course, wrote of his own time as also of past times. In a government which should, it is intended, be based on the will and for the welfare of the people concerned, nothing can be of greater value—to the individual, who should form a right judgment on the problems with which he is confronted, no less than to the future chronicler, whose conclusions to be of proper worth must be founded on accurate and trustworthy information, made by persons of understanding, discernment and judgment,—than the dissemination of ideals and ideas having their basis on truth and knowledge. Ramananda Chatterjee fulfilled this most essential and onerous responsibility of a publicist in as satisfactory a manner as is humanly possible.

Being of an extremely modest and unassuming disposition, Ramananda Chatterjee, very naturally, felt disinclined to write or speak anything about himself. It cannot be denied that compared to progressive Western countries, like England, France, or the United States of America, India is sadly deficient in records, both printed and otherwise, which would supply the necessary material for the construction of authoritative and reliable historical or biographical work. To the want of such literature may be attributed the lack of biographical works relating to the

life and work of many eminent Indians. It is easy to remember the valuable and beneficent contributions in varied spheres of national life made by a number of very distinguished and brilliant men, whose memories have almost become a blank to future generations mainly because of the absence of adequate and proper records of their achievements. It would be to the everlasting benefit of the country that the memories of such citizens should be treasured by posterity. May it be hoped that before Ramananda Chatterjee's contemporaries have passed away, some enterprising writer will undertake the work of placing on record the invaluable services that he rendered to his country? His own writings, in both his journals, go to show the breadth of his outlook, the extent of his interest in matters of public welfare, his independence of character, his love for his country and his fearless advocacy for her freedom as also for all that made for her progress, and his deep regard for truth and righteousness.

The career of Ramananda Chatterjee as a journalist may in certain aspects be fitly compared to that of the late W. T. Stead, editor and founder of that brilliant English periodical, *The Review of Reviews*, who lost his life prematurely in very tragic circumstances in the *Titanic* disaster. Some of the Indian readers of that journal still remember with what interest its monthly appearance was awaited by its numerous readers all over the world with anxious expectancy. John Morley who as editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette*, had secured the appointment of W. T. Stead, as assistant editor of that paper, pays in his *Recollections* an eloquent testimony to the personality of his assistant, who subsequently became his successor in his editorial chair. In the words of John Morley, W. T. Stead, "by and by sailing under his own flag became for a season the most powerful journalist in the island." He goes on to write: "Stead was invaluable, abounding in journalistic resource, eager in convictions, infinitely bold, candid, laborious in sure-footed mastery of all the facts and bright with a cheerfulness and geniality that no difference of opinion between us and none of the passing embarrassments of the day could ever for a moment damp. His extraordinary vigour and spirit made other people seem wet blankets, sluggish creatures of moral *defaillance*." Many other writers refer to the new life that the advent of W. T. Stead in the field of journalism had brought into being and bear testimony, in appreciative and enthusiastic terms, to his great services.

Both Ramananda Chatterjee and W. T. Stead were animated by the spirit of enterprise and independence, they edited the journals owned and established by themselves, they sought no favour from any, feared nobody's frowns, had versatility and were uncommonly industrious, wrote their notes themselves mostly, which in the case of each was a special and notable feature, had unbounded enthusiasm for the causes they upheld, were inspired by very high motives, were essentially fortified by spiritual instincts and helped in introducing a new and enlightened spirit to the province of journalism in their respective countries. In the case of Ramananda Chatterjee, he conducted besides his English journal, a Bengali monthly as well, which was as important as the other and had characteristic features of its own. His work for the advancement and enrichment of his mother-tongue was a valued service which will be remembered with gratitude by the votaries of that literature. Ramananda Chatterjee's other public activities which were of an imposing and many-sided character, have also to be noted in making a right estimate of his life and work. If W. T. Stead was essentially a great journalist, the accomplished editor of *The Modern Review* and the *Prabasi* was, in addition to that, as we have seen, one of the most outstanding personalities of his time, who concerned himself in an active manner with many of the most difficult and perplexing questions touching the advancement, elevation and amelioration of national life. W. T. Stead had a superior vantage ground inasmuch as he worked and lived in an independent country, where the press was free, and the people were mostly educated and literate. It was the fate of Ramananda Chatterjee to pursue his activities in a dependent country, where a small part of the people had the advantage of education and was literate, the press was shackled by fetters of a degrading and humiliating nature and the administration was backward, unprogressive, unsympathetic and hostile to popular aspirations.

An incident in the life of each of them may be mentioned to illustrate how ardent was their zeal for the causes for the furtherance of which they laboured and how fearless they were of the consequences of their action. It may not be remembered by many that a series of articles, under the title, "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," were written by W. T. Stead, when he was editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette*, in 1885, with a view to bringing to light a great social evil and inducing the Government to undertake

suitable legislation to check it. Stead acted, in the words of Kennedy Jones, who speaks of him in very appreciative terms in his book, *Fleet Street and Downing Street*, "with the avowed purpose of exposing London's traffic in young girls, and compelling Parliament to initiate protective legislation. To prove his statements were based on facts, Stead commissioned a procuress to obtain for him a girl of 13 (Armstrong). Charged with abduction of a girl under 16, he was found guilty and sentenced to three months' imprisonment in Holloway gaol as a first class misdemeanant, the jury adding a rider that he had acted from the purest motives." This did not break his spirit but after the term of his imprisonment was completed, he brought out *The Review of Reviews* and by his fearless and vigorous exposure of evils and evil-doers became a power in his country.

All through his life Ramananda Chatterjee pursued his purpose with the utmost persistence and energy undaunted by any fear of, or persecution by, men in authority or power. As is well-known, the late Dr. Sunderland brought out a book called "India in Bondage: Her Right to Freedom" in America, exposing the manner in which the British Government carried on the administration of India and making out a strong case for her freedom. *The Modern Review* also published an edition of this work in this country. Large portions of it had already appeared in the columns of this journal as separate articles. These also were reproduced in other journals. After the first edition of the book had been exhausted, a second edition was brought out and a few hundred copies were sold. It was then that house searches began, the manuscripts of the book along with its remaining unsold copies were confiscated and the Government started a case against Ramananda Chatterjee and the printer on a charge of sedition. The case was tried by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta who in his judgment passed an order of conviction. As a result Ramananda Chatterjee had to pay fines amounting to rupees two thousand for the case against him and the printer. The copies of the book confiscated were worth a large sum. An influential American paper while condemning the action of the Government in the matter at the time very appropriately remarked: "Dr Sunderland has one source of comfort at least. His book is in bondage, this it is." The comments that Ramananda Chatterjee made on the judgment in the columns of this journal exposed the policy of the Government

in the matter of freedom of the press in the most scathing terms in his usual logical and penetrating manner, displaying courage and fearless independence. (C) arose—and such occasions arose often—had to make similar outspoken comment against leading and powerful men and parties in the country, wielding very great popularity and influence, quite undeterred by the hostility that he had to encounter for his bold and manful stand.

The most notable feature of Ramananda Chatterjee's career as a journalist was the personality that he was able to create both for the two journals that he conducted as also for their editor. There is, of course, a very intimate relation between the personality of the editor and that of the journal. As the sum total of the special and distinctive features of a journal—such as authenticity and reliability, nature of its contents, beliefs and opinions, the ideal for which it works, its business methods, its spirit of enterprise and readiness to move with the times, etc., constitutes its personality; similarly, the combination of intellectual, moral, and social traits of the editor makes up his personality. Ramananda Chatterjee entered life after a distinguished career as a student in his University. Before he seriously undertook journalism as a profession, he had already achieved success as Principal and Professor of a College and had won recognition as an able educationalist and popular teacher. All this, along with the experience that he had also gained in the course of his public activities and his preceding journalistic work—for off and on, in addition to his usual teaching work, he had been in charge of some journal or other and been a frequent contributor to the press,—stood him in good stead in his subsequent career as editor of *The Modern Review* and the *Prabasi* and contributed largely to the remarkable success that he attained as an eminent journalist and public man. Ramananda Chatterjee had the great advantage of himself being both editor and proprietor of his journals. As he was responsible for the editorial side as also the financial management of his journals, he could shape his policy in accordance with his own ideas without any clash or opposition. The position of the editor becomes more difficult when the editor and the proprietor are separate individuals, and still more difficult when the proprietors are either a syndicate or a group of persons. The commercialisation of the Press has added further to the difficulty of the position of the editor in respect of the management or those responsible for the guidance of policy. The

emergence of clear-cut parties or interests has made the situation still more complex. When the editor is a salaried person and has to depend on another authority for the determination of policy it becomes often very hazardous for him to maintain his position with dignity and honour. Formerly the proprietors were satisfied if the editor followed the policy broadly laid down by them and acted generally in the interest of the general public. This enabled many talented and distinguished men to undertake editorship of journals and newspapers and to perform their functions in accordance with high principles as also with ability and enthusiasm. With the advent of the new conditions this arrangement has been superseded by a system which converts the editor into an automaton and consigns him to a subordinate position. The system discourages the development of initiative and independence of character and favours the creation of a type of men qualified to carry out the behests of others. A journalist of the type of Ramananda Chatterjee cannot be expected to grow under such a system.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO MODERN SCIENCE

By SUSOBHAN DATTA, M.Sc., P.R.S.

DURING the several millenia between the early astronomical observations of the Vedic Hindus and the introduction of modern science into India by Europeans, India had not been scientifically asleep. In spite of the fact that the Hindu intellect in early times was inclined more towards spiritual quests than to grappling with science of the concrete, the achievements of the Hindus in the domain of positive science were not insignificant. The ancient Hindus made notable contributions to mathematical science, chemistry and medicine, much of which was indigenous and some even pre-Greek. It is an admitted fact that the Hindus invented the numerical figures and introduced the decimal system of reckoning. They were the teachers of the Arabs in arithmetic and algebra and through them of the nations of the West. Charaka and Susruta (before Christ), Aryabhatta (6th century) and Nagarjuna (7th-8th century) are names of which any nation may be proud of. Unfortunately the scientific knowledge of the Hindus made no remarkable progress after the end of the 12th century and no scientific work having any stamp of originality had been done in India after that period.

The story of the revival of scientific research in India in modern times covers a short period of only about half a century. In this short period many Indian scientists have carried out original investigations in different branches of natural science, some have made notable contributions, and a few have earned international recognition. A measure of the considerable

volume of research work being done by Indian scientists may be had from the various scientific periodical publications in India, such as the Journals, Proceedings and Transactions of the various academies, institutes and learned societies and especially the Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress. 30 years back during the first session of the Science Congress in Calcutta in 1914, only 35 papers were read, some of which were contributed by European scientists in India. In the 25th Session of the Congress in 1938, more than 800 papers were contributed, most of them by Indian scientists. As for Europe's recognition of India's contribution to modern science, before 1918 no Indian had the distinction of being a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. Srinivas Ramanujam, the South-Indian mathematician, was the first Indian F.R.S. (1918). In the last 25 years 7 more Indians—J. C. Bose (Physics and Plant Physiology, 1921), C. V. Raman (Physics 1924), M. N. Saha (Physics 1927), B. Sahni (Botany 1937), K. S. Krishnan (Physics 1940), H. J. Bhaba (Physics 1941), S. S. Bhatnagar (Chemistry 1943)—have been included in the roll of the Society's Fellowship. In 1930 the Nobel Prize in Physics also came to the east of the Suez when it was awarded for the first time to an Indian, nay an Asiatic scientist.

Among those who created this background of scientific research in India in modern times, two names stand out most prominently. The late Sir J. C. Bose, and Sir P. C. Ray were the accredited leaders of those who helped modern

India to her feet in the world of science. In 1896 before a meeting of the British Association at Liverpool, a young Indian scientist demonstrated an apparatus for studying the properties of short wireless waves, almost identical with the coherers subsequently used in all systems of wireless. This created a sensation in scientific circles of the West where currency was being given to the belief that the Indian mind was traditionally unfitted for grappling with the science of the concrete. In any age and in any country J. C. Bose would have been distinguished for his originality and his skill as an investigator. Viewed in his setting of time and place he appeared as an unexpected light on a dark horizon. At a time when no one from his country had yet ventured to that field, Bose began making original contributions to experimental science. Soon after joining the Presidency College, Calcutta, as a professor of Physics, Bose began to publish his famous researches on the properties of short wireless waves. Long before Marconi did his experiments on wireless communications Bose investigated the possibility of sending signals with the help of wireless waves through a distance and in a lecture experiment actually sent signals over a distance of 75 ft. with three solid walls intervening. In these experiments flat metal disc on the top of long rods were used for facilitating the sending and receiving of signals, anticipating in some ways the use of antennae in wireless telegraphy. When in 1895 Bose demonstrated to European audiences these results, the possibility of application of this method of sending signals to long distances did not escape the attention of interested people. Although Sir J. C. Bose's name does not figure in the technical instruments later employed in large-scale practice, there is no doubt that he contributed much to the idea which culminated in the successful development of wireless communication.

Bose later on drifted away from this promising field to physico-physiological investigations, which led to discovery of a parallelism in the response of inorganic matter and animal tissues as well as plants. He proved by scientific methods the underlying unity which our sages of old perceived in all living forms and even between the worlds of the living and the non-living. Bose showed that plant tissues undergo change in shape under the action of electric stimulus as animal muscles do and the conduction of impulses in the plant tissue follows the same laws as in the animal tissues, the effect

of the application of warmth, cold, depressant and exciting drugs producing identical effects. He also showed that the rhythmic pulsation of leaflets are of the same category as pulsatile activity of an animal heart. In England his investigations had at first a mixed reception and the Royal Society at one stage even refused publication of one of his communications. Rebuff from the Royal Society drove him to devise more and more sensitive apparatus for making the plant to write down its own autograph. In 1920 eleven eminent fellows of the Royal Society testified to his claims in the *Times* and shortly after the Royal Society honoured him by including him in its roll of fellowship. Bose's permanent contribution to plant physiology is the series of highly sensitive instruments, devised and manufactured by him in the workshop of his Institute, like the resonant recorder, or the high magnification crescograph which is a recorder of plant growth capable of magnifying a small movement as much as ten million times. In 1917, Bose laid the foundation of a Research Institute 'for the fuller investigation of the many ever-opening problems of the nascent science which includes both life and non-life.' For the last twenty-five years investigations have been carried out in the Institute in different branches of natural science, plant physiology and genetics, physics and bio-physics, bio- and agricultural chemistry, zoology and anthropology.

In the eighties of the last century, a young Indian student working in the chemical laboratories of the Edinburgh University used to dream that a day would come when his motherland would no longer lag behind other advanced countries in the world of Science. Half a century has since elapsed and the scientist's dream has partly materialised. In bringing about this new era, when so many sons of India have taken to the zealous pursuit of different branches of natural science, he himself has been one of the pioneers. From the day he joined the Presidency College as a junior professor of Chemistry in 1889, P. C. Ray devoted himself to original investigations and very soon earned distinction by his discovery of mercury nitrite and other compounds. To him belongs the credit of being the pioneer in the field of chemical researches in India, and starting an active school of chemical research in India. A guide, friend and philosopher to his students—easy of access, ever pleasant, ever willing to help the poor and needy student with his counsel and purse, living a life of sturdy, celibate

simplicity—P. C. Ray has been to his pupils an ancient Indian guru reborn. Another achievement of this great scientist which his countrymen will always gratefully remember, is the establishment of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, which to-day employs 2000 men and has a capital of nearly half a crore of rupees.

Among the distinguished students of Sir P. C. Ray who have made notable contributions to Chemical Science, the names of Sir J. C. Ghosh, Dr. N. R. Dhar, Dr. J. N. Mukherji, Dr. H. K. Sen, Dr. J. N. Ray are worthy of special mention. Sir J. C. Ghosh, now holding the responsible position of the Director of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, created a stir in scientific circles when he first put forward his theory of complete dissociation of strong electrolytes. The quantitative formulation of Ghosh's theory by Debye and others forms a landmark in the development of electro-chemistry. Ghosh has also made intensive studies of many photo-chemical reactions and unravelled their mechanisms. Another Indian Chemist to-day holds the key position in the world of Scientific and Industrial Research in India. When the new Department of Scientific and Industrial Research was created in 1940, Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar was appointed the Director. Sir Shanti Swarup is the first Indian Chemist to be elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In colloid and magneto-chemistry his contributions cover a wide field. He discovered interesting effects of magnetic field on various chemical reactions and showed that interesting changes in magnetic property take place in some substances on colloidalisation. To him goes the credit of designing a highly sensitive apparatus for measurement of magnetic susceptibility—The Bhatnagar-Mathur Magnetic Balance—put in the market by Adam Hügel Ltd., of London. In his laboratories lots of immediate problems connected with India's industrial and war efforts are being tackled.

Most spectacular has been India's contribution to modern physics during the last quarter century. Is there a student of physics today who has not heard of Raman effect, Saha's ionisation theory or the Bose-Einstein statistics? It was a happy day for India when in 1930 the Nobel Prize in Physics was for the first time awarded to a scientist on the east of Suez. Sir C. V. Raman is one of the romantic figures in modern science. After a brilliant university career he entered the Indian Audits Service on passing a competitive examination. But a genius of the type of Raman could not rest satisfied

with the drudgery of routine-work in a Government Department. It was the most eventful day in his life when he decided to start work in the laboratories of the Indian Association at Calcutta after his days' work in the office. His talents soon attracted the attention of Sir Asutosh Mookerji who was then organising the Calcutta University College of Science. He offered Raman a professorship and Raman accepted the offer at a considerable pecuniary loss. Now began the most fruitful years of his scientific career. Raman's contributions cover a wide range in Physical science. In acoustics he made important investigations on vibration of strings, on the impact of pianoforte strings and on the technique of Indian stringed musical instruments. His investigations in magnetism shed light on the magnetic behaviour of asymmetrical molecules. One of the earliest workers on X-rays, he showed how beautiful halos or rings are obtained by scattering X-rays through liquids because of certain orderliness in the arrangement of molecules in them. He proved that the colour of the sea hitherto erroneously supposed to be due to the reflection of blue skylight or due to presence of suspended matter, is really due to scattering of light by the molecules of sea water. Light scattered through matter, solid, liquid or gas, was believed to retain perfectly its wavelength or colour. February 29, 1928 is a memorable day in the history of Indian Science. On that day Raman made the discovery that light when scattered, changes wavelength and colour. This phenomenon is universally known as Raman effect. This discovery of Raman has provided a powerful tool for elucidating the molecular structure and chemical constitution of solid, liquid and gaseous substances.

Raman has produced a band of research workers, foremost among whom is Dr. K. S. Krishnan, who has collaborated with him in many of his important investigations. To him goes partly the credit of discovering the new phenomenon of light scattering the Raman effect. Krishnan has devised sensitive methods of measuring magnetism of crystals and his magnetic measurements have shed light on the arrangement and orientation of molecules in crystals.

The other most noted physicist of India is Dr. M. N. Saha. Not born in affluent circumstances Saha had to struggle hard as a student and after a successful university career was appointed a lecturer in mathematics in the University College of Science, Calcutta. A self-

taught physicist—Saha early turned his attention to theoretical physics. His most noted contribution is the theory of Thermal Ionization which postulates that at exceedingly high temperatures such as exist in the sun and other stellar bodies, the electrons in the outer shells of atoms get detached from the parent atoms. To what extent the atoms will be stripped of outer electrons under particular conditions of temperature and pressure can be calculated from Saha's formula and this also enables to interpret why only presence of certain elements can be detected in the sun and other stars on an examination of the light coming from them. Sir Arthur Eddington designated his theory as one of the twelve outstanding discoveries in astronomy and astrophysics since the discovery of the telescope by Galileo in 1608. Prof. Rosseland says: "The impetus given to astro-physics by Saha's work can scarcely be overestimated, as nearly all later progress in this field has been influenced by it." Saha has made important contributions to other branches of experimental physics, particularly spectroscopy and nuclear physics. In his laboratories in Calcutta he is now setting up a cyclotron—an apparatus for smashing atoms, first of its kind in India.

One of Saha's pupils, Dr. D. S. Kothari has made important contributions to our knowledge of the constitution of stars. The quantitative development of the theory of pressure ionization put forward by Kothari leads to very fascinating results. It predicts what the nature of matter inside dead stars should be and in a straightforward way leads to the interesting result that there cannot be a planet bigger than Jupiter.

Notable contributions have been made in recent years in different branches of physics by other Indian scientists, among whom mention may be made of Prof. S. N. Bose, Dr. S. K. Mitra, Dr. D. M. Bose, Dr. J. H. Bhaba and Dr. S. Chandrasekhar. S. N. Bose's work introduced a new method in quantum statistics which has received the name of Bose-Einstein statistics and has been responsible for stimulating the work of later workers and has opened up a new chapter in theoretical physics. S. K. Mitra has carried out important researches on the height of the ionosphere—the radio-proof of the world—which makes it possible for wireless waves to travel round the earth. His most conspicuous contribution has been the discovery in 1935 of new layers in the ionosphere lower than the permanent layers known before. D. M. Bose has made notable contributions to magnetism and first successfully interpreted the magnetic behaviour

of the iron group of elements. In his laboratory important researches in nuclear physics are also being carried out. H. J. Bhaba, the young Indian physicist, has made himself renowned by his contribution to the theory of Cosmic rays and was elected a fellow of the Royal Society at the quite early age of 32. S. Chandrasekhar, the brilliant nephew of Sir C. V. Raman, has distinguished himself by his researches on stellar constitution and has published an authoritative work on the subject.

The most romantic figure in the recent history of mathematics was a 'half-educated' Indian who never had the advantages of an orthodox training and for most of his life worked in complete ignorance of modern European mathematics. This man—Srinivasa Ramanujam—was the most distinguished mathematician that India had produced in recent times. Born in a poor high-caste Brahmin family in Kumbakonam, Ramanujam was recognised as a quite abnormal boy even in early youth. While a clerk in Madras Port Trust, his remarkable mathematical abilities attracted the attention of some higher officers and through the personal interest of Prof. Hardy of Cambridge he secured a scholarship which enabled him to proceed to Cambridge and continue his researches under Prof. Hardy's guidance. He contributed much to our knowledge of the theory of numbers, theory of equations, theory of partitions, Definite integrals, Infinite series, Elliptic functions, Continued fractions, etc., and his contributions showed signs of profound and invincible originality. A collection of his original works edited by Profs. Hardy, Wilson and Seshu Aiyar has been published by the Cambridge University press. Ramanujam had a strange habit of putting down in his note-book mathematical theorems and problems without proof or solution and some of these took years to be proved and solved by distinguished European mathematicians. Even now papers by eminent mathematicians on Ramanujam's theorems and series appear in mathematical journals of the West. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1918 at the age of 31. Of him Prof. Hardy writes: "Of his extraordinary gift there can be no question....I owe more to him than to anybody else in the world with one exception and my association with him is the one romantic incident in my life." It is a pity that an inefficient and inelastic educational system of our country did great damage to one whose genius if properly directed would have produced one of the world's greatest mathematicians.

Unfortunately this mathematical genius passed away at the early age of 33.

Among other Indian mathematicians who have made notable contributions to different branches of mathematics the late Dr. Ganesh Prasad and Dr. N. R. Sen deserve special mention. Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis is the pioneer of statistical research in India and has made contributions of far-reaching practical and theoretical importance to analytic statistics.

In Botanical Science, Prof. Birbal Sahni has earned great distinction by his researches in the interesting branch of Botany connected with the study of plant fossils. He is the only Indian Botanist who has been elected to the Fellowship of the Royal Society.

Pharmacological research in India has developed at a rapid rate since the foundation of the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta. Under the leadership of Sir R. N. Chopra important researches on the pharmacology and toxicology of remedies of special importance to medical practice in India, e.g., Cinchona Alkaloids, Emetine, Organic derivatives of antimony, Indian artemesia and Ephedras, and Anthelmintics have been carried out. Investigations have also been carried out on the possibility of manufacturing official B. P. drugs from Indian sources, utilizing Indian plants and drugs and remedies used in indigenous systems of medicine in India under strictly scientific and experimental lines and working out of an Indian Pharmacopoeia consisting of drugs and remedies mostly of Indian origin. Chopra's work has not only received wide local appreciation but also international recognition.

The amount of medical research carried out in India by Indians and their contribution to the knowledge of the various peculiar conditions that affect the health of the people have not been small. Particular mention may be made of Sir U. N. Brahmachari's discovery of therapeutic antimonials in the treatment of Kala-Azar, one of the most terrible of tropical diseases which devastated large areas in Bengal and Assam. Prior to 1913 it was a highly fatal disease and 95 per cent of the persons attacked died. Shortly after the introduction of tartar emetic by Rogers for the treatment of Indian Kala-Azar, Brahmachari synthesized a series of antimonials, notable among which was a penta-

valent organic antimonial called urea stibamine, which has been found to be most potent in the treatment of the disease. In Assam the Government started mass treatment with urea stibamine as a result of which prevailing epidemic of Kala-Azar was controlled and the incidence of Kala-Azar in the province was greatly reduced. The Director of Public Health of Assam wrote in 1933 that "approximately 325,000 valuable lives were saved to the province by urea stibamine treatment."

Plague is another dreadful disease, widely prevalent in India, causing an annual mortality of about 100,000 people. In the treatment of the disease, various antiseptics like iodine, carbolic acid, mercurio-chromes and others have been tried with little success. For immunization of susceptibles, Haffkine's plague vaccine has given excellent results in India. An enormous amount of useful work has been done on the preparation and standardization of plague vaccine by Naidu, Sokhey and others at the Haffkine Institute, Bombay. The latest line of research work on the treatment of plague is with regard to the preparation of a potent anti-plague serum for therapeutic use. Col. Sokhey has evolved quantitative methods for measuring the virulence of strains of *Past Pestis* and the protective value of plague vaccines. Large quantities of specific anti-serum have been prepared at the Haffkine Institute from horses and preliminary tests show that its use reduces mortality by over 50 per cent.

For reasons which need not be detailed here, in the domain of scientific research, India has been lagging behind the advanced countries of the West. Yet her contribution to scientific knowledge during the last few decades has not been insignificant or small. Scientists in this country have yet to struggle against heavy odds. Lack of funds and proper equipments often stand in the way of initiating important experimental researches. The advanced countries of Europe and America spend huge sums for scientific research. The success achieved by India's men of science in the last quarter-century should serve as an inducement to her rich citizens as well as government to pay liberally towards the advancement of science and scientific research in India.

excrements in an open or public place, within the confines of a town or village or in reservoirs of water. Unnecessarily scratching the ground with one's nails should not be done, and one should not yawn, nor sneeze, nor breathe hard in an assembly without previously covering his face. One must not take any food without first washing one's hands and feet, and it should only be taken, at regular hours and in moderate quantity. One must not take refuse of another's dishes, as well as articles of food infested with flies, insects etc., or of an objectionable colour, taste, smell or touch, or those which produce an unpleasant impression in the mind or food of like nature, as well as those handled by many persons.

People are forbidden to use the shoe, umbrella, garland, ornaments or clothes previously used by others.

Rules of married life and marriage hygiene are described in detail.

PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

Public health was not a neglected part in the administrative machinery. The health and welfare of not only the Indians but also that of foreigners were well cared for. Megasthenes (4th century B.C.) writes :

"Among the Indians, officers are appointed even for foreigners, whose duty it is to see that no foreigner is wronged. Should any of them lose his health, they send physicians to attend him, and take care of him otherwise, and if he dies they bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives."

How perfect must have been the machinery of public health administration, and how great must have been the public health consciousness of the people, that did not forget to do whatever was humanly possible to ameliorate the suffering of even a foreigner who might have lost his health.

Now for a contrast with modern India. Whereas 100 years had been the normal span of life in ancient India, the average expectation of life for an Indian at birth is now only 26 years which is the lowest in the world, compared to 62 years in England and 64 years in America. In ancient India, the public used to demand an explanation from the king, the custodian of public health, for even a single case of premature death, whereas we now helplessly look on at 167 infantile deaths per 1000 live births in India every year, compared to 52 in England and 48 in America. The death rate in India is 24.3 per 1000 population, whereas in England it is only 12.2, and in America 10.6. Over 1,567,000 people in British India die every year of malaria

alone. Poor health and enlarged spleen have been our legacy and birth right. This abnormal, unhealthy, and unreligious condition, we have come to regard as normal. Like the ostrich sticking the head into sand when he scents danger, we are refusing to open our eyes to meet the national calamity that is fast approaching us. Collective security, against the aggressive powers of disease and ill health, we have no mind to organise. Whereas Bhagirath the greatest hydraulic engineer of ancient India could organise a power that brought down water of the Ganges through the channel now known as *Bhagirathi*, so that this part of the land might enjoy health, happiness and prosperity, we now have not the mite to dig a single spadeful of earth each, on a co-operative basis, to resuscitate the dying channels and streams which carry the very life blood of this nation. Unless we take timely action and begin to think in terms of the community as a whole and not in terms of the individual and vested interests, this country is in danger of 'reverting to swamps and jungles.' Let us take a lesson out of our past glory and devise measures that would save us from the impending doom and would once more convert this dying nation into one of smiles and prosperity.

In this paper, only a fringe of the problem has been touched and almost the entire field remains unexplored. It is left to the master minds, and learned scholars of classical history and literature to take an interest in the subject and to complete the picture showing the role of sanitation in the ancient Indian civilisation. If this paper rouses an interest in this subject leading to further study and research, it will have served its purpose.

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EXPORT OF FOODGRAINS DURING FAMINES

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

A prudent householder will never think of depleting his stock of foodgrains by selling or otherwise when he cannot replenish it from the market at will. A Government responsible for the life and welfare of its people, would, likewise, never think of feeding people of other lands when scarcity or famine looms large in view.

Unfortunately for India, the interests of the people and its Government are never identical; or rather they work at cross purposes. During British rule, Bengal, nay the whole of India, has been visited by famines of such magnitude that they would have marked the history of any government with the darkest patch. The country, by the systematic exploitation of its economic resources, neglect of agriculture and suppression of its industries, lives on the verge of starvation even in normal times. In India "occasional famine is only the pronounced expression of continuous scarcity."

But what is the history of the export of foodgrains by the Government of India during the past famines and the present one? I would confine myself to the famines in Bengal only.

The first recorded famine during British rule in Bengal is that of 1770. On the Report of the Famine Commission we know that

"The loss to the country in material wealth cannot be calculated; the loss of life is believed to have been greater than that has occurred in any subsequent or historical famine. . . The estimate made by the Council in November, 1772, and officially reported after its members had made circuits through the country in order to ascertain the state of things accurately, was that one-third of the population had died, and this, as Mr. Hunter remarks, implies the death of about 10 millions, as the whole population of Bengal in those days can hardly be estimated at less than 30 millions. . ."

When famine conditions were prevailing in the country (in 1770) "they resolved to lay up a six month's store of grain for their troops." We also know that 'private trade was active' and that there was corruption and rapacity in the Company's service. But what about the export? In the time of the worst phase of the famine, unrestricted export depleted the stock of the country. According to George Thomson :

"To add to the horror with which we are called to regard the last dreadful carnage (of the Bengal Famine) we are made acquainted by the returns of the Customs Houses with the fact that as much grain was exported from the lower parts of Bengal as would have fed the number who perished for a whole year."

There was a ban on export, no one knows when it was imposed, which "was taken off on the 14th November 1770." Nobody took the ban seriously and the result of the "embargo

on exportation" can best be gauged by its results.

Then we come to the next severe famine in Bengal, best known as the 'Orissa Famine' due to the fact that large parts of Orissa were more badly affected than Midnapore, "the blackest portion of the famine tract," and Bankura, Burdwan, Nadia, Hughly and Murshidabad. Not less than one million people died as the effect of this famine. But what was the attitude, even then, of the Government of India? Let the readers judge from the statistics of export during the period.

EXPORT OF RICE AND WHEAT DURING 1863-64 TO 1868-69

	Rice		Wheat	
	Tons	Rs.	Tons	Rs.
1863-64	814,700	3,97,55,650	789	7,86,760
1864-65	901,550	5,57,35,370	720	11,02,650
1865-66	691,000	5,24,79,180	12,472	
1866-67	602,700	3,29,50,930		7,68,960
1867-68	612,850	3,64,70,080	14,519	10,13,080
1868-69	752,550	4,21,09,250	13,774	9,87,600

The above figures just give an idea of the exports during the approaching years of famine, during its continuance and the time when the famine was over.

In 1873-74 Bengal was visited by another famine of great intensity. But the timely action of the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal saved the people of the Province and there was no serious loss of life. Sir George Campbell wanted to stop export of rice from India to other countries in view of the serious food situation in the country. His objection was overruled by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State of the time on the ground that "it would have been unjust to stop the supply of the usual food of the Bengal coolies in the Colonies." The export of foodgrains went on unabated and during the worst year of the famine no less than one million tons of rice and ninety thousand tons of wheat were exported outside the country to "British Indian ports including Ceylon; . . . to the West Indies, Mauritius and other places mostly for use of Indian cooly emigrants and to England and Persian Gulf."

EXPORT OF RICE AND WHEAT FROM 1872-73 TO 1878-79

	Rice		Wheat	
	Tons	Rs.	Tons	Rs.
1872-73	1,164,700	5,76,10,300	19,700	16,76,900
1873-74	1,012,250	5,54,97,980	87,798	82,76,060
1874-75	869,650	4,76,53,340	53,683	49,14,510
1875-76	1,020,800	5,31,10,950	1,25,538	90,63,310
1876-77	995,700	5,81,52,210	2,79,330	1,95,76,400
1877-78	921,400	6,95,03,860	3,18,650	2,83,77,650
1878-79	1,062,500	8,97,89,510	52,850	5,20,138

There were several cases of famine in India after 1873-74, such as in Madras in 1877; Northern India 1878; Madras 1899; Madras,

Bengal, Burma and Ajmer in 1892; Northern India, Bengal, Burma, Madras and Bombay in 1897. The famine conditions continued till 1900 killing hundreds of thousands of people in the affected localities. There were cases of severe distress in parts of Bengal in 1783 and 1884-85 (Nadia, Murshidabad, Burdwan, Birbhum, Bogra) but as these cases did not result in widespread distress of the people, they have not been taken into account. As a comprehensive case we may consider the exports of foodgrains during the period 1892-93 and 1900-01, when some part of India was suffering from scarcity, which will go a great way to expose the mind of our Rulers when lives of the people of India are concerned.

EXPORT OF RICE AND WHEAT FROM 1892-93 TO 1900-01

	Rice		Wheat	
	Tons	Rs.	Tons	Rs.
1892-93	1,396,900	12,40,67,190	748,650	7,44,03,839
1893-94	1,232,500	10,38,57,710	628,300	5,19,39,850
1894-95	1,722,150	13,59,25,200	344,500	2,56,62,470
1895-96	1,758,100	13,53,70,470	500,200	3,91,38,960
1896-97	1,414,050	11,94,71,220	95,550	83,63,950
1897-98	1,337,300	11,70,50,190	119,600	1,34,11,510
1898-99	1,897,100	15,81,27,000	976,000	9,71,96,880
1899-00	1,613,550	13,09,61,715	485,200	3,90,93,460
1900-01	1,567,150	13,21,76,160	2,500	3,00,825

Mr. R. C. Dutt has commented, in his inimitable way, on the famine conditions in India and the genesis of export during scarcity. He has also explained what the "recuperative power" of the Indian people means; and I make no apology in quoting his remarks in length for the enlightenment of my readers:

"The trade of India is not natural but forced; the export of food-grains is made under compulsion to meet an excessive Land Revenue demand. The year 1897-98 was a year of widespread famine in India, and millions of people died of starvation. Nevertheless, the Land Revenue was collected to the amount of 17 millions sterling; and cultivators paid it largely by selling their food-grains, which were exported to the amount of 10 millions sterling in that calamitous year. In the following year the crops were good. The agriculturists sold large quantities of their produce to replace their plough cattle, and to repair the losses of the previous famine year. Unfortunately, too, the Government realised the arrears of the Land Revenue with a vigour as inconsiderate as it was unwise; and vast quantities of the new produce had to be sold to meet this pressing Land Revenue demand. Both these causes operated to increase the export of food-grains to a figure which it never reached before. Those who judged the prosperity of India by its revenue collection were jubilant. A Land Revenue collection of over 18 millions sterling gave them the evidence they relied upon. The usual misleading statements were made in India, and in the House of Commons, about the recuperative power of India. Few cared to inquire if the enormous exports and the enormous Land Revenue collection had left any stores of food among the people." (Italics mine).

The present famine of Bengal, 1943, is admitted to have been caused by the folly and

carelessness of man. There had been no preparation worth the name to meet the deficit caused by loss of import, loss of store during retreat, sudden rush by big industrialists and the Government for big stock for industrial labour and the troops, waste by the military and a host of other reasons which could have been avoided with a little foresight. Export has contributed not a little to the causation of this Famine. While the export should have been stopped long before the crisis had come upon us, it was allowed "in the interests of the labouring population in Ceylon and elsewhere and for the maintenance of the production of vital war supplies." India was made to furnish food of good quality and in sufficient quantity to meet the requirements of the Empire and the various theatres of war in the Middle East and elsewhere. It resulted in exports of foodgrains in the following manner:

The quantities could not be negligible considering that the value ranged between 5 to 10 crores of rupees a year.

The press and the accredited leaders of the country joined in chorus protesting against the export policy of the Government of India. It went unheeded till signs of extreme exhaustion appeared in the horizon and people began to die on the streets of Ganjam and Calcutta. A New Delhi message dated the 23rd July (1943) says:

"In view of the gravity of rice position in India, the Central Government find it impossible to undertake, until further notice, further exports of rice from India."

This did not remove the suspicion and nervousness from the public mind even after the publication of this Press Note; and cases of export were cited from time to time, by the Indian Chamber of Commerce. This was partly contradicted and small exports of foodgrains, particularly rice, were admitted by the Government. At long last our robust Food Member enunciated the Government policy on the 13th October and was candid enough to express the conditions on which he would allow export:

These are: (1) for provisioning ships sailing from Indian ports for the use of the Indian seamen of the merchant navy, within the confines of the Indian Ocean; (2) for the use of vital personnel on our air lines of communications in neighbouring countries—(their bare minimum necessities). The total quantities involved will be less than 1,000 tons a month.

We are not sure if Mr. Srivastava's attempt will not prove to be the proverbial 'square peg in a round hole'—a very big hole which had, in the past, been able to aggravate famine conditions in India and cause enormous loss of Indian lives.

FRONT-LINE MEDICINE

PREFACE BY DR. J. B. GRANT

The phenomenal results of modern "front-line medicine" are entirely due to scientific medical progress during the past ten years. One of the chief features of this progress is blood transfusion by plasma or serum in counteracting shock. In India, however, the benefits of front line medicine are not yet utilised to any significant extent by the civil population. For instance, transfusion is hardly practised in India, for while according to practice in England a community of 1 lakh should be using 3,000 pints per annum and therefore Calcutta with a population of 2 million should be using 60,000 pints per annum, it only provided 200 transfusions previous to Pearl Harbour. This extensive employment of transfusion is chiefly for preventive rather than for therapeutic purposes to avoid shock complications of major operations, and is quite apart from the ordinary therapeutic indications such as severe anaemia particularly during pregnancy, bleeding at child birth, or haemorrhages from stomach ulcers, accidents, etc. The utilisation in Bengal of transfusion on a wider scale for the purpose of saving life requires that both the medical profession and the general public should become sufficiently transfusion conscious, so that each large hospital constitutes its own donor panel and blood bank as is now the practice elsewhere. The best example in India is probably the Tata Memorial Hospital, Bombay, where some fifty transfusions are being given every week.

J. B. GRANT

It cannot save a soldier from instant death, but it restores more of the wounded to useful life than in any previous war.

"THE torpedoes struck at the water line and a terrific flame shot up the starboard side of the ship, searing and burning everything in its path. The planes on the hangar deck were immediately consumed in the flames, their gasoline blew up, their bombs exploded, and the ammunition in the planes' wings went off, so that a regular hailstorm of bullets was present. In a V-shape area, extending from the explosion to the hangar deck, everyone was killed."

The story of the sinking of the aircraft carrier U. S. S. Wasp was told by her Senior Medical Officer, Commander Bartholomew Hogan, now on shore duty in the Surgeon General's office. (Commander Hogan was slightly wounded and burned in the explosion).

"It sounded as if all our guns were shooting. Each blast sent men, missiles, and planks hurtling through the air. A young officer ran out into the flight deck, his clothes blown and burnt off, only his shoes and a piece of the cuff of his trousers remaining, his body badly charred, blinded; his flesh peeled off in my hands as I took hold of him... We had five doctors including two flight surgeons, and two dentists aboard, also twenty-five hospital corpsmen. In combat areas doctors and corpsmen were stationed over the ship at six battle dressing stations. Plasma and medical supplies, among them Thomas splints and 6,000 burn dressings, were dispersed so that

if one area were demolished, all the equipment would not be lost.

"Four battle dressing stations were destroyed immediately, and fifteen minutes later the second one I had worked in that afternoon was demolished. We moved to the stern of the flight deck where there were about 400 men, a number of them young boys badly wounded, lying as quiet as lambs. We gave half a grain of morphine to each one, applied dressings impregnated with sulfathiazole, and soaked in vaseline to the burns, splinted fractured legs and arms, put life jackets on the boys, and they went down a sixty-foot line to the water, or else their stretchers were strapped on kapok mattresses or rubber boats and lowered over. The swells were running fifteen feet high; the water was on fire; depth charges were painful. There were 730 survivors on the destroyer that picked me up at nightfall, 40 seriously injured or burnt, and 150 less seriously hurt. We stayed up all night giving plasma, dressing the burns and wounds. Not one of these men died."

Commander Hogan's short account of the sinking of the Wasp illustrates more clearly than a dozen scientific papers both the problems that face doctors in modern war and the recent improvements in methods of saving life. Of the approximately 1,800 officers and men on the carrier, 180 were reported dead or missing in action, and 516 injured—95 per cent of them burned. Only six of the injured died. The mortality rate of the Wasp's wounded was 1.2

per cent. This is about equal to the rate of all U. S. wounded since the beginning of this war, an immensely important drop from the rate of 7 per cent in the last war. In the nineteen months of American participation in World War I the U. S. suffered 244,675 battle casualties (not counting prisoners): 39,389 killed in action, 14,014 dead of wounds, 191,272 wounded. In the first seventeen months of this war, 80,897 casualties (not including the final battle for Tunisia) were reported: 13,294 killed in action, 16,960 wounded, 14,244 prisoners of war, 36,399 missing. It is especially noteworthy that in this



Lieut. Mae Olson of the U. S. Army Nurse Corps, is one of the 24 nurses serving aboard huge ambulance planes, taking care of soldiers being flown from Guadalcanal to hospitals at other U. S. bases in the Pacific

war the ratio of killed to wounded is much higher than in the last (probably even higher than the figures show because many of the missing must be presumed to be dead) and the mortality rate of the wounded much lower.

But casualties are not statistics. They are individuals, men known and loved, who are now dead or wounded, imprisoned or missing. And there will be many more of them before the war is won. The forces of destruction excel any devised before; the wide geographical spread of the combat areas produces new dangers and diseases. The wounded are not the only sufferers; there are sick men, too—not listed as battle

casualties. More men on Bataan died of malaria, dysentery, beriberi, and malnutrition than of war wounds; the sick returning to Army hospitals in the U. S. now outnumber the wounded two to one. And in addition to the physically sick there are the mentally sick. Injuries to nerves and minds are no less real than injuries to arms and legs. About 30 per cent of all returned soldiers hospitalized so far are suffering from some neuropsychiatric disorder.

There can be no escape from these harsh realities, no hiding behind a belief in super-human miracles. The only miracles in this war are human miracles of knowledge, science and skill. They can be believed in, for they, too, are real.

The Medical Departments of the Army, the Army Air Forces, and the Navy (which cares for marines as well as sailors) have three functions: to select men for service, to preserve health, and to restore health. For these purposes approximately 50,000 medical officers—about one-third of all U. S. doctors—have volunteered or been recruited by the Procurement and Assignment Service of the War Manpower Commission. The officers and enlisted personnel of the Medical Corps are as subject to bombing, strafing, and artillery fire as infantrymen or the gun crew on a battleship. Their orders are to save lives, which means that the first to be treated are not, as is often supposed, the officers or the men most likely to be able to return to duty, but the most seriously wounded. To prevent death in battle is beyond the doctor's power. But the wounded and the sick have a better chance to live and to return to duty or home than they had in any earlier war.

THE WOUNDS OF WAR

The most common wounds of war are soft-part wounds of the arms and legs, compound fractures, and burns. Wounds of the chest, abdomen, head, and spine are less "common" because they more often result in outright death on the battle-field. Wounds of the abdomen, which in the last war caused death to 70 to 80 per cent of the patients who survived long enough to get to hospitals, now have a mortality rate of only 5 per cent. There are, of course, special tools and methods for each type of wound: new methods, for example, of sealing open chest wounds against air, new portable X-ray machines, which can be set up in field hospitals for use in abdominal exploration. But their real advances in the treatment of wounds are the sulfa drugs, plasma, tetanus toxoid, and speed.

The great dangers from wounds have always been shock, hemorrhage, infection, and delay. Science and organization have virtually conquered all four. Most of the 14,014 U. S. soldiers, sailors, and marines who died of wounds in the last war might have lived if the use of plasma had been possible and if the sulfonamides (i.e., sulfa drugs) and tetanus toxoid had been discovered.

In *Into the Valley* John Hersey wrote, "The group to which I attached myself were wounded in a dreadful way. They had no open wounds, they shed no blood; they seemed merely to have been attacked by some mysterious germ of war that made them groan, hold their sides, limp and stagger. They were shock and blast victims."

In shock, as distinguished from hemorrhage, the liquid part of the blood (the plasma) seeps through the capillary walls into the body tissue and can best be restored by the intravenous injection of more plasma; that simple fact was known as long ago as 1918 but there were no means of preserving blood and separating plasma from cells. Not until 1936, when the Russian doctor, S. S. Yudin, experimented with the transfusion of blood from human cadavers was it discovered that plasma could be separated from the cells and kept for treatment of shock. Blood collected from voluntary donors by the American Red Cross is separated, pooled, dried, and packed for use in shock cases in battle areas. Blood fractions, such as albumin, and beef blood and the synthetic amino acids are being experimented with, but are not yet used in military medicine.

SULFA AGAINST INFECTION

The use of plasma and whole blood has to a large extent removed the danger from shock and hemorrhage. The other two major causes of death from wounds—delay and infection—are closely connected, for it takes time for infection to start; the elapsed time before infection attacked body tissues was estimated, before this war, at six hours. Now the sulfa drugs, carried onto the battle-fields not only by Medical Corps men but by the soldiers themselves, have lengthened the grace period by many hours, even by days. Each soldier is provided with a small kit containing sulfathiazole pills (peppermint flavored) which he is to take by mouth if wounded, and five grams of sulfathiazole crystals to sprinkle into the wound. At Pearl Harbour most of the wounded received hospital treatment within a few hours, hence it is not surprising that

the number of infections was low; in spite of many severe burns mortality was kept below 3 per cent. But at Guadalcanal the rate went down to 1 per cent and at Oran some of the American wounded were not found for several days and yet only 0.5 per cent of the cases that reached hospitals died of infection. Of 4,039 casualties on a hospital ship in the South-West Pacific only seven died—less than 0.2 per cent.

The naval medical officers of that hospital ship found, as their colleagues all over the world are finding, that the sulfa drugs not only reduce



A member of the first graduating class of flying nurses of the U. S. Army evacuation group demonstrates how a blood transfusion can be given aboard an ambulance plane during flight

early infection but make unnecessary radical "debridement" (i.e., opening up of wounds for removal of dead or dying tissue which harbours infection). They also make unnecessary, in most cases, the early closing or suturing of wounds. In general, the medical men say, the sulfas permit them to leave wounds alone, and the less cutting, probing, dressing, and redressing they have to do the less danger there is of infection.

Sources of infection may be soil contaminated by fecal matter, bits of clothing carried into the tissue by bullets or high explosive fragments, or the parasites already extant in the body. In the past tetanus and gas gangrene have been responsible for many of the "died of wounds," and for many of war's one-armed and one-legged

veterans. Tetanus toxoid, developed in 1924 by a French bacteriologist, is given to every man and woman in the U. S. Army, Navy, and Marine Corps; the horrifying spasms of lockjaw, which resulted in death to 50 per cent of the victims, have been entirely conquered.

"The gangrene ward, on a low hill away from the hospital sheds, was certainly not the pleasantest place in the hospital," wrote Lieutenant Juanita Redmond, A. N. C., in *I Served on Bataan*. "The putrid odor, the ugly exposed wounds, the monstrous limbs where the infection had not yet been cut out, the agonized moans of 'Take it off, please take it off,' made it a place to avoid when one could."



Using Red Cross blood plasma, Capt. W. F. Edwards (right), a doctor in the U. S. Army Medical Corps gives a transfusion to a wounded soldier behind the lines on the Buna front in New Guinea

Gas gangrene, produced by the gas bacilli, often in conjunction with staphylococci, is so called because of the crepitating gas bubbles present in the infected area. A serum (not an immunizing toxoid) is given at the time of injury, and the sulfonamides, sulfanilamide packed or sprayed into wounds and sulfathiazole given by mouth, have cut deaths from gas gangrene to an almost indecipherable dot on the medical map. Of the few cases that developed at Pearl Harbour none was fatal and none resulted in amputation. On Bataan, however, serum and sulfa supplies ran out and many cases of gangrene developed. And, it must be remembered, no drug and no surgical skill can put back an arm or leg that has been shot off.

Hemolytic streptococcus, which causes com-

mon blood poisoning among other infections, was responsible for at least 70 per cent of the deaths from infected wounds in the last war. The results at best were too often amputation or long delayed recovery. Antisepsis and sanitation were the only means of fighting it, but on the battle-fields or even in temporary hospitals they were none too successful. Now the sulfonamides are effective, just as they are in strep infections of the throat or ear. Staphylococci (the bacteria present in boils and abscesses as well as wound infections) have so far resisted the sulfas, though sulfathiazole is effective in some instances.

The sulfas, introduced to the world by German scientists, are considered by most laymen to be miraculous drugs that cure almost every ill. The medical men of the Army and Navy do not call them miraculous; they know that certain inhibitors, now known as antagonists, present in pus and necrotic tissue, block the action of the sulfa drugs. As yet no substance to inhibit the inhibitors has been isolated. In most instances where infection is well established or pus is present, the sulfonamides are of little value. The sulfonamides cannot be used indiscriminately; they are not panaceas, and they are not fool proof. But without them our casualty lists would be even grimmer than they are.

There are two new drugs, penicillin and tyrothricin, not yet available for mass use but potentially revolutionary. Penicillin, obtained in minute quantities from fungus mold, is many times more powerful than sulfas, and less toxic. Experiments showed such brilliant promise—particularly in combating staphylococci and gas bacilli—that doctors were almost afraid to believe in them, but recent trials in hospitals here have added proof to the promise and it is hoped that the drug will soon go into quantity production. Tyrothricin (or its component, gramicidin), from the soil-borne bacillus brevis, has been used with some success when applied directly to wounds but is more toxic than penicillin and not likely to prove so effective.

TECHNIQUES AND TOOLS

In earlier days the usual treatment of compound fracture was amputation. After the Battle of Borodino in 1812, Napoleon's chief surgeon, Baron Larrey, performed 200 amputations in twenty-four hours; and even as late as 1917-18 46 per cent of all fracture cases in the U. S. Army were permanently disabled (chiefly by amputation) and 12 per cent died. There

are no detailed statistics yet available in this war but it is expected that the percentage of permanently disabled fracture cases will be only about 10 per cent and the deaths only about 1 per cent. That decline will be partly credited to two men: Dr. H. Winnett Orr of Lincoln, Nebraska, and Dr. Jose Trueta Raspall of Barcelona, Spain. The closed-plaster method of treating compound fractures, developed by Orr and put into successful mass practice by Trueta in the Spanish Civil War, is based on the theory that rest, not repeated antisepsis, cures infected fractures.

The fractured leg or arm is set and held by a traction splint, and if the bone is shattered the fragments are held together with metal alloy pins, nails, or screws. The wound is scrubbed with soap and water, foreign bodies and dead tissues are removed, drainage is provided by the deep excisions, sulfanilamide is applied, and the wound is packed wide open with vaseline-soaked gauze. Finally, the whole arm or leg is wrapped in a wet plaster bandage. The plaster immobilizes the muscles so that infection cannot be spread by muscle spasm and the resistance of the tissues is strengthened by complete rest. The plaster is not changed for three or four weeks and then only because of the stench from the seeping blood and pus—and the patient is never subject to painful and dangerous redressings. The method, adopted early in the war by British and Russians, has not been fully accepted in this country, but is now used, sometimes with variations or modifications by many U. S. Army and Navy surgeons.

Operating on a compound fracture requires hospital equipment and anesthesia, preferably general anesthesia. In the last war anesthetics were either ether or chloroform. In this war ether is still the most widely used, partly because it is the most familiar, but sodium pentothal (a barbiturate) given intravenously has proved quick, reliable, and easy to give except that the patient's respiration and blood pressure must be watched carefully. Its toxicity is low and it leaves no bad aftereffects when used in short operations. Spinal anesthesia is used chiefly for operations on the lower extremities; local anesthesia is not of great value in war surgery because it takes longer and may increase the chances of infection.

Bullets or shell fragments are sometimes left inside the body with no ill effect, but usually it is necessary to probe for bits of metal, a painful procedure apt to reintroduce infection. X-ray machines, particularly the new portables, are useful in locating foreign bodies, without blind

probing. Two new locating devices are in the experimental stage: one, the Berman-Moorhead Locator, looks like a portable radio and has an electric indicator that, when passed over the surface of the body, registers the position of the metal. It was first used at Pearl Harbour by Dr. John Moorehead of New York who had arrived in Hawaii the first week in December, 1941, to lecture on war surgery. The other is a three-dimensional X-ray machine (showing depth as well as width and breadth) developed by the three Klein brothers, New York dentists, who have offered their discovery free to all the United Nations. All these machines and drugs and techniques help to speed the hospital treatment and recovery of the patient. But speed in getting the patient to the hospital depends on fast transportation and organization.

Wounded men are evacuated much more rapidly than in earlier wars. Jeeps carry two or four litters from the battlefield to the front-line battalion aid station where the wounded are given first aid (morphine, sulfa, splints, bandages) and from there to the collecting station (further first-aid, including plasma); ambulances transport the men as soon as possible to clearing stations, perhaps five miles behind the lines, where emergency operations can be performed if necessary; from there to base hospitals by ambulance or by plane. Sea or land transport of wounded from Buna to Port Moresby would have taken sixteen days—by plane it took less than an hour. Converted transport planes are bringing many of the wounded back to the U. S. from Australia. Sick and wounded men from Alaska are flown to hospitals in the States on a regular daily schedule.

ADVANCE AGAINST BURNS

Burns always a serious menace to the Navy, are frequent in all the services in this highly mechanized war. But increasingly effective treatment is keeping pace with the increased incidence. Plasma, the sulfas, and tetanus toxoid give the surgeon a better chance than he ever had before to restore and replace burned tissue and skin. First-aid for burns consists of four grams of sulfadiazine by mouth, morphine, boric acid ointment or vaseline, pressure bandages, and splints on extremities. Definitive treatment, given in the hospital back of the battle zone, continues with plasma, sulfadiazine by mouth, cleansing, debridement of the blisters and loose shreds, dressings impregnated with boric acid ointment. In many cases burns (except of the hands, feet and genitalia) are sprayed with

tannic acid and silver nitrate solution or an antiseptic triple aniline dye to form a coating or eschar, which protects the nerve ends and wards off infection. Other methods of treatment are Pickrell sulfadiazine spray and the Bunyan waterproof, airtight, transparent "envelope" that completely encases the burned area and allows irrigation with saline solution. All of these methods—tanning for large burns of the limbs and torso, triple dye or sulfadiazine or saline solution for the extremities—are infinitely better than anything known twenty-five years ago.

But burns, even when completely healed, leave scars and crippling contractures. The hands of a gunner who was torpedoed six months ago are half-clenched and rigid; a seaman, badly burned in Alaska, is left with his chin drawn down on to his chest; a pilot who crashed in Iceland has lost nose and lips and eyelids and his face is a mask. Plastic surgery is the final step in the treatment of the burned men. New jaws, new teeth, new ear and noses and eyelids and even eyelashes and brows can be given the patient—in a few weeks or months instead of years. The Padgett Dermatomy, a recently developed cutting device, makes it possible for the surgeon to take skin of an evenly calibrated thickness from an unburned portion of the patient's body and transplant it to the burned area. From 90 to 95 per cent of the grafts take in about two weeks.

DISEASES OF WAR

The diseases of war are the diseases of peace magnified by mass living, battle strain, and the inability to control sanitary conditions in combat areas. In the last war the great killer was influenza. Malaria and dysentery are the scourges of this war. Medical men speak of them in the same bitter breath, but can not give statistics of prevalence—the only statistic they give is a significant one: our enemies suffer from them as much as our own men do. Dysentery and diarrhoea are always present on any fighting front. Under combat conditions, as at Guadalcanal or Buna, it is impossible to protect all food and drink from contamination.

The *Shigella bacilli* of bacillary dysentery and the *Endamoeba histolytica* of amoebic dysentery are carried from infected feces to food; the disease incidence is highest in fly-ridden tropical countries. Bacillary dysentery is ten times as common as amoebic; it is also easier to cure. Rest and sulfaguanadine (and, more recently, succinyl-sulfathiazole) usually put a

man with a light case back on his feet in less than a week. Amoebic dysentery is more severe, of longer duration, and in many cases produces chronic ulcers of the colon. Injections of emetine hydrochloride intramuscularly and doses of carbarsone (an arsenic compound) by mouth followed by vioform are standard army treatment. Carriers may harbour the cysts of the disease for a long time, but under sanitary living conditions are unlikely to spread it. Dysentery is the No. 2 disease enemy of the war.

Malaria is the No. 1 enemy in the South-west Pacific, the No. 1 medical problem of the war, and the No. 1 disease in the whole world. Estimates of the number of human beings dying of malaria each year vary from two million to eight million. Sanitary engineering, drainage, and screening can provide protection from the malaria-carrying anopheline mosquito; insect-repellant lotions and ointments, clothing, gloves, and head nets can keep mosquitoes from biting man; and a new "healthbomb," a small can containing Freon, Sesame Oil, and Pyrethrum is reported to kill mosquitoes and other insects within an area of 150,000 cubic feet. In Army camps in the southern states the malarial rate of incidence has dropped to the incredible low of 0.6 per 1,000 men, and there was not a single day's lag in the construction of bases in the Caribbean.

But sanitary engineers cannot drain all the swamps and screen all the foxholes in the jungles of the Solomons; a soldier will not bother with proper clothing and head nets while he is fighting for his life in New Guinea. "Some of the guys coming back from Guadal look like walking death; they are sick as hell and kind of yellowy waxy; even their hair looks like it belongs to someone else." Men fighting mobile warfare in malarial country will get malaria: 85 per cent of the troops on Bataan had it; it is reported that 50 per cent of the men in the South and South-west Pacific have it today.

There is, as yet, no drug that prevents malaria—although hopeful experiments are being carried out with the sulfonamides. But malaria can be suppressed and, once it reaches the clinic stage, cured. Quinine was the only known suppressive and cure for malaria until the German I. G. Farbenindustrie introduced the coal tar synthetic, atabrine, in 1933. The discovery of atabrine was fortunate for us, for the Japanese acquired the Dutch monopoly of quinine when they acquired the Netherlands East Indies and our reserve would not have met the present demand in the Pacific war area.

For ten years there has been controversy about the relative value of quinine and atabrine. There are quinine men who claim that atabrine is unsafe except when given by prescription and under medical supervision, and that even then it is ineffective. Atabrine adherents say that atabrine is safer, more effective, cheaper, more agreeable to take than quinine. There are rumours that the Germans fooled us by leaving an important element out of the atabrine formula, stories that atabrine gives patients jaundice. They are untrue. And, besides, the long atabrine-versus-quinine controversy has really lost its point. If we did not have atabrine now, say Army and Navy doctors, we could not be fighting in the Pacific. They go further: atabrine, they say, although it is slower acting, is just as effective as quinine in suppressing and curing malaria. Both have drawbacks. Atabrine makes the patient sick to his stomach at first and sometimes turns his skin temporarily yellow. Quinine causes grogginess and ringing in the ears. The "method of choice" prescribed by the Army, even before the war, was the combine QAP (quinine, atabrine, plasmochin) treatment.

Men at the front who must be in condition to fight even though infected with malaria are given atabrine in small doses (0.1 gram twice a day on two days a week) to suppress the clinical appearance of the disease. When they are returned to base camps the doses are discontinued and the suppressed malaria is allowed to develop. Then quinine and atabrine are administered to kill the asexual cells that are causing the paroxysms in the patient, and plasmochin to kill the male and female cells that could be sucked in by another anopheline mosquito and carried to fresh victims.

In the Civil War the Northern Army lost two men from disease for every one killed in action. In World War I only one died of disease for every four killed in action. Today the amount of sickness in Army camps in this country is far below what it was in 1917-18, and the death-rate in camp is less than one-tenth as high. Even the venereal diseases, once almost taken for granted by armies, have been radically cut down. The Army rate—which was as high as 150 per 1,000 in 1918, and around 40 in 1941—is down to 35 per 1,000. The Navy rate is about the same.

But the war in the tropics has brought new dangers from certain filth-borne exotically named diseases. Dengue, the mosquito-carried "break-bone fever," has hit a good many men in the South-west Pacific area. Although it leaves no

serious aftereffects it is uncomfortable and incapacitating for a week or ten days. There have been almost no cases of African sleeping sickness, yaws, leishmaniasis (Oriental sore), or of schistosomiasis and filariasis—tropical diseases in which worms are present in intestines and lymph glands. Nevertheless, Army and Navy specialists in preventive medicine have issued specific directives for the diagnosis and treatment of these and many other unfamiliar diseases.

Every member of the armed forces is immunized against small-pox, typhoid, and tetanus. And men and women going into or through countries where other preventable or partially preventable diseases are endemic are immunized against them: against yellow fever, for example, in Central and South America; cholera in Asia, the East Indies and the Middle East; typhus in Europe, Africa, and Asia; and bubonic plague in any area where there is any sign of epidemic among humans.

Malaria may be the No. 1 medical problem of the postwar period. Anopheline mosquitoes are present in most parts of the world, including the U. S. and where there are anopheline mosquitoes there can be malaria. All that is necessary is a carrier, and many carriers will return from the war. Precautions already are being planned; programs are under way to educate doctors in non-malarial sections to recognize and treat malaria; planes returning from foreign countries are disinfected and examined for malaria and yellow-fever mosquitoes; men coming back will be sifted through ports of debarkation and given tests before demobilization. But the administrative work will be difficult and many men may escape examination and detection. The Army and the Public Health Service are still trying to work out a practical airtight system of control of malaria and of any other epidemic diseases that might be transported to this country.

WAR ON NERVES

Aircraft, tanks, and submarines have produced special problems of injury and psychic disorder that were relatively unknown and unimportant in World War I. Preventive medicine is of greater value in the solution of these problems than therapeutic measures. The selection of men physically and psychically able to stand the strain of long confinement in submarines, of cramped positions in tanks, of high-altitude flying and nerve strain in aircraft, has required physical and psychiatric screening tests far more rigid than those given in other branches

of the service. The School of Aviation Medicine at Randolph Field, Texas, under the direction of Air Surgeon David Grant, and the Navy's school at Pensacola, Florida, have not only worked out tests to select crews but have trained air medical men and flight surgeons to deal with the particular physical and neuropsychiatric disturbances that flyers contend with.

Anoxemia, or lack of oxygen, and acrobolism (similar to the "bends" of deep-sea divers) were well-known high altitude problems before the war. High altitude flying is even more dangerous for men engaged in combat than for test pilots because men in combat cannot always take precautions, such as preflight oxygenation, to reduce the danger of acrobolism; cannot equip themselves with pressure suits and their planes with pressure cabins. Pilot selection, the strict exclusion of men with low tolerance to high altitudes, is still the best answer to the problems.

Most important of the "disease" of aviation in war is pilot fatigue (which means bombardier, navigator, and gunner fatigue as well). Pilot fatigue has been defined as "a convenient category used to classify certain phenomena that are essentially unknown or not clearly understood, yet nonetheless real." It can range in seriousness from simple physical tiredness that can be cured by a good night's sleep to a serious psychotic condition that grounds the flyer for life. Under ideal conditions the flight surgeons can keep careful watch over the men and make sure that they are grounded for a few days if they show any sign of nervousness, tiredness, or fear. But such ideal conditions seldom exist in the fighting zone and a tired crew may have to go for many days without sufficient rest.

The neurotic reaction known as flying fatigue, flying stress or fatigue syndrome is chiefly a result of the prolonged suppression of normal fear reaction. The manifestations are anxiety reactions, psychosomatic disorders, minor depressive swings, and mild hypochondria with the patient losing his zest for flying or perhaps being unable to fly at all. Major John Murray, a psychiatrist on the staff of the Army Air Surgeon, believes that the incidence of fatigue would fall if each man could be assigned to combat duty for a definite period of time; he wants to establish rest camps "far enough away from the scene of operations to be free from the tension and danger—yet not so far distant as to make the flyer feel that he has been evacuated because he has cracked." Early recognition of

neuropsychiatric disturbances and adequate treatment in rest camps return most flyers to duty.

Technically there is no such thing as war neurosis or war psychosis. War increases and intensifies the neuropsychiatric conditions, as it does the physical diseases, of peacetime. Every man has his breaking point and in war, particularly in this war, many men are brought nearer the point where the normal nervous system can be smashed. The most frequent form of all the war neuroses that were lumped under the misleading term "shell-shock" in World War I is anxiety neurosis, produced in most cases by the conflict of pride or honour with fear. Less than 10 per cent of the shell-shock cases in the last war actually had concussion from bursting shells; in fact 2,000 cases of shell-shock developed a day or two after the Armistice was signed.

The other main classifications are psychotics, psychopathic personalities, and those with psychosomatic disorders. In the last war the most frequent psychosomatic symptom was "soldier's heart." Today it is dyspepsia (Peptic ulcers, severe indigestion, etc.). Dyspepsia seems to occur most often when troops are inactive. It is a prevalent disease among the British soldiers at home. The Swiss Army has the highest incidence.

In any normal person the conscious or unconscious fear of death, disablement, and pain may cause a nervous or mental breakdown; the collapse is unforeseeable and unavoidable—and usually curable. But in too many neuropsychiatric cases now developing in the Army the patient was "predisposed," i.e., he was potentially neurotic or psychotic. He should never have been taken into the service. A good psychiatrist, with plenty of time to test the boy and a full record of his past behaviour, probably would have turned him down. But there were not enough psychiatrists; Selective Service Boards had to fill their quotas; and the psychiatric examiners at induction centers gave only five-minute interviews, if any. (The Navy has had a better record, though it too is short on psychiatrists). Recent improvements in Army examination and special training in psychiatry for general medical officers are expected to lower the number of predisposed neurotics and psychotics taken into the Army—and to lower the number of neuropsychiatric cases coming out of the war.

During and immediately after World War I, 97,577 neuropsychiatrics were admitted to Army hospitals; 30,000 are still there. In

FRONT-LINE MEDICINE



A U. S. medical soldier administers life-giving blood plasma to a wounded American half a mile behind the Allied front lines in Sicily
Courtesy: USOWI



The marine was wounded on Tulagi and flown to a hospital ship. He has a shell wound in his thigh, a broken leg, powder burns of the hands and face and was suffering from shock. He might have died of infection or shock without speedy medical care, sulfa, drugs and plasma
Courtesy: Fortune Magazine.



U. S. Major Fielding of San Carlos, California, directs the landing of an American amphibious group via a public address system as they moved ashore in the Salerno area



The photograph shows a group of London school-children working on a farm during their summer holiday

NEW TOYS FROM OLD

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care and pensions these men have cost the U. S. at least a billion dollars, and in human waste and suffering the cost is incalculable. The rate of neuropsychiatric incidence in World War I grew from 14 per 1,000 men at the beginning of the war to 44 at the end; today the rate is 27 per 1,000, and growing. Battle wounds and malaria are the chief causes of hospitalization in the combat areas, but neuropsychiatric

diseases run them a close third. There is no vaccine against psychosis, no drug to prevent neurosis. Advances in the recognition and treatment of mental disorders must come not from scientific laboratories but from the mind of man himself.

Reprinted from *Fortune* magazine for July, 1943 through the courtesy of *Fortune* and USOWI.

NEW TOYS FROM OLD

By LESLEY BLANCH

REMARKABLE DEVELOPMENT

BERCHTESGADEN and Nuremberg are names which fall heavily upon the ear today. We think of one as the home of Hitler; of the other, as the scene of Nazi Party rallies. Yet to many generations of children they spelled a fabulous enchantment. They were the crystallization of toymdom, the heart and the soul of its trade, and conjured whole ranks and files of tin solidery, jumping jacks, hobby-horses, current-eyed carved wooden figures, spinning tops, furious wind-mills and Noah's Arks loaded to the Plimsoll line.

As far back as the middle ages Germany cornered the toy market of the world, and held it, unchallenged, through the ensuing centuries. There was little competition. Hans Anderson made his cut-out silhouettes and paper puppets to delight Scandinavian tots. Proper-minded little French citoyens toyed with model guillotines, chopping off aristocratic knobs realistically. Russian peasants carved naively rustic versions of the more polished Bavarian originals.

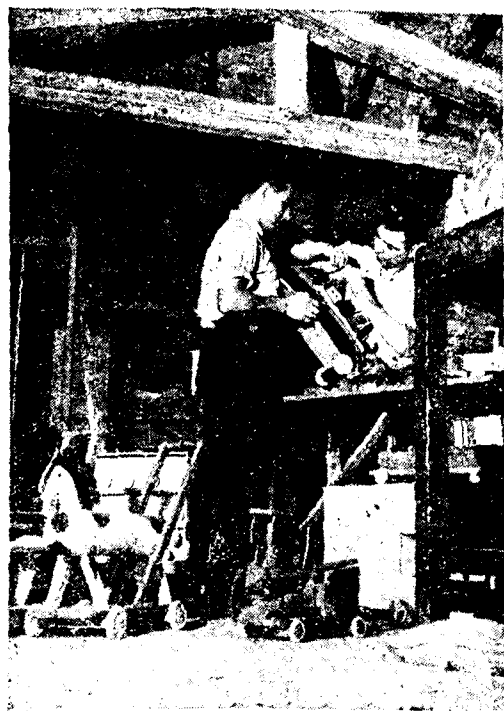
The boxy little turretted schloss made to house a waxy Margravine, with all its prim farm and dairy out-buildings was translated into a semi-oriental, onion-domed little dump for dolly Boyars, thus metamorphosised out of Europe into Asia. At Kensington Palace, the future Queen Victoria dressed bun-faced Dutch dolls with a nice regard for contemporary elegance, while Cruikshank and William Blake designed figures for the juvenile drama—those Plain and Twopence Coloured, which were England's most individual contribution to toymdom.

Today, most toy-markets of the world are closed. There is little time for tin soldiering. Yet in Britain, hard-pressed as we are by the



The man is on fire watch duty in London but there is no raid so he spends his time modelling wooden toys from odd scraps of salvaged wood

demands of total warfare, there is a remarkable development in the craft of toy-making. Not so much among the established manufacturers,



The National Fire Service men are seen in this photograph as they put the finishing touches to a model ship

or for export, as among the amateurs and voluntary workers, who have determined that British children shall still have toys, regardless of all the complicated paraphernalia implied by such wartime exigencies as the Purchase Tax, or the Limitation of Supplies Act, or any other restriction which must apply to non-essential goods.

Many of these home-made toys are designed specially for the Nursery Schools Association by members of the National Fire Service and are not obtainable by the public; some are made by Civil Defence workers. Some, of a constructional nature, are made at a Quaker Headquarters—the Friends' War Relief, in Kentish Town; these have been approved by the Board of Education and are sent out in complete sets, with directions for making, so that they may be copied by various regional toy-making centres all over the country.

OUT OF ODD SCRAPS

Restrictions have acted as a stimulus. Out of odd scraps of material and splinters of debris from bombed houses, their use sanctioned by the Government, with paint and screws and odds and ends supplied by grants from America's British War Relief Fund, the children of Britain are now receiving some of the most engaging toys imaginable. If this ingenuity can triumph over all the obstructions of the hour, surely it augurs well for a revival, or development of Britain's export trade after the war. It may be that even now, out of the ruins of our homes and the shreds from our clothing, we are laying the foundations for a future which will outshine the traditional supremacy of Nuremberg toys.

Did "home-made" ever bear a stigma? If so, it now takes its place beside "hand-made," as being best of all. Now, we see hundreds of individual variations on the Jumbo Teddy or Golly theme. No two alike, each one an inimitable, unrepeatable personality, ready to be invested with all those attributes of the imagination with which children endow their favourite play-things, and which, I feel, must have faltered before the mechanized, mass-produced, streamlined replicas of grown-up life which were prevalent of late years.



Here is a glimpse of an exhibition of toys made by a Civil Defence Heavy Rescue party in their periods of inaction. All these play-things were constructed from timber found in blitzed buildings

THE JUMBO-LIMBO-LAND

How vastly preferable is this Jumbo-Limbo-land! How entertaining for the adult eye to

BRITAIN'S ELECTRICITY

NEW FOUND INGENUITY

Toys are said to reflect not only the fashions and politics of their age, but also the characteristics of their country. And these contemporary toys of ours are no exception. Future generations, viewing them as the museum pieces they are destined to become, will find them eloquent not only of this age, but of the people of Britain today.

True, they do not say much about the war, directly, for there are few dolls dressed as nurses, and fewer still as soldiers; nor are there many miniature warden's helmets and dolly decontamination outfits such as I saw devised by some commercial firms at the beginning of the war.

But for all that, these home-made toys are deeply significant of Britain today. Their making tells of a new-found ingenuity in the face of difficulty, and their design tells of a spirit, humour, and perspective, grown stronger than ever after four years at war.

detect and trace the various materials employed! A portly "Babar" elephant upholstered in Glenurquhart tweed suiting reminiscent of Savile Row tailoring, his ears lined with rosy chintz, tucks up to a rakish-looking pig in velvet sou'wester snouted with pink lingerie crepe-de-chine. There is a brown knitted kangaroo, the purl and plain of her white woolly pouch bagging dangerously as two kangerolets with plush pipe-cleaner tails lurch forward. There is a rabbit in striped sun-blind bathing-drawers, a monkey in a ballet skirt, a sooty piecaninny doll made from an old stocking... there are primitive dolls' houses, and see-saws, fantastic rocking horses, and even a rocking zebra. Toy-shops now have a distinct smack of the circus about them, there is a gaudy gaiety, fantasy long absent... it is in fact a triumphant return to toys after years of models.

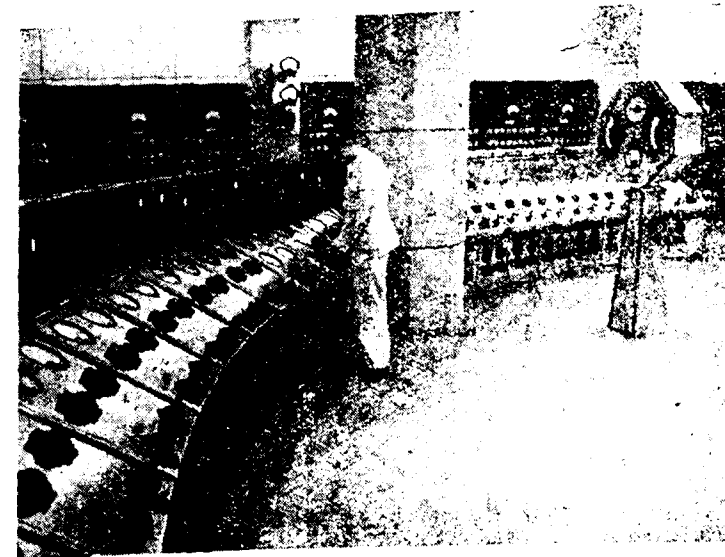
BRITAIN'S ELECTRICITY

Light for A Penny

By BARBARA STUART

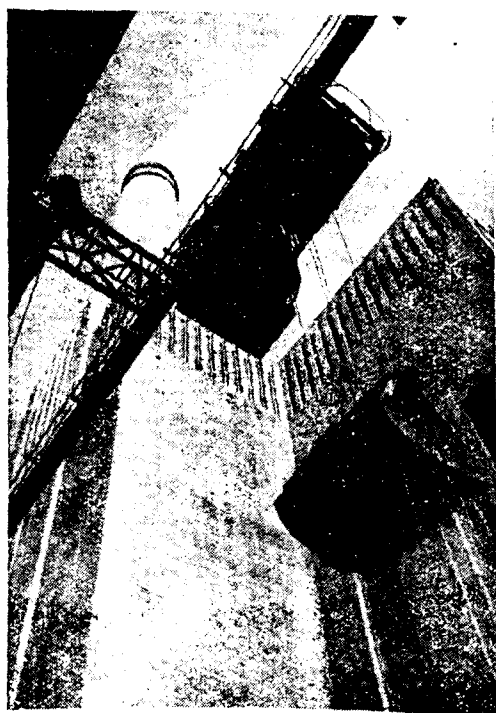
DURING the last 12 years before this war, the electrical industry of Great Britain was making very rapid progress in production and supply to all classes of the population. For many years the United States of America had led the world in the use of electricity in the home, but during the last few pre-war years the progress of Britain in the annual use of electricity, especially for cooking, was greater than that of any other country. The official figures show an increase from 5,000 to 1,500,000 users in 20 years.

An ever-growing number of householders in town and country were beginning to discover that electricity could be used for a far greater variety of domestic uses than merely the basic ones of lighting, heating and cooking. They began to use vacuum cleaners and instal electric refrigerators, fans, water heaters and softeners, and laundry appliances. They worked their



The engineer is standing at one of the great control boards at an electricity generating station

radios by electricity, and often their clocks as well, and, just before the war, some people were beginning to experiment with television.



The photograph shows one of the great chimneys of a power station where much of Britain's electricity is generated

EXTENDED USE

Great strides were being made in the air-conditioning of buildings and factories by means of electricity, and shortly before the war the British branch of an American company invented the first portable air-conditioning set, which was no larger than a radiogram and could be installed in any room of an already completed building.

Electricity was, before the war, cheaper in England than anywhere else in the world: over 97 per cent of its users were paying only one penny, or even less, per unit of electricity; and two-thirds of this number paid only half this amount.

The use of electricity in the home had begun to extend from the country towns to outlying rural communities, and no village of 400 or more inhabitants was without a supply of electricity. Many smaller hamlets had it as well.

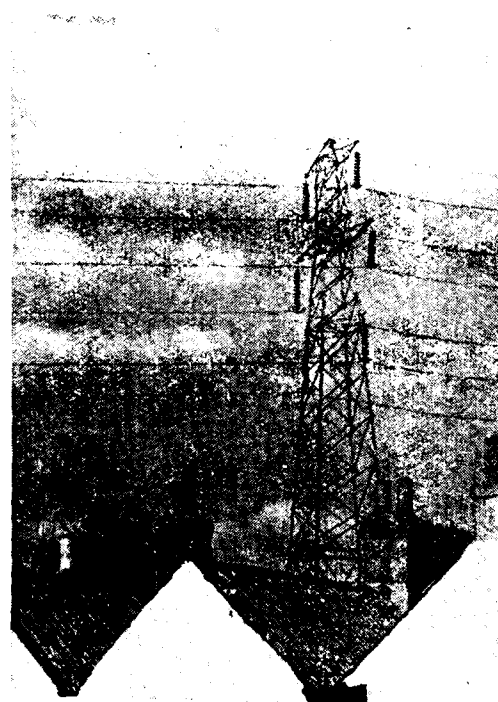
HELP IN FARM WORK

One of the advantages of electricity is, of course, that the more it is used the cheaper it

becomes, because the installation costs to the electrical company are standard and have to be spread over the number of users. Therefore, the country villages soon found that if enough of their inhabitants were prepared to instal it in their houses, electricity became a sound economic venture, added to which it would undoubtedly do a great deal to improve the standard of living for the whole community.

Individual farmers—generally a rather conservative class—were, in a steadily increasing proportion, beginning to use electricity to help them in their farmwork. They found that it was clean and cheap, and that it speeded up and thereby increased production, while economising labour.

Then again, the availability of electricity in rural areas meant that inexpensive automatic electric pumps could be installed to supply water to a whole neighbourhood, wherever a good water source existed. There was no need to lay down



The British grid system for distributing electricity throughout the country is a world-famous innovation

extensive water mains from the nearest town. It also meant that many large factories were erected in country districts, instead of on the outskirts of towns, a matter of vital importance in wartime.

As a result of steady technical improvements in the generation of electricity, much less coal is now needed in its production. This is another fact of great importance in wartime, when the fuel resources of the country have to supply so many vital needs.

HARNESSED FOR TRANSPORT

In most large towns electricity plays a large part in the transport arrangements. This is particularly the case in London, where the great underground railway system is run electrically, as well as the tram and trolley bus services. There are also an increasing number of electrically-driven delivery vans on the streets, the use of which means economy in petrol, so vital to the war effort.

Again, the stream of London's street traffic is largely controlled by the agency of automatic electric traffic lights. During wartime the use of electricity for street lighting is practically non-existent, but in normal times nothing can be gayer than the brilliantly coloured electric advertisements which flash and glitter in London's Piccadilly Circus, or the blazing lights, in the shop windows of London's West End, which make the streets as light as day.

GRID SYSTEM

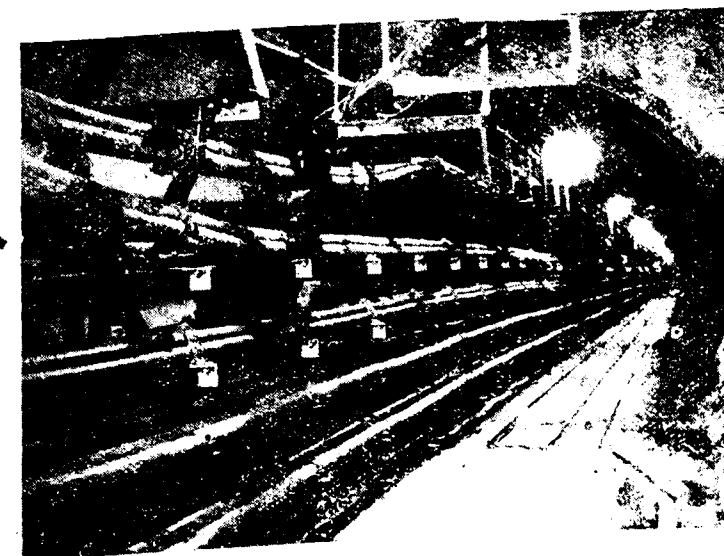
By the year 1937 it had become obvious to those responsible for the electrical industry as a whole that an unbroken supply of electricity must somehow be guaranteed to all parts of the country: one which would be proof against both ordinary breakdowns and damage and the far greater risks of enemy attack, should war ever come to Britain. Consequently, the famous "Grid System" came into being, by which a vast inter-connected network of electrical supply mains covers the whole country.

This system ensures that an alternative supply of electricity can be directed to any district where the local generating station may be put out of action. Electrical current from

the nearest point of the Grid can be almost immediately connected up for the use of factories and dwellings usually fed by the damaged station, while a gang of engineers from the nearest Control Centre is rushed to repair the breakdown.

NATION-WIDE ORGANISATION

There is a great national pool of spare equipment and a nation-wide organisation for



In towns the overhead grid system is not a practical method of distribution and the cables are therefore laid underground

repair and mutual aid, upon both of which all electrical undertakings can call in an emergency. Store and Control rooms are scattered all over the country, with staffs ready for instant action day and night.

Electricity is also used extensively in connection with Civil Defence. It has made possible the ventilation of underground shelters, as well as providing them with lighting and heating. Electrical pumping apparatus has also been installed, which, in many cases, begins to work automatically as soon as serious flooding starts when water mains are damaged by enemy action.

The service rendered by Britain's electrical industry before 1939 was of tremendous importance, but is now of inestimable value as part of her war effort.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISSSES CHANDRALEKHA AND NAYANTARA PANDIT, daughters of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, are now in America as students of Wellesley College in the Eastern U. S. State of Massachusetts. Miss Chandralekha is the first recipient of the Mac-ling Soong Scholarship, established by friends of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the former Mac-ling-Soong, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of her



Misses Chandralekha (left) and Nayantara Pandit

graduation from Wellesley. The photograph shows that they are on their way to their classes at Wellesley College.

MISS BANI GHOSH, daughter of Capt. J. M. Ghosh, M.B., D.P.H. (London), D.T.M. & H. (Cantab.), Chief Medical Officer, Tripura State, who created a record having passed the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University in 1939 in the First Division at the age of 10 years 7 months, passed the last B. A. Examination, 1943, as a non-collegiate student at the age of 14 years 7 months only.

MISS MIRABAI PUSHPANATHAN, daughter of Mr. Paul Pushpanathan, Advocate, Cuddalore, has stood first in the first class in Chemistry, this



Miss Bani Ghosh

year in the B. A. Examination of the Madras University at the early age of 18 and was awarded Sundaram Ayyar's Prize for Chemistry.



Miss Mirabai Pushpanathan

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE year is drawing to a close, and as yet the war does not indicate any definite approach to the end on any front. In Europe the German retreat in Russia is now very slowly meandering back across the Ukraine and White Russia, the stories of "hot pursuit" and "gigantic breakthrough" sent to the press by the correspondents becoming more and more incongruous when studied in terms of concrete results. Winter has already cramped movements on either side and very soon a winter campaign with new tactics will have to be substituted for the great mechanised thrusts delivered by the Russians at the German forces, or else the opposing forces will have to call a halt. The most remarkable part of this withdrawal has been the surrender of a great many isolated strong points and of massive natural barriers stretching across hundreds of miles by the German High Command, without even the semblance of a determined attempt at defence. The most natural conclusion that can be drawn from such a continuous series of extraordinary happenings is that the German war machine is crumpling up and that the civilian front must be heading on for a collapse. On the other hand, in this gigantic retreat, covering hundreds of thousand square miles, the German army has not experienced any major disaster involving mass destruction or capture of men and material despite extreme activity of the Russian forces, which have continuously delivered large-scale thrusts with great masses of tanks and mechanised artillery onto the retreating Germans. The Germans have consistently yielded ground whenever hard pressed but even the most determined assault has failed to break through to a sufficient depth that would enable a pincer movement to be initiated nor have surprise manoeuvres over widely separated areas succeeded in springing a trap around the defending forces. It must therefore be admitted that so far the German High Command has been able to keep this retreat within the limits of control possible under the circumstances and that the retreat has not as yet shown any signs of degenerating into a rout.

On the Italian front too, the Germans have shown that in spite of a major disaster like the Italian collapse, their planners for the defence of Europe can stage a determined stand against an opposing force that possesses unchallenged command of the seas and a marked supremacy

in the air. The beginnings of the Italian campaign were disastrous for the Axis. It brought about the collapse of the second biggest European partner of the Fascist alliance, and it resulted in the virtual knocking out of some of the hardest fighting units of the German army, like the Herman Goering division. Indeed with the imprisonment of Mussolini, the acceptance of the Allied terms of Armistice by Badoglio and the surrender of the Italian Navy that followed, it seemed that the Nazi forces in Italy were trapped beyond all chances of escape and that a major campaign against the Axis defence lines in the Balkans and south-eastern France by the Allied forces was a matter of weeks only. British and American papers—that are just reaching us—of that period all openly predicted the beginning of the end of the Axis in Europe and hopes were entertained by even the most cautious of war-commentators that at long last the inevitable had plainly shown its face and that the prelude to the Götterdämmerung of the Hitlerian pantheon was in its opening chords. But Mussolini was rescued—which was a major disaster for the Allies—and the German High Command showed that it was still capable of tackling desperate situations by skilful utilisation of every natural barrier and by an employment of extremely well-planned defence tactics, carried out by forces completely under control of the supreme command. By these methods the German High Command has succeeded in staving off the complete collapse of Fascism in Italy, and is trying now to reorganise Mussolini's army, to rekindle Italian antagonism to the Allied Nations and to erect substantial barriers to the progress of the Allied armies across the peninsular area to continental Italy. If it succeeds it would mean the pinning down of the Allied effort to a terrain that is as unsuitable for a plan of assault on a major scale as natural obstacles can make it, which in its turn would mean the gain of much valuable time for the re-organisation of the defence measures instituted by the German High Command.

The re-taking of two of the Dodecanese islands are parts of this programme, and that fact coupled with the fierce counter-attacks that led to the evacuation of Zhitomir by the Russians clearly indicate—as was officially pointed out in the U. S. A.—that the Germans

are still strong and that it was still premature to talk about a German collapse.

In the summing up of all these factors, the deduction that has to be drawn is that the German High Command, though powerless to take to the offensive, in the complete sense of the term, in any quarter for the present has neither lost hopes about regaining the initiative at a future date, nor does it consider that the war has now taken a turn that is beyond the control of the Nazi strategists. Hitler's speech was mainly propaganda aimed at the German "civilian front," but there was a substratum of hope clearly underlying his statements. At this stage of the war, such hopes cannot be construed as being a belief in miracles nor can they be deemed to be drawn from the hallucinations about the supernatural powers of the Herrenvolk.

The two major partners of the Axis, Germany and Japan are neither prone to imagination nor do they in reality base any of their calculations on illusory factors supernatural or superstitious in origin. In the times of peace, both were bereft of resources and were virtually bankrupt in their national economy, but both were able to hold their own against vastly superior odds through their extremely efficient control and utilization of the meagre financial reserves at their disposal and by the meticulously planned and elaborately organised development of their industries. In war too their hopes were based on superior efficiency and skill in planning and it cannot be denied that these two bankrupt and hard-pressed nations, with far inferior manpower reserves and with negligible resources of raw-materials, came within an ace of winning the war outright in 1942, and but for superhuman capacity of the Soviet soldier to take punishment—punishment of a calibre and appalling quality undreamt of before this war—and for the inflexible determination of his leaders, disaster would be complete by now for the democracies in spite of all their money, all their resources and all their brave talk.

It is absolutely evident now that Germany knew that she would have no chance of surviving even for a reasonable period in case of concerted military action against her by England, France and Russia. She hoped to settle accounts separately with each and nearly succeeded in doing so even though Russia alone had far more fully trained reserves than that of all the Axis nations in Europe put together. Likewise Japan must have known that she would be crushed, if China could be armed even partially with

modern weapons and modern equipment. Both Germany and Japan knew that if the military and raw-material resources of India were efficiently developed, another power comparable with Russia could be put in the field, which would have meant destruction of the Axis, certainly in 1943 if not in 1942. Japan's campaign in Burma was in the main an attempt to still further constrict the stranglehold on China, and even now all the offensive operations still initiated by Japan are attempts at keeping China isolated from her belated helpers. In the case of India the position was quite different. If the persons put in control of India's affairs had displayed more capacity for thought and less for pompous inanity and worse and if British big business had even partially restrained its cupidity, then in spite of all the inefficiency inherent in the "steel frame" India's war effort by the middle of 1942 would have been far in excess of what it is to-day. This is an undeniable—almost axiomatic—truth, in spite of all that our little tin-gods and their tame wiseacres may say. Axis propaganda fell on barren soil until September 1942, and even after that whatever little fruition it had, came out of despair and agony and not from any definite partisanship for the Axis. It is a lie to say that there ever was—or that even to-day there is—any coherent body of public opinion that was pro-Fascist in its sentiments. India has had Fascist methods practised on her too long—indeed from a period preceding the rise of Mussolini—to have any love for such principles.

It is only out of such inefficient handling of the strength that is at the disposal of the United Nations that Axis hopes can come to reality. Blood and sweat and tears are easy to promise and easy enough to shed. But someday this process is got to stop unless the post-war plan for the world is hopeless bankruptcy.

It seems to even the man in the street that the hopes of the Axis lie in the staving off of the Second Front—we mean the real and genuine article—until the Russians become war-weary, and in the postponement of the Allied campaign against Japan until she has finished tooling up for mass production of modern armaments and her plans for the consolidation of major gains reach completion. The initiative, in all matters, now is fully in the hands of the Allies. But time is of the essence now, more so than ever before, and therefore so long as there is delay in taking action, there are grounds for the revival of Axis hopes.

CHANDASAHEB IN MARATHA CONFINEMENT March 1741—June 1748

By RAO BAHADUR GOVIND S. SARDESAI

THROUGH the kind offices of my friend Mr. Shankar Lakshman Vaidya of Wai I was able to discover a lot of useful historical information in his family papers which only recently came into his hands. His ancestors were influential bankers and politicians at the courts of Shahu and the Peshwas, having probably migrated to the Maharashtra uplands from the west coast (Kankan) during the days of Shivaji. Their first famous ancestor Raghunath Bhatt died in 1686. His three sons Bhaskar, Balambhat and Vishvanath had dealings with several influential members of the Maratha *rāj* such as the Peshwas, the Bhonsles of Nagpur, the Angres of Kolaba and others. After Vishvanath's death in 1760 his son Baburao became a trusted colleague of Nana Fadnis. Baburao died in 1795 and his son Narayanrao worked through the last days of the Maratha *rāj* and died in 1828.

Among these Vaidya papers I found a few valuable letters written by men on the spot graphically describing Raghujī Bhonsle's capture of Trichinopoly and its able defender Chandasaheb in 1741 and the same general's capture of Cuttack in 1745, as also the capture by Tulaji Angre of Anjanvel and Gokot on the west coast. History already knows these Maratha exploits, but the Vaidya archives supply details of surpassing importance. In this paper I am giving free translations of a few letters about the capture of Trichinopoly and the consequent confinement of Chandasaheb in Maharashtra for seven long years. I wish to draw the student's attention in this connection to a paper read by Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari on the career of Chandasaheb at the Trivandrum session of the Historical Records Commission last year. The present find makes a considerable advance in our knowledge of that event.

Nilkanth Raghunath, one of Raghujī's subordinates, writes from Kolar in Karnatak to Vishvanath Bhat Vaidya at Satara on 26 April 1741:

"You already know that our armies arrived before Trichinopoly and besieged it now for these three months. Under divine favour the place was ultimately taken by Raghujī Bhonsle after an heroic effort. He pitched his own tent in front of all others right on the ditch within

easy shots by the defenders, and captured the place after starving out the garrison.

"Before Raghujī arrived on the scene, Fatesinh Bhonsle had come ahead with his troops towards Trichinopoly, when Chandasaheb who held it, sent his Diwan Ramrao offering two lacs of rupees and requesting the withdrawal of the Maratha armies. Fatesinh accepted the proposal and prepared to retire. When Raghujī came to know of this, he disapproved of Fatesinh's compromise and marched straight against the place determined to take it by assault. At this conduct of Raghujī Fatesinh felt deep mortification, withdrew his armies from the action and remained a passive spectator, ridiculing Raghujī's boast of storming the place. Thus an open rupture came about between the two Chiefs, of which Chandasaheb was not slow to take advantage. He quickly summoned to his aid his brother Bade Khan from Madura. As soon as Raghujī received this intelligence of Bade Khan coming with five thousand troops, he despatched Bhaskar Ram against him in advance. The two encountered each other about 14 miles South of Trichinopoly. Bhaskar was accompanied by a contingent of Fatesinh's party led by Haidabao Jadhav, Pandhre and Gorkhoji Bhaskar. These had a stiff action lasting for three days, in which Bade Khan was killed and all his men annihilated. Bade Khan's dead body was brought by the Marathas in triumph. This event damped Chandasaheb's spirit and in abject terror surrendered Trichinopoly to Raghujī, who planted Fatesinh's flag on the fort at an hour after sunset on Saturday Ram-navami (14 March 1741). Thus Providence gave Raghujī a grand victory and enabled him to keep Chandasaheb a prisoner in his custody. He offered four lacs to obtain his release, but before the terms could be concluded, Raghujī despatched Chandasaheb under Bhaskar Ram's escort to Berar. I write these details for your information to be reported to the Chhatrapati.

"Unfortunately a severe ailment of rheumatism at this very moment has seized Raghujī since the capture of Trichinopoly. All kinds of remedies are being constantly tried but so far without effect. The malady goes down a little and then rises again. For some time even hope of life was lost, but during the last week signs of improvement are distinctly visible. It appears that the complaint is caused by some supernatural human agency which is being removed by the invocation of divine remedies. Raghujī has handed over Trichinopoly into Fatesinh's charge. The latter in turn has appointed Murarrao Ghorpade as the guardian of the place and has moved his camp towards Satara.

"Here you will naturally ask me why Raghujī did not garrison the place with his own men and keep it for himself, the answer is that Raghujī had no distinct orders from the Chhatrapati on the point and was compelled to yield to Fatesinh's pressure. Fatesinh appointed Murarrao. Raghujī has therefore completely withdrawn his attention from the affair. Thus, such a fine capital place of uncommon value seems to have been lost by Fatesinh too. Raghujī could not help this, and for good reason which I will explain.

maunds, we can have an additional $\frac{1}{2}$ million ton of paddy production from the proposed extension of cultivation. If intensive methods of cultivation are employed in some of the areas, the corresponding output can be multiplied at least twice. Moreover, the cultivation of new virgin lands may yield a better average of crops than the cultivation of old, long cultivated lands. Again, in so far as some of these lands may be found to be suitable for both the *Aus* and the *Aman* crops, we can have a corresponding further increase of production. Again, if millets instead of rice are grown, we can have five to six crops in the year. If, after all these steps are taken, a deficit is still found to be inevitable, some of the lands at present under non-food crops may be compulsorily diverted towards the production of suitable food crops. We believe that if all the above steps are properly taken, the calculated deficit of $2\frac{1}{2}$ million tons may easily be met. At the same time, the numerous marshy and waste lands which are to-day serving as breeding-grounds of malaria, 'the arch-enemy' of rural Bengal, will be effectively cleared, thus ushering quite a new chapter in Bengal's history. The food crisis may then on retrospect look like a blessing in disguise.

If the well-meaning critics sneer at our proposals as being utterly unpractical and utopian, our reply is that there is nothing intrinsically impracticable in our fundamental suggestions. The first difficulty will, of course, be as regards the acquisition of these waste lands which in many cases may not be Government Khas lands. To overcome this difficulty, we suggest that the Government should immediately impose a punitive tax on all lands lying fallow for more than one year which can be evaded by leasing out those lands to any person or body of persons who may be willing to reclaim and cultivate them. The evasion privilege should, of course, be also granted, if the owners themselves take to active cultivation on their own account. The imposition of this punitive tax may also be usefully supplemented by the passing of a legislation or an ordinance enabling any person or Corporation to cultivate any cultivable fallow land as self-appointed lessees on the payment of a nominal lease money (which in any case should not exceed the land revenue and land cess accruing in respect of the land or lands affected) to the actual owners of the land when the latter come forward with the necessary title-deeds. The practical benefit of this proposed ordinance or legislation will be that many small farmers may be thereby enabled to increase

their acreage under cultivation, by bringing some neighbouring idle lands under cultivation, without being harassed by the existing vested legal rights in those lands. Once the land problem is solved, it is not difficult to find solutions for the other agricultural problems. There is no dearth of agricultural labourer in Bengal. Apart from local supply of labourers, a considerable section of the destitute population affected by the Midnapore and Burdwan disasters as well as by the present unprecedented famine conditions may be gradually diverted towards the new cultivation zones where they might be first employed in test works and where some of them may be ultimately permanently settled. This policy may at once convert a large part of the present 'unproductive' expenditure on 'gratuitous' relief into 'productive' expenditure and effectively prevent the inevitable moral and physical degeneration of the destitute population and at the same time lighten the burden on the harassed tax-payer.

As regards capital and organisation, we may make the following suggestions. Where individual farmers are able and willing to cultivate neighbouring fallow lands, perhaps there is no problem at all, except possibly the question of the availability of seeds which may be supplied by the Government. The real stumbling block, however, may be presented by the cattle situation which has already become highly alarming, owing to the unrestricted activities of the meat contractors for the Army. We suggest that a conservator of live-stock should be immediately appointed to safeguard the cattle position and that the sale of cattle for slaughter purposes should be brought under a strict licensing system. The organisation problem can best be solved either by the policy of *direct State cultivation of waste lands* or by encouraging existing or new agricultural joint-stock companies or co-operative societies to participate actively in the 'Grow More Food' campaign. The Government may easily embark upon actual reclamation and cultivation of waste lands which it is in a position to do with much greater ease than any private person or corporation. The services of the experts in the Agricultural Department, Irrigation Department and Public Works Department may be easily requisitioned for this experiment in *collective scientific farming*. If these suggestions smack of socialism (although Russia is 'our ally'), our reply is that the Government's present large-scale trading venture is no less objectionable on grounds of pure *laissez faire* philosophy. The time and the desperate

THE FOOD CRISIS: HOW TO MEET IT

plight of the country imperatively demand that nothing that can be done should remain undone on grounds of some unscientific, pre-conceived bias. If the question of capital difficulty is raised, our reply is that if the Government could arrange to raise loans amounting to several crores of rupees for its bulk purchase schemes, and if it could afford to incur a loss of Rs. 7 crores for famine relief and for supplying rice to its small employees and to the poorer section of the public at subsidy rates, there is no reason why it should not be able to raise the necessary amount of cultivation finance, particularly at a time when agriculture has to all intents and purposes become a highly paying proposition.

If, however, the Government for any reason whatsoever is not willing to embark upon large-scale cultivation either at all or on the necessary scale, it may at least encourage in all possible ways existing or new agricultural joint-stock companies to come forward in the service of the supremely important cause of a famine-stricken people. This encouragement may be given in the following ways: First, agricultural joint-stock companies whether existing or new which are or may be engaged predominantly in the cultivation of food crops may be exempted from the application of the new company ordinance. Thus existing agricultural companies may be enabled to increase their share-capital and new agricultural companies may be promoted purely out of dividend-hunting motives without any delay or uncertainty implicit in the new company ordinance.

Secondly, we suggest that cultivators and agricultural companies engaged in growing food crops should be granted some rebate in respect of their liabilities under the proposed Agricultural Income-tax Act corresponding to the acreage of virgin lands which they may bring under plough, while the loss to the Treasury may be recovered either out of the suggested punitive tax on fallow lands or by steepening the rates or gradation of tax on non-cultivating absentee land-lords (the maximum amount of the rebate payable to agricultural companies may not exceed total tax liability, the progressive scale of the rebate being graphically describable in the shape of an asymptote).

Thirdly, we suggest that the Government in all its departments should always be prepared to give moral, technical and material help in the shape of the supply of tractors, threshers, seed-drills, harvesters, seeds, etc., to all such pioneers in the exploitation of virgin lands. If adequate modern agricultural machinery are not available

in the country, the Government, while beginning work with the available stock, may import the necessary quantities either from Great Britain or from the U. S. A. under lease-lend arrangements, a task which may not be very difficult at present in view of the opening of the Mediterranean and the improvement of the shipping position. Again, the requirements of working capital of these pioneer Indian back-woodsmen may be partly supplied, if the able-bodied section of the destitute population is transferred to the new cultivation zones and the official and non-official philanthropy does not dry up until the arrival of the next harvest season.

In the above few paragraphs, we have briefly outlined our proposals, based on well-known facts and commonsense, which we claim, contain the germs of a genuine all-round and honourable solution of the present acute famine conditions in the province. The food crisis in Bengal is the result of past chronic neglect of the possibilities of agricultural development, both extensive and intensive, in our province. There is intrinsically no reason why Bengal should go on starving because Burma rice is not available, or because the more fortunately placed sister provinces of India cannot spare as much food-stuffs for Bengal as she might require, or because the existing trans-continental railway systems of India cannot speedily cope with all demands for food transport to and from distant places in the midst of a total war. The unchallengeable lesson of our present heart-rending tragedy is that we must plan our agricultural economy or that we must perish or become beggars. The Government of Bengal in our opinion, while it may be commended for its efforts aimed at securing temporary food 'credits' or 'quotas' from other more fortunately placed provinces under the Central Government's food procurement plan (or from Australia and Canada), and while it may be at liberty to pursue its present policy of relentless pursuit of the never-to-be-found speculative hoarder and may thus appear to a detached observer in the tragi-comic role of the proverbial cat running in vain after its own tail (in view of the fact that the Government's bulk purchase schemes make it the greatest single hoarder of food-grains), must, if it is to be true to its salt, bend its principal energies in the direction of a determined 'production' drive and thus transform Bengal's crisis into her opportunity, if only it can catch something of the divine spirit which made England's conduct after Dunkirk one of the supreme romances in the world's history.

THE LATE SETH MATHURADAS OF TANGANYIKA

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

I REGARD persons, who are gifted with riches untold but devoid of a sense of duty towards their nation and country, and who are constantly engaged towards their own selfish ends with the one aim of amassing wealth without the least thought of their less fortunate brothers, a sinful burden on Mother India and Humanity alike. An Indian poet in his Hindi poem has rightly said for such a type of mean and selfish people whose lives are worthless:

"Out of the dust he had taken form
And back to the dust he will go,
No eye will waste a single tear
When humbled to the dust he will bow."

But Seth Mathuradas Kaldas Mehta of Dares-Salaam in Tanganyika Territory, was not at all the type of wealthy men as described above. He possessed a real human heart which pulsated in concordance with the affliction of his nation and country, and he always entertained the lofty ideal and ambition for the upliftment of his struggling community. At a glance one would have perceived the strength of his character. He was an admirer of truth, kind and benevolent, far from vanity and artifice and above all strongly despising self-advertisement, the epidemic with which are affected the majority of our public workers. It was for his loving and kind nature that he was regarded in the highest esteem and loved by all persons who knew him.

Though I had been acquainted with him for more than a decade our friendship took to a stronger bond when I met him on board at Dares-Salaam while on my way to Bombay in connection with the Segregation Bill of the Union of South Africa. I saw before me a man of medium height, slightly built, very simply dressed, his eyes sparkling with a splendour of a strange radiance, and an aura of wisdom playing on his countenance adding a lustre to his forceful personality. I was exceedingly surprised at his plainness and what struck me most was his unassuming manners. An unuttered question framed itself in my mind if he is the person at whose feet a fortune reposes.

During the same evening after having delivered a public speech under the auspices of the Indian Association of Dares-Salaam, he invited me to "Chandra Villa," his personal residence situated on the seashore. It is a very beautiful mansion indeed and the dancing waves on the seashore in the moon-bathed serene night added more to its glorious and picturesque appearance. I must admit that I have had the first opportunity to see

an Indian bungalow situated in such poetical surroundings. Here he had arranged a dinner party for me in which were present many prominent personalities of Dares-Salaam including Hon. Dr. S. B. Mallick and Hon. D. K. Patel, Members of the Tanganyika Legislative Council; Mr. U. K. Ojha, the editor of *Tanganyika Opinion* and Mr. V. R. Boal, the editor of the *Tanganyika Herald*.

Seth Mathuradas was born at Porbander and he came to Tanganyika in the humblest condition but with his vigilance and industry he shortly succeeded in amassing such a vast amount of wealth that he was soon acclaimed the most prosperous and leading businessman and agriculturist in that territory of Tanganyika. With the expansion of his wealth and business, within him also grew the desire to use the fruits of his labour for the welfare of his community. He possessed a heart broader than the vast expanse of the ocean and though he was a man of the world by *karma* he was almost saintly in nature encircled within benevolence and generosity. Seth Mathuradas was a benefactor to all. No one returned from him disappointed. All the religious and social bodies and institutions of Arya Samaj are flourishing and advancing in East Africa today with his financial help, which we all could be proud of. He was a true champion of Hinduism but never in his lifetime did he choose to contaminate the ideals of nationhood by pursuing any sectarian policy. He was loved by the Indian public and equally respected by the Government who recently had conferred upon him the title of M.B.E.

In 1941, while on my way to India from South Africa I had the fortune to meet him for the last time when he kindly presented me with an English typewriter which I am today using in the service of our brethren overseas. On parting from him I did not for a moment imagine that this would be our last meeting.

At Dares-Salaam, he breathed his last and bade farewell to this mortal world at quite an early age of fifty-one. His untimely death is a great loss to our countrymen abroad who have lost one of their greatest well-wishers and benefactors. This loss could not be easily filled. A lamp which burned for half a century is now extinguished leaving the horizon of Indian settlers in gloom impenetrable. My fervent prayer to Almighty Parmatma is that He in his mercy may lend eternal peace to the departed soul and grant strength and fortitude to his family to bear this great bereavement.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIA SHOULD KNOW TURKEY: By F. Seymour Cole. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. 1943. Pp. 179. Price not mentioned.

The visit of the Turkish Press Delegation to India inspired Seymour Cole to write this book obviously for the Indian readers. Without minimizing the value of the effort made by the author to make Turkey better known in India it may be said that there is hardly anything in this catalogue pattern of chronicle with which Indian scholars and publicists are not more or less familiar. The republican revolution, secularization of education, Kemalism in national regeneration and social uplift, emancipation of women, industrial and financial development, rebirth of the Indian intelligentsia are army are topics with which the Indian intelligentsia are fairly acquainted. The wealth of information which Seymour Cole furnishes in his monograph could have been better arranged and interpreted. The book contains all the signs of having been written in a hurry. Moreover, the author forgets in many of his observations that the book is intended for Indians and not for Englishmen, and thus makes the mistake of placing emphasis on things in which Indians can scarcely feel interested. But what is almost amazing is that in the final chapter of the book, Seymour Cole admonishes Indians to take a lesson from post-war Turkish history for the purpose of achieving national independence. He sets out a simple nine-point formula which, if carried out successfully, would transform India into another Turkey—national, modern and progressive. Needless to say that this formula betrays complete ignorance of Indian conditions on the part of the author. But in order to appear consistent he quotes M. Atay, the leader of the Turkish Press Delegation, who, in course of his various statements in India, claimed to be a Turk first and Muslim next, and gave a rebuff to the Muslim Leaguers by asserting that "Turkey does not believe in pan-Islamism or pan-Islamic federation of any kind, or even pan-Turkism" (p. 168).

The book contains a number of pictorial illustrations which are marvels of photographic art.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

MOBILIZING SOCIAL SERVICES IN WAR-TIME—A SYMPOSIUM: Edited by J. M. Kumarappa. Department of Research and Publications. The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work. Byculla, Bombay. Price Paper Cover Rs. 2-8 and Cloth Cover Rs. 3-8.

Ten men, each eminent in his own special field of work, have contributed ten articles to this symposium.

The long-drawn war has given rise to many social problems some of which demand immediate attention. Family Security, Food Situation, Nutrition, Refugees, and Evacuees, Civilian Morale, Rumour, Social Hygiene, Industrial Welfare, Public Health Services, Relation between the State and the Social Services—these are the problems which have been specially considered in the treatise.

The reviewer has no hesitation in admitting that many of the ideas and suggestions conveyed through the articles are really brilliant and that the detailed records of what have been successfully achieved in other countries truly inspiring. As he cannot however shut his eyes to the realities of the present situation in his own province, viz., Bengal, all the valuable ideas and suggestions contained in the book seem to him to have as much value as beautiful architectural castles built in the air. He may be excused for feeling that the time for planning plausible schemes is definitely past and that immediate action is what is necessary. Academic discussions about plans are anachronisms in the present dangerous situation of the country. We think, however, given sincere desire on the part of all concerned really to do something, critical consideration of the suggested plans may prove helpful when the next crisis overtakes our social life.

S. C. MITRA

BROKEN SILENCE: By Mirza Ahmad Sohrab. Published by Universal Publishing Co., 20, Vesey Street, New York City, U. S. A. Pp. 608. Price \$2.50.

It is the story of a schism in the Bahai movement—a reform movement which started in Persia just a century ago (in 1844) and which has ramifications now in most countries of the world including the United States. Those who are not Bahais—as they call themselves—those who are not intimately connected with their activities, or are not perhaps find much of interest or of use in the will not perhaps find much of interest or of use in the book. It is not calculated to captivate the general reader, except indirectly. The *Broken Silence* is the silence of the author who was branded as a rebel and a heretic by the orthodox Bahai organisation. There was even a lawsuit to restrain him from the use of the name *Bahai* and also from certain publications. The author contends that this decree of a court of law is an assertion of the fundamental freedom of spiritual life which is the birth-right of every human being. The orthodox group attempted to stifle this freedom but failed. This is the element of general interest in the book. The rest is the story of a personal squabble and sectarian struggle.

It is the same old story that we have in the history of all religions. The seer sees the light and propagates



U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

India's experience in the last Great War, financially speaking, was not happy. So there is no hope of re-

The author expresses his anxiety in regard to the fate of the huge sterling balances in England although he gives credit to the authorities for repatriating some 300 million pound sterling without little or no disturbance to the money market. But according to him industrialization of the country with this sum would have given more than proportionate return to the country and the Indian Exchequer. If the sterling balances in the post-war time are utilized for purchases in England only, India is likely to be a losing importer from monopolist Britain and as such India shall sacrifice for the re-organisation of British industries. The author

A. B. DUTTA

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

The model size of holdings in this Taluka is under 5 acres. The number of holdings less than 5 acres is rapidly increasing and has become almost double since 1886. There are three classes of farmers, one class cultivating lands with their own hands, whether they employ additional labour to assist or not; another class does not cultivate personally, but supervise hired labourers though sometimes they may take part in some of the

The conclusion thus is irresistible: "It can be seen that the central fact of rural life is poverty—poverty economic, intellectual and physical. Without tackling this pivotal problem, all efforts to improve the lot of the agriculturists are ineffective. . . . Indeed the advance must be all-round." The author has great faith in co-operation and has suggested multi-purpose co-operative societies for the purpose. It is doubtful whether this huge problem can be tackled by the co-operative method, but the author is undoubtedly right in emphasising that the drive must not be a sectional but an all-round one. We have no hesitation to agree with what Sir Vijayaraghavacharya says in the Introduction, "The book is a complete picture of the life of the farmers in all its varied aspects . . . personally I can honestly call this book a fascinating study . . . is so true a picture of the countryside." We recommend this extremely well-documented and critical objective study to all students of social ecology.

ROBINDRU MOHON DATTA

In this small book, Prof. Sirin has given his own ideas about world reorganisation. "A paramount, all-powerful, world Sovereign State, armed with adequate

authority," leaving individual State-units to deal only with police matters is envisaged by Prof. Shah as a Sovereign authority which must be expressly empowered and enabled to intervene to maintain international peace and collaboration and ensure economic justice to individual citizens. The author has analysed the Atlantic Charter clause by clause and concludes that the creation of such a central authority is needed to enforce it. "Such a world Sovereign must be the creature of its constituents." "Universal and simultaneous disarmament" must be effected and a "sort of universal Arms Act must be promulgated." "Individual as well as international exploitation must be eliminated," these are some of the principal ideals discussed by the author. He is strongly of the opinion that the doctrine of individual Sovereignty must be discarded, the virtue of patriotism discounted, the sentiment of nationalism declared a crime. These ideas expressed by Prof. Shah are nothing new, they have been discussed thread-bare by political thinkers from Plato down to Karl Marx and Bakunin. Prof. Shah has expressed his ideas about money in the following illuminating words: "Money as a medium of exchange will have to be retained, but money as a sole measure of value must be dethroned. As a tool of commerce, it is indispensable, but as a dominating dictating factor in public or private economy, it is intolerable." Soviet Russia has looked at money exactly from this angle of vision and has successfully dethroned money as a sole measure standard and store of value. It is merely a medium of exchange in Russia and nothing more. Prof. Shah has very aptly drawn attention to this aspect of the problem.

D. B.

RECENT JUDGMENTS IN INDIA: Published by the *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi. Price Rs. 2 only.

The book, under review, contains a collection of judgments of legal and political interest, delivered during 1942-43 by the Federal Court, High Courts and Lower Courts together with authentic records of hearings.

We in India are now passing through exceptionally trying times when normal legislative machinery has almost ceased to function and legislation by ordinance is the order of the day. Although constitutional practice and propriety demands obedience by the executive to the exposition of law by the Judges but here in India even that constitutional check has proved illusory which will appear from India Government's statement in Assembly, dated New Delhi, July 29, 1943, after the Federal Court's judgment on the Defence of India Rule 26, holding it to be *ultra vires*, whereby it stated that "this did not mean that all persons detained under the Rule were to be automatically released."

The publication of these judgments of the Federal Court and also of the Calcutta High Court in convenient book form is both timely and appropriate.

The Chief Justice of India, Sir Maurice Gwyer held that "there is no power to detain a person because Government thinks that he may do something hereafter or because it may think that he is a man likely to do it; he must be a person about whom suspicions of the kind mentioned in paragraph X (of Sub-section (2) of Section 2 of the Defence of India Act, 1939—Act XXXV of 1939) are reasonably entertained."

A perusal of the judgments reported in the book under review will not only be helpful to the students of law but it will help public opinion to assert itself so as to make a repetition of the calamitous procedure under any ordinance promulgated either by the Governor-General or a Provincial Governor, impossible in future. People feel that detention on mere undie-

closed and often groundless suspicion, without charge or trial, is opposed to all notions of natural justice and all canons of civilized administration.

We sincerely believe that these judgments will be widely read and re-read by all Sections of the Indian public who can afford to do so.

We thank the Publishers for this useful publication. The value of the book has been immensely enhanced by a learned Foreword written by Dr. Kailas Nath Katju.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

WHAT IT COST ME (LEAVES FROM A DIARY): By Vadiguanahalli Aswathanarayana Rao. Foreword by Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Published by the author at the Triveni Office, Fort, Bangalore City. Price Re. 1-8.

Dedicated to the memory of the late Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews this book is a personal narrative that gives a graphic description of the Salt Campaign and the Non-violent movement of 1930. In a facile, story-telling manner Mr. Rao gives a fair exposition to the great truth and ideal that have pervaded the Indian struggle for freedom.

The non-violent movement of Mahatma Gandhi has really conferred on every individual, who has engaged himself in the national campaigns, a unique experience of personal sufferings and a noble vision of the *Swaraj* or independence. A generation of young men, on whom non-violence has left a permanent impression of a discipline and an 'awakening of the Spirit,' rightly aspires to pass the great lessons gained from the struggle for freedom on to those who are ignorant.

Mr. Rao's narration enlivened by conversational touches and occasional flashes of humour is fine reading for every body.

SANTOSH CHATTERJI

GUJARATI

GUJARATINUN ADHYAPAN: By Khushman Vakil and Murti Thakur. Printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat, 1942. Thick cardboard. Pp. 231. Price Rs. 2.

The joint writers of this book are teachers, and between them, they have produced a work which guides teachers as to how they should teach Gujarati. The system of doing so is well-laid out, as both of them have a practical knowledge of the subject. Modern Indian languages have found increasing encouragement in the Bombay University and the publication is therefore a timely one.

A HISTORY OF GUJARATI SURNAMES: By Prof. Mrs. Vinodini Nilkanth, M.A. Published by the Gujarati Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 153. Price Re. 1-4.

No such history has been attempted before, and the treatment of the subject—part of it guess work—is interesting and delightful. Surnames have crept into Gujarati from various sources, from names of employees, from professions followed, from idiosyncrasies depicted in individuals. In fact it is a museum and the writer has also fully appreciated the limitations of the subject.

BALSAHITYA SUPPLEMENT: Published by the Baroda State Pustakalaya Mandal, Baroda, 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 184. Price annas twelve.

All the works relating to juvenile and child literature omitted in the first part of the Balsahtya are listed here and it therefore forms a volume very useful for consultation purposes. It was a very good idea of the Mandal to get Mr. Jivaram Joshi to prepare it.

K. M. J.

A NOTE ON THE SO-CALLED "KING AND LAKSMI" COIN-TYPE OF SKANDAGUPTA

BY DILIP KUMAR BISWAS, M.A.

It is at present generally accepted by the historians of ancient India that Skandagupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty reigned in northern India from A.D. 455 to C. 467.¹ Though an abrupt debasement of the currency that occurred in his reign, constitutes a blot on the numismatic record of this mighty prince,—it may be observed that he on the whole kept up the reputation of the Imperial Gupta rulers, of being the only Hindu dynasty in ancient India whose coinage might rank as a work of art.

Of his coin-types in gold, one stands distinguished, marked by some special and interesting features. It was thus described by Mr. V. A. Smith long ago:²

OVERSE:—Bird standard with penons in centre of field; King bare-headed, with curly hair standing in left field facing right; Queen standing in right field opposite King; King wears either a waist cloth (*dhoti*) or short drawers (*janghiya*) and armlets, and with left hand grasps middle of bow, the string of which is parallel and next to standard. His right hand rests on hip. Queen has Indian woman's waist cloth (*lahanga*) and in right hand holds up to the bird-standard an object probably a flower.

The marginal legend is quite illegible but it probably included the names of both King and the Queen.

REVERSE:—Goddess Lakshmi seated cross-legged on lotus flower seat holding lotus flower in left and fillet in right hand. Legend on right margin—"Sri-Skandaguptah."

Smith remarks about this particular type of coin that is one of the rarest in the series of Gupta coins. According to him, the analogy of the 'King and Queen' type of Chandragupta I makes it almost certain that the figures in the obverse are those of Skandagupta and his Queen. He further points to the so-called Two-Queens type of Kumāragupta's gold coins as a somewhat similar case.

The clear arguments against the above 'King and Queen' interpretation of Smith are not far to seek and may be here enumerated. In the first place it should be pointed out that the analogies, he has drawn,—rest on the weakest

possible foundation. A recent authority on the subject has attributed the Chandragupta-Kumāradevi-gold coins, on stylistic grounds to Samudragupta and not to Chandragupta I.³ Regarding the so-called two-queens type of Kumāragupta I also, Allan has with some justification criticized Smith and is content to call it by the non-committal name "Pratāpa" type.⁴ And then in the next place Smith's assumption that the obverse legend though illegible might probably have included the names of both the king and the queen, must be held as entirely gratuitous. Allan has, with great care, attempted to restore the obverse legend of this type and has tentatively read "Jayati" on right and "—nva" on left.⁵ Smith's arguments thus do not bear scrutiny.

Let us now examine the new interpretation of the type put forward by Mr. Allan with much cleverness and ingenuity. Here is the description of the type given by him:⁶

OVERSE:—On left Skandagupta standing to right wearing waist cloth and jewellery holding bow by middle at his left knee in left hand while the right rests on the right hip holding arrow; on the right, the goddess Lakshmi standing to left, holding uncertain object in uplifted right hand and lotus with long stalk behind her in left hand; between them Garuda standard.

Legend *Jayati* on right; "—nva" on left.

REVERSE:—Goddess (Lakshmi) Nimbate seated facing on lotus holding fillet in outstretched right hand and lotus in left which rests on knee.

Symbol on left
Legend—"Sri-Skandaguptah."

Allan therefore differs from Smith mainly in the interpretation of the female figure on the obverse. This he holds to be Lakshmi and thus names it the "King and Lakshmi" type.

The above theory is expounded with much learning and lucidity. But when the reader pauses to think, doubts begin to assail him. His arguments against Smith's view may be grouped under five heads. In the first place he holds that

1. E.g., V. A. Smith: *Early History of India* (4th ed.), pp. 326-29; Raichowdhuri: *Political History of Ancient India* (4th ed.), p. 483.
2. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1889, pp. 110-11; See also Smith's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 117.
3. Allan: *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, pp. lxiv-lxviii. It should however be mentioned here that recently Dr. A. S. Antekar has attempted to revive the older view of Smith.
4. Allan: *Catalogue*, p. xcii.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
6. *Ibid.*

the uncertain object in the right hand of the female figure may best be compared with the degraded form of the fillet held up by Lakshmi in certain varieties of Kumāragupta's horseman type. On an examination of the plate⁷ however, the resemblance seems hopelessly superficial. The object on the plate does not look like a fillet at all, which is so common a theme with the Gupta artists. Smith's suggestion that it may be a fruit or flower⁸ may or may not be true; but it seems clear that Allan's theory is an uncorroborated guess. The same may be said against the next analogy drawn by Allan namely that the female figure resembles that on certain Chattra type of coins of Chandragupta II. In the third place Allan contends that there is no reason why the figure of the queen should appear on the coins. In the Asvamedha types of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I—the figures of the queens appear on the reverse holding chowries. But Allan points out that this was due to the prominent part played by the chief consorts of the king in that sacrifice, and on these coins the female figures are recognizable as mortals. Now whether the particular female figure on the present coin-type of Skandagupta can be recognized as a mortal or not, we shall presently see. But, there is no valid reason why the figure of a queen should not appear on a type other than a sacrificial one, simply because except the case of Kumāradevī it has not appeared on the series of Gupta coins any more. The strongest argument of Allan however seems to be that the female figure on the present type holds a lotus in her left hand. Even Smith had modified his earlier description by recognizing the lotus.⁹ The lotus is a well-known emblem of Lakshmi¹⁰ and this makes according to him a strong case for himself. Unfortunately here too Allan makes the mistake of assuming that the lotus can admit of no other interpretation. We shall presently see that it can. It must however be pointed out that it would be rather unusual to expect a figure of Lakshmi holding lotus on the obverse of a type which definitely has a seated Lakshmi with lotus in hand on the reverse. Gupta gold coinage does not present a single instance where the god or the goddess on the reverse is found to reappear on the obverse.

7. For a photographic representation of the type the reader is referred to, J.R.A.S. 1889, Plate III, 6, Smith's *Indian Museum Catalogue I*, plate xvi, 9, and Allan's *Catalogue*, plate xix, 6.

8. Smith: *Catalogue I*, p. 117.

9. *Ibid.*

10. J. N. Banerji: *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta, 1941), p. 332.

Only on the peacock types of Kumāragupta I—the mount of the reverse-deity Kārtikeya—the peacock appears on the other side. But here too the deity is conspicuous by his absence. Let us now examine the last argument given by Allan namely that the female figure seems naturally identical with Lakshmi—as in the Junagadh Rock inscription it is emphasized that Skandagupta had been particularly favoured by Lakshmi. The epigraphic passage in question, we quote below:

"Kramena budhya nipunam pradharya
dhyatva cha kritsna gura dosahetun
vapetya sarvam—manujendra-putram
lakshmi svayam yam varayanichakara."

Fleet translates the passage thus, "—whom the goddess of fortune and splendour of her own accord selected as her husband having in succession (and) with judgment skilfully taken into consideration and thought over all the causes of virtues and faults, (and) having discarded all (the other) sons of kings as not coming up to her standard."¹¹ So far as the significance of this passage is concerned—Allan himself admits that such ideas (the goddess of fortune showing favour to a prince) are common to Indian panegyrics. In the Bhitari inscription also there is reference to Skandagupta's having made steady the Vacillating Fortune of his family.¹² Such conventional descriptions are too common in ancient royal *prasastis* of India to be made much of. Thus the Western Chālukya kings of Badami are regularly given in their epigraphs the epithets of 'Sri-Vallabha' and 'SriPrithivi-Vallabha'—the husband of Fortune (Lakshmi) and the Earth.¹³ These epithets were later on inherited by their conquerors the Rāshtra Kūtas of Malkhed. Classical Sanskrit literature is also full of such conventional references. Thus Kālidāsa, placed by most scholars in the Gupta age, in course of his brilliant description of Indumatī's Svayamvarā, makes the attendant Sumandā say:¹⁴

"Nisargabhinnaspadamckasamsthau—
asmindvayam srischa surasvati cha
kantya gura smrtaya cha yogya
tameva kalyani tayostriya."

Sumandā here leads Indumatī before the King of Anga one of the seekers of her hand and by way of introducing the king to her said that

11. Fleet: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 59, line 5.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 53, line 10.
14. Fleet: *Dynasties of the Karmave Districts* (Bombay, 1896), pp. 342-81.
15. Raghu Vamsam VI, 29.

the king had already two wives Sri (Lakshmi) and Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, and in case of her marriage with that prince, Indumatī, would be his third wife. This interpretation is confirmed by Mallinātha's commentary on the verse (tameva tayoh Sri-Sarasatyostriyā). This is a poetic and conventional way of saying that the king was a prosperous and learned ruler. Numerous such references may be gathered by ransacking the literature of ancient India including the inscriptions, and in the face of all these, Allan's argument loses all its force.

After the publication of Allan's masterly work on Gupta coinage, the older view namely that the female figure on the obverse of the present type might stand for the queen of Skandagupta has been given up by almost all scholars.¹⁶ A reconsideration of all the facts however raises some positive points in favour of the older view. From the plates it appears certain that the female figure on the obverse of the present type does not stand on a lotus. Now a study of the reverse devices of Gupta gold coinage reveals that except the earlier cases of imitation from late Kushāna proto-types, Lakshmi, in almost all the instances of her representation on the reverse, is engraved as seated on lotus. Exceptions no doubt occur. In one of the classes of the Chattra type of Chandragupta II Lakshmi is seen on the reverse standing to left with lotus and fillet. Sometimes she is found also seated sidewise on a wicker stool. But these cases are rare and naturally we can expect her standing on a lotus on the obverse where she is represented as seated on it in the reverse. But this is not the case. The dress of the obverse figure has also nothing to distinguish her from a mere mortal. The only difficulty is the lotus that she holds in her left hand. Now in ancient India the "lilā-kamala" (or the play-lotus) was an essential part of the dress of respectable ladies. Indian literature is replete with descriptions of heroines with "lilā-kamalas" in hand. Specially it was always carried when the heroine approached the hero. In the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, a work not later than at

least 500 A.D.¹⁷—it is laid down that a lady should approach her lover with flower, scent and betel in hand.¹⁸ It is not necessary to refer here to the numerous descriptions of *Nāyikās* with this play-lotus in hand,—to be found in classical Sanskrit literature. It would suffice here to quote the classic description given by Kālidāsa of the damsels of Alakā in his *Meghadūtam*:¹⁹

Haste lilā-kamalamalake valakundanaviddham
nita lodhraprasavarajasa pandutamane sribh
chudapase navakuravakam charu karne sirisam
simante cha tvadupagamajam yatra nipam vadhu-
nam.

The lilā-kamala therefore constituted an important element in the dress of respectable ladies in ancient India. We have already refuted the other arguments given by Allan for the identification of the present female figure with Lakshmi. It seems now reasonable to suggest that the lotus in the left hand of the figure is a lilā-kamala or play-lotus usually associated in Indian literature with respectable ladies or *Nāyikās* (heroines). If this suggestion is accepted, the last stronghold of the "King and Lakshmi" theory will at once collapse.

The net result of the above enquiry and discussion is this. The identification of the female figure on the obverse of the type with Lakshmi is found to be untenable. The interpretation of the lotus in the left hand of the figure as a "lilā-kamala," if accepted, will prove her a mortal. And in that case, the likelihood of her identity with the queen of Skandagupta increases greatly. We therefore stage a return to the older view propounded by Smith, but on entirely different grounds. It is well however to admit that no finality can be claimed for the view here given. In any case, if what has been said is true, it will go against the view once expressed by the great scholar R. D. Banerji namely Skandagupta remained a bachelor all his life.²⁰

17. Keith: *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1928), p. 369.

18. *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, IV, 39, "Puspagandhatambulakastaya vijyane vikate cha tvadupasthanam."

19. *Meghadūtam*, II, 2.

20. R. D. Banerji: *Vangdar Udas* (3rd edition), Vol. I, p. 71.

16. E.g., R. D. Banerji: *Pachima Mudra* (Calcutta 1322 B.S.), p. 145; also C. J. Brown: *The Coins of India* (1922), pp. 45-46.



PROSPECTS OF AN AMERICAN CENTURY

By D. V. RAMA RAO, M.A., LL.B.

THE NEW RACE

By P. G. ROY, M.A.

H. G. WELLS in *The Shape of Things to Come*, *The Fate of the Homo Sapiens* and in his other books conceives of a new civilization which is brilliantly satirised by Aldous Huxley in *The Brave New World*. It cannot be denied that there is a vital and urgent need for a "brave new world" and "brave new men." But, as Aldous Huxley rightly hints in his *Ends and Means*, it is a new race of supermen that we need first. The new world will then automatically come into being.

But what are these new mortals, these brave new men, these supermen to be? Ideas are diverse and ideals also. Nietzsche holds before us two types of supermen in *The Origin of Tragedy*. There are the followers of Apollo, who wish to enjoy life with their intellects, and the followers of Dionysus who are ruled by "les forces de la terre" and wish to enjoy life solely with their passion. But intellect alone or mere passion will not do: there should be harmonious blending of the two.

Peace-loving men like Romain Rolland would like the world to be ruled by men who feel the pangs of existence on earth and with an inner, vital sorrow urging them on, create new things that would provide humanity with intellectual and emotional food to help its cultural growth. These "Hommes de Douleur", Romain Rolland's supermen like Goethe, Beethoven, Wagner, Rembrandt, Michael Angelo, Tolstoy, Balzac, Tagore and others have helped greatly the cultural progress of Humanity. But their efforts being individual attempts to better humanity, they have only succeeded in influencing a few men. Humanity, in the mass, has not been vitally affected by their work.

H. G. Wells and his school of thought advocate a new scientific civilization. With the help of science, they wish to build up a new civilization in which a new race of supermen, scientific intellects, the "Alphas" of the *Brave New World* will lead the mass of humanity along the road of progress to the goal of Scientific Perfection. But such a civilization is just technical progress. There is no cultural advance; there is no change in essential human nature. Men remain what they were. Only their physi-

cal life is made more complex, interesting and perhaps enjoyable.

People of Aldous Huxley's way of thinking have come to realise that there is, beyond the realm of science, a vast, mysterious, unknown world. These thinkers do not discard science but their minds travel beyond it. With such an outlook, Aldous Huxley discusses the future of humanity in his book, *Ends and Means*. He believes that a new world can only be created when gifted men band together and in a disinterested way take up the problems of mankind and solve them. These supermen he aptly terms "non-attached beings."

Aldous Huxley's idea is not new. The ancient Hindus discovered this truth. The *Bhagavad Gita* ordains that men should be what Aldous Huxley terms "non-attached." It was with this idea in view that the Brahminical order, the organisation of supermen was instituted. These Brahmins were as perfect as men of those days could be. They had no attachments whatsoever for the world. Under their rule, everything went well. But after sometime men became degenerate and Brahmins also. And the whole order crumbled down.

Humanity has its rise and fall and no human order can endure the onslaughts of progress for long. History records the rise of humanity towards culture and civilization, helped by the efforts of a few great men, and its fall brought about by gradual degeneration. So, what we need today to help the rise of humanity towards culture and civilization is a new Brahminical order, an organisation of supermen. Talented, healthy men and women of every race, nation and religion should be organised into a sacred order which would dedicate itself to the service of humanity. Absolutely disinterested and with no attachments whatsoever for the world, their task would be to fight evil in man and lead him towards good. This new race of supermen, these neo-Brahmins, should with the aid of science, better the earthly existence of men and guided by the valuable spiritual experiences and rich cultural heritage of all mankind, lead the "Sons of the Immortal" to a higher life.

THE historian reviewing the early decades of the present century would find, that although in the nineteenth century England reached the zenith of its power and came to occupy a position which enabled her to virtually dominate the world, it is the American rather than the English influence that has been on the ascendency in the twentieth century.

The main factor that ultimately decided the fate of the last World-War was the vast, almost unlimited resources of America and at the Peace Conference that soon followed the Allied victory the prestige and influence that America enjoyed was truly amazing. America was looked up to as the deliverer of Europe and President Wilson was enthusiastically hailed as the new prophet of peace and good-will among nations; but the soft idealist was entirely outmanoeuvred by the hardened European politicians and the result was the Versailles Treaty which many believe to be one of the contributing factors that led up to the present war.

The reason why America let go a supreme opportunity to influence and even dictate European policy is to be found not so much in President Wilson's lack of shrewdness and realism as in the prevailing American tendency to remain isolationist. It is this tendency that was responsible for America's indifference to the later development of the League of Nations, to whether it was wise or not, of America, to have pursued an isolationist policy during the early half of the present century may be left to the future historian to determine, but by continuing to be isolationist America was certainly prevented from playing its full and legitimate part in shaping world policy and development.

In spite of its isolationism American influence, however, has not been confined to the American shores alone; and since America joined the present war its influence has been one of tremendous growth. Whether America will prove to be the arsenal of world democracy remains to be seen, but as the arsenal of the most important war material (which is equally important to win the war!) America's position to-day is unrivalled.

As the war proceeds the Allied Nations find themselves more and more in an advantageous position until in the fifth year it seems quite probable that the Allies will win the war; and

consequently, it is the U. S. A., Britain, Russia and China that are likely to contribute the largest share in shaping the post-war world.

The recent proposal of Mr. Churchill for an exclusive Anglo-American alliance is significant in this connection. Mr. Churchill, when he made the proposal, has correctly estimated the increasing importance of America in our times and the dominant role it is likely to play in the immediate post-war world. Mr. Churchill, also, presumably knows that England in future is not likely to be in a position to carry the whiteman's burden all by herself. The Americans who are, fortunately, free from an empire-complex know that even a combination of the Anglo-Saxon race on either side of the Atlantic may not succeed in reviving the happy days of the whiteman's burden, for the Americans realise that the Eastern people have begun to feel that they are out to relieve the whitemen of the burden which should have been borne by themselves all along! This is the reason for the cautious comments of the American Press over the Churchill proposal. Several notable Americans, including Pearl Buck, the well-known writer and David J. Brickley, National Leader of the Legion of Valour, sounded a note of warning against America entering into such an exclusive alliance. Mr. Wendell Willkie, the outspoken statesman, indeed, went so far as to say that Americans were going to be more interested in what happens in China and Russia than in all the rest of Europe, recognising, rightly, the emergence of new progressive forces in countries like Russia, China and India.

Then again, the fact that both Australia and Canada have come closer to America during this war than at any time hitherto is not altogether without significance. While one may admit that the British Commonwealth has not ceased to be a great influencing factor one may be permitted to ask whether Mr. Churchill, who has yet to realise that his only hope in preventing an early liquidation of the British Empire lies in the timely recognition of the new awakening that has come over the Eastern nations—particularly India, is not actually helping to weaken the links of the Empire by following an Imperial policy which is entirely out of date. No wonder, America declines to limit the scope of her future destiny by tagging

herself to a country which is already wearying under the burden of an empire which bears no relation whatever to the realities of the day.

The truth contained in Mahatma Gandhi's warning uttered early in the war—that England would be judged by her attitude towards India and that England should not miss the unique opportunity to give the lead to the whole world which, unfortunately, went unheeded—is coming to be felt more and more, and to-day it is not so much Axis propaganda but the not inconsiderable body of opinion in America and China, which is frankly disappointed with the British policy towards India, that is causing more embarrassment to Britain. Against this background it is easy to understand why, as Vice-President Wallace declared at a recent Press Conference, the U. S. A. was regarded with less suspicion by the United Nations.

The flutter in America consequent on the report of the five Senators who recently toured the world throws much light on the evolution of the American attitude towards the war as well as post-war development. America is only emulating Britain and other Allies when she is beginning to feel that she should take the fullest advantage of the opportunities afforded by war, —to combine self-interest with altruism. (The British attitude towards India and Burma is not a little responsible for many of the recent misgivings in America about British intentions).

The reaction after the Senators' report and the approval by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the resolution pledging the United States to join with free nations in preserving the peace of the world, indicate clearly that America is no more going to be isolationist. Taken against this background, the recent American proposals to start a World Bank and to have control of all air fields constructed and equipped by America assume additional importance; the coming into operation of which will enable America to have a major share in controlling world finance and world transport.

But, no nation which fails to keep pace with the spirit of the times is likely to lead the world however great its material resources might be. America which has yet to be free from the colour prejudice has succeeded, on the whole, to develop a progressive outlook regarding general world policy. Neither President Roosevelt's reluctance to correct Mr. Churchill on the implications of the Atlantic Charter nor the American government's acquiescence in the present British policy towards India may be

taken as one of approval as in all probability they are the result of mere expediency.

As Raymond Clapper, the American Columnist, has pointed out, President Roosevelt's recommendation to the Congress to advance the date of conferment of Philippine independence ought to be taken as a hint that America expects reciprocation by similar gestures on the part of other Allies, particularly England.

The suggestion that President Roosevelt should preside over the coming Peace Conference is being repeatedly made and if the suggestion takes concrete shape, President Roosevelt, whose regime is happily marked by a series of successes in whichever deal he has undertaken, whether in the economic, political or military sphere, is likely to succeed where President Wilson has failed.

Having made a brief study of the comparative progress of England and America during the present century we would be committing a serious blunder not to bring in Russia, China and even India into the picture. Russia, which has made remarkable progress ever since it adopted socialist economy, by bearing the brunt of the struggle against Hitlerite forces is enjoying, to-day, an influence and prestige that are second to none while China's role is commanding increasing attention. But, one may assume, that both Russia and China will be pre-occupied in developing their own vast resources for some time to come. And even if Russian influence were to dominate in Europe in the post-war world, this war has amply proved that Europe has ceased to be the central factor in shaping the destiny of the rest of the world.

India, unfortunately, is denied to play its rightful part to-day, but the significance of the fact that the greatest messenger of Peace living to-day is an Indian may not altogether be lost at the Peace Conference (as the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri expressed the hope the other day) and the events that follow thereafter. Whatever part India might be destined to play hereafter, it is certain, India must attend to her own needs, for some time to come, till every Indian is assured a standard of living as respectable and dignified as that of any in the world.

It seems probable, then, in view of all that has been said above, that it is America that is likely to be left to play a predominant role in the immediate post-war world.

If the eighteenth century may be described as a French Century and the nineteenth as an English one, the twentieth bids fair to be recorded in history as an American Century.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Consistency in Shaw's "Pygmalion"

Mr. S. C. Misra's contention in the April number of *The Modern Review* that Shaw is inconsistent in the *Pygmalion* is, to say the least, hyper-critical. The writer of that interesting article holds Shaw to be inconsistent on various counts. Some of the points, it must be admitted, are ingenious: but on a careful examination, none of them will hold water.

The first and the chiefest inconsistency, according to Mr. Misra, is that Prof. Higgins, having declared that he has no interest in Eliza Doolittle except as an object of experimentation, nevertheless displays enough interest in her to take pains to pass her off as a Duchess at an Ambassador's Garden Party. This, to my mind, is akin to finding fault with a doctor for bestowing a fraction of his attention for reading the thermometer, instead of for curing the patient. The consideration that the fact of the patient's cure can be established only by the temperature coming to normal is of little or no avail to the relations of the patient. The test of having taught good English to Eliza lies in making her speech palatable at an Ambassador's Garden Party. Indeed, as Shaw observes in his gramophone-record on "Spoken English and Broken English" (Lingua-phone Institute, London):

"The first thing I must impress on you is that there is no such thing as ideally correct English. There is only presentable English, which we call *good English*. . . I am a member of a Committee established by the British Broadcasting Corporation for the purpose of deciding how the utterances of speakers employed by the Corporation should be pronounced in order that they might be a model of correct English speech for the British Islands.

"Now, all the members of that Committee are educated persons, and yet they do not agree as to the pronunciation of some of the simplest and commonest words in the English language. The two simplest and commonest words in any language are 'yes' and 'no': and yet no two members of the Committee pronounce them exactly alike. . . Now, as they all speak differently, it would be nonsense to say that they all speak correctly. All that we can say in is that they all speak presentably and that if you speak as they do, you would not only be understood in any Society or any employment in London, but accepted as a person of good social standing."

As Shaw recognizes, the speech of cultivated people of good social standing is the speech to be aimed at. The critic seeks to pin Shaw to the remarks of the foreigner Nepommuck and to show that he has failed in his attempt. Nepommuck is, as every Shavian knows, a character introduced by Shaw in the film-version of *Pygmalion*. It is a mistake to say that Nepommuck who is an expert in so far as he can locate any person in Europe from his or her speech, whose verdict for which reason has to be credited, pronounced her as "not English" but Hungarian, and a Princess who belongs to the Magyar race.

The joke has apparently been missed by Mr. Misra. When asked how he found out that she was of royal blood (which she was not), Nepommuck says: "Instinct. I myself am of royal blood."

It is pure national pride when Nepommuck says: "Only the Magyar races can produce that air of divine right, those resolute eyes. She is a Princess." Shaw is speaking through Nepommuck when he says: "Can you shew me one Englishwoman who speaks English as it should be spoken? Only foreigners who have been taught to speak it speak it well."

G. B. S. says the same thing in his recorded speech: "In London, nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand people not only speak English badly, but even that they speak very badly. You may say that even if they cannot speak English well themselves, they can at least understand it when it is well-spoken. They can, when the speaker is English. But when the speaker is a foreigner, the better he speaks the harder it is to understand him.

Even among English people to speak too well is a pedantic affectation. In a foreigner it is something worse than an affectation. It is an insult to the native who cannot understand his own language when it is too well spoken."

So much for Bernard Shaw's views. Coming to Mr. Misra:

That seems to be needless unless he associates the best English with a Duchess alone, which is not the case, (for it is not the quality of English alone which distinguishes a Duchess from a girl in the gutter, but side by side with it, from a Duchess are also expected those qualities and cultural attainments which are born of noble family and good breeding).

Shaw agrees with these sentiments, and what is of less importance, I myself do. But what I have put in italics is not altogether the view of Professor Higgins, but of Professor Misra. Henry Higgins who has never paid any attention to manners, is at first under the impression that what distinguishes a Duchess from a flower-girl is her speech. Even after he thanks God that it is all over, he does not grow out of treating Eliza as a braggart-tailed guttersnipe and as a squashed cabbage-leaf. When Mrs. Higgins (the Professor's mother) listens to Eliza's small-talk about the weather and everybody's health ("done her in") she tells her son that how she speaks is all right but not what she speaks.

"We are half-credulous," says the writer, "that Higgins has after all come to some conclusion regarding the subject of his researches, and has to give forth some really scientific and more appropriate alphabet to the English language. But we are disappointed in him, for he gives us nothing of the like, and is mainly concerned with passing Eliza off as a lady. . ."

Shaw says, and Professor Misra quotes, that it is not the intention of the playwright to provide the alphabet: the purpose of the play is to draw the attention of Englishmen to the existence of the science of Phonetics and to the presence of men known as Phoneticians. In fact, on the assumption that example is better than precept, Shaw notes in his Preface that he bought three copies or so of Professor Henry Sweet's book—which Shaw wishes would become popular in preference to Pitman's Shorthand Instructor (for, as Sweet says, Pitman System is Pitfall System).

Shaw naturally does not think it his life's mission to improve upon Henry Sweet's Universal Alphabet. Besides, you cannot teach a whole alphabet through a play, unless there is a revolution in the attitude of the playgoer. And to print Henry Sweet's system in Shaw's Preface would have been an infringement of the copyright laws.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Misra is not very enthusiastic about the frankly didactic tenor of the play. And for him to find fault with G. B. S. for not teaching the whole alphabet is, if we may say so, inconsistent. You cannot blow hot and cold in the same breath. Rather, you should not.

V. V. PRASAD, M.A.

WILLIAM MORRIS THROUGH NEWS FROM NOWHERE

By BIJOY LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA

FROM Plato to H. G. Wells men in every age have dreamed of Utopia—a world in which everybody would be happy. William Morris belongs to this tribe of dreamers of golden dreams. His *News From Nowhere* gives us a beautiful picture of a new world. To create that new and better world has been the absorbing idea that has inspired every socialist in every country. We should remember that William Morris was an ardent champion of socialism though he is chiefly known as a poet. In this article the writer presents to the readers a gist of the ideas that moved Morris to write his famous *News From Nowhere*.

Future England as conceived by Morris is dominated by the principle of love. People have kind consideration for one another. If a man is not kind even to a perfect stranger, 'he would be thought a strange person and people would be apt to shun him.' There are no divorce courts. A court for enforcing a contract of passion or sentiment is looked upon as a lunatic affair. When a man and a woman find out that they do not love each other they are not 'so mad as to pile up degradation on unhappiness by engaging in sordid squabbles about livelihood and position.' 'If there must be sundering betwixt those who meant never to sunder, so it must be; but there need be no pretext of unity when the reality of it is gone.' Thus speaks William Morris through the mouth of old Hammond. There is no unvarying conventional set of rules by which people are judged. The men have no opportunity of tyrannising over the women, or the women over the men. The women do what they can do best and what they like best, and the men are neither jealous of it nor injured by it. Men do not look upon women as their property, the sacred rights of property are no more. Women find it a great pleasure to do household work and maternity is highly honoured.

To shove a little information into the child is not considered to be real education. Children are not thrust into schools when they have reached an age conventionally supposed to be the due age and are not subjected to a conventional course of 'learning.' Such a proceeding means ignoring the fact of growth, bodily and

mental and, therefore, injures the child. In the Utopia of Morris people can afford to give themselves time to grow, they are no longer in a hurry, for poverty has become a thing of the past. Education, according to Morris, should not aim at turning out too many book-learned men. So in his Utopia early bookishness is not encouraged. Children do not do too much reading, except for a few story books, till they are about fifteen years old. They are encouraged to learn by doing things for themselves. Everyone of them can swim and ride ponies. All of them know how to cook; the bigger lads can mow; many can thatch and do odd jobs at carpentering. Morris reminds us of the Wardha Scheme of Education.

As the principle of love dominates everything in Utopia there are no prisons there. The men and women in the new world are all happy and they could not be happy if they knew that their neighbours were shut up in prisons. They would refuse to bear such things quietly. Morris, like Wells, believed that all crime in the end was the crime of the community and that it was the prison-masters who really forced men to commit crimes. There are no criminal classes since there is no rich class to breed enemies against the state by means of the injustice of the state. 'Crime and bad lives are the measures of a state's failure'—as Wells puts it in his *Modern Utopia*.

Morris dreams of a world which is inhabited by beauty-loving people. Men and women are all beautiful. No citizen is indecently dressed or ragged and dirty. Pretty light-green dress adorns the healthy and well-shaped bodies of God-like inhabitants of the Utopia. There are no sick men, no poor people. Houses are all charming. Each house stands in a garden carefully cultivated and bright and fragrant with flowers. Slums are no more. Ugly centres of manufacture, big hideous cities with tall buildings which Morris calls 'brick and mortar desert' have disappeared. Slums have given place to pleasant meadows. Houses are scattered wide about the meadows. Crowded cities have become things of the past.

In the Utopia of Morris there is no such thing as Government. Morris looked upon

Parliament as a kind of a watch-committee sitting to see that the interests of the Upper Classes did not suffer, an institution to delude the people into the supposition that they had some share in the management of their own affairs. To Morris 'Government was the Law-courts, backed up by the executive, which handled the brute force that the deluded people allowed them to use for their own purposes.' Morris believed that Government existed for one purpose only and that purpose was the protection of the rich from the poor. In Utopia tyranny has come to an end, rights of property have disappeared and, therefore, Government has also disappeared.

The greater part of the crimes of violence is the result of the laws of private property. Private property being abolished, many of the crimes against life would also be naturally abolished. In Utopia because of the abolition of private property there would be no poor man or woman and everybody would have rights to satisfy his natural desires. Naturally happy people living intensely would act fairly to their neighbours. Many violent acts result from the perversion of the sexual passions which cause jealousy, and murder in many cases is the result of jealousy. Woman is now the property of man—the property of the husband, father, brother and others. As long as woman would be looked upon as the private property of man and not as a reasonable human being jealousy would continue to poison love and the inevitable consequence would be crimes against life. It does not follow that complete non-violence would reign in Utopia. The habit of good fellowship would occasionally be transgressed on account of the errors of some erring human beings but these rare transgressions would not be the habitual actions of persons driven into enmity against society. Capital punishment like prisons and divorce courts would be abolished. The destruction of a man momentarily overcome by wrath or folly would be looked upon as an additional injury to society. If the ill-doer is not sick or mad it is clear that grief and humiliation must follow the ill-deed. When we torture the man we turn his grief into anger. In the Utopia of Morris you will not find anyone to play the part of the torturer or jailor.

In Utopia there are national varieties but there is no quarrel between the people of different races. Regarding the general differences of opinion in one and the same community, they do not crystallise people into parties permanently hostile to one another. After all, the difference is only superficial. The fundamental unity is

the deeper truth. The game of the masters of politics was to cajole or force the public to pay the expense of a luxurious life and the ambitious persons only pretended serious differences of opinion. When the matter is of common interest to the whole community and the doing or not doing something affects everybody, the votes of the majority decide the issue. As all the members of the society are free and equal—the majority would be real majority.

Regarding labour, people would work for the pleasure of creation. People do not ask for the begetting of children. Similarly in a communist society workers would not ask for reward for their labour which would not be mechanical but would be the manifestation of their creative joy. In a capitalist society owners of machines make wares simply to enrich themselves but in the communist society people would not be driven to make a vast quantity of useless things. Whatever they would produce would be made because they are needed. In that society no inferior goods would be found, for nobody can be compelled to buy them. As economic imperialism would be a thing of the past, forcing wares on the natives of Africa or Asia would be considered inconceivable. All work which would be irksome to do by hand would be done in the future society of man with the help of immensely improved machinery; and all work which it is a pleasure to do by hand is to be done without the help of machinery. All the work that would be done would be an exercise of the mind and body. People would find pleasure in doing it; so that instead of avoiding work everybody would seek it. 'Cheapening of Production' implies the least possible amount of labour on any article made. In the communist society there is no cheap production. Each man's business would tend towards raising the standard of excellence. The ideal of making as many articles as possible would be replaced by another ideal—nothing is to be made except for genuine use. Naturally there would be no fear of work-famine amongst the people of the future society. A vast number of articles would be treated as works of art not made for sale but for neighbour's use. In the Utopia of Morris 'the reward of labour is life.'

Men and women in the communist society are free, happy and energetic, beautiful of body and surrounded by beautiful things of their own and fashioned by beautiful things of their own. People are no longer driven desperately to painful and terrible over-work. There is pleasure in work. There is artistic beauty in work. People not doing any dirty

work wear clothes in which there is gaiety and brightness instead of sombre greyness. People do not wear shabby clothes because they would hurt neighbours' feelings by doing so. The coverings of the bodies are as beautiful as the bodies are. People do not waste their time in reading books. They are not great readers. They are after making their lives so many works of art, making their surroundings pleasant by rendering them beautiful. Pale but pure-coloured figures are painted on the plaster of the walls of their chambers clean and fragrant. When the world we live in does not interest us we take refuge in books. When people have little else in which they can take pleasure, they supplement the sordid miseries of their own lives with the imagination of the lives of other people. In Utopia the books are the moon-lit gardens, murmuring rivers, loving neighbours and creative manual work.

People cry out with pleasure at the sight of guests. Hospitality is a common virtue there. There are no more the damned thieves who mono-

polised everything for their own comforts, who were centres of vulgarity and corruption. The old educational institutions which instead of teaching poor men's sons to know something taught rich men's sons to know nothing have been transformed into places for spreading mass education. The days of the game-keeper are over. People do not kill birds.

Machine is no longer worshipped as the deliverer from toil, for machines cannot produce works of art which only can satisfy the craving for beauty and creative joy in human heart. Handicraft is in fashion. There are no more railways and no bridges over rivers. Mastery has changed into fellowship. People are no longer engaged in making others live which are not their own while they themselves care nothing for their own real lives. Where men's lives are sordid and miserable, buildings cannot but be ugly. Art is bound to die there. A new day of fellowship and rest and dream has dawned in Utopia.

ORDINARY RUSSIAN FOLK

By O. KURGANOV

THE rain never ceased all the night. But the people had to keep on just the same, even though they could only crawl. For now there was only one way open—ahead to the hillock and beyond it to the village that stood at the crossing of two roads. They were making for two broad highways which Sergei Kovaliev's battalion must straddle, thus cutting off another outlet for the Germans. Kovaliev had been in a state of excitement ever since that evening, when a strange silence had fallen upon a narrow strip of that racked, tormented but unsundered land and, Kovaliev had not merely understood but felt with his whole heart that the Germans had been checked and that there was already a crack in their iron strength. And not only he, Captain Kovaliev, but these men who were now close to the point of inseparability: because they had trodden with him the path of tribulation and sacrifice for the sake of that little bit of earth everybody called the 'hillock.' All through the offensive's most tense days and nights, this excitement of the warrior who glimpses victory's triumphant flame, never left Kovaliev.

Men could not rest and at times they did not want rest. In those days they seemed to acquire, as it were, a second heart or, perhaps, it was their ordinary human hearts that seemed stronger, and more enduring than one could have supposed. And how could these men be swept off their feet by war's fiery wind if they had already withstood the war's worst trials?

Sergei Kovaliev knew well what was in the mind of those men who had entrusted him with their lives and destinies; was convinced that he would take that hillock tonight even though he had to crawl under deadly fire. They would entrench themselves firmly there, attack at daybreak and, with tank support, occupy the cross-roads of the village and slam another door in the retreating enemy's face. This conviction was formed in Kovaliev's mind not only because he had seen an abundance of guns, howitzers, tanks, tommyguns, truck loads of bombs and shells that accompanied his battalion. The offensive's technical arsenal was enormous but, above it all, towered the ordinary Russian soldier who, in the war's third year, had acquired a strength that astonished the world.

ORDINARY RUSSIAN FOLK

The bitterness of the hard days of 1941, the pain of loss, the fury that overswept the man at the sight of the cities which the Germans had laid waste—all that the Russian soldier endured—was spun into a thread too strong for the enemy to break. This was the thread by which Kovaliev was bound to his men. His mother had died of hunger during Leningrad's blockade. A bomb had killed his wife on her way from Minsk. Now his battalion replaced the family kindred: here were his friends, his home, his whole life.

That wet windy night Kovaliev and his battalion were crawling to the hillock. It was only a stone's throw: perhaps, a kilometre. Their road had been marked out for them by sappers who had been there already this evening. Kovaliev saw it, but it came to him as a passing thought, as an occurrence that was not anything out of the common. Neither did the young sapper Trofim Kasatkin see anything remarkable in the circumstance that, under artillery and trench mortar hurricane fire, three soldiers had penetrated to the mine field laid by the Germans, detected and rendered harmless forty lethal centres, marked out a lane to the hillock for artillery, tanks and baggage trains. Conditions forced them to crawl along the muddy wet ground. They no longer noticed the pouring rain because their tarpaulin tent-cloaks, camouflaged togs, faces, helmets and boots were all encrusted with thick layer of mud. They only kept hands free as they could, feeling the wet clod on which the mine-detector caused: they groped cautiously, putting into that critical moment all that their experience had taught them; the whole strength of spirit, straining their attention to the last degree as though re-nouncing everything around them. The hand sought the cable explosive, then the "dead mine" was withdrawn and one crawled on further, now measuring the distance by centimetres—not metres,—never pausing, never hurrying, using the greatest circumspection, never permitting oneself a single uncontrolled gesture of body or movement of feet, stuck in clinging mud. Through mud, rain unceasing, and the din of the battle, three men—Trofim Kasatkin, Alexander Lychkov and Peter Goncearenko—had probed the deadly secrets of ryefields.

Then they had returned and reported that others could pass now. Nothing more. And this surprised nobody, evoked no comment; it was their life and their daily round. Mud dripped from faces, helmets and togs were

heavy with water and men moved as though in a diving costume.

"You can pass now," they said. So seven scouts led by Sergeant Nikolai Maiboroda crawled to the hillock. They lay all the evening in the hastily dug trench, noting the position of enemy's fire-nests and marking them on maps. Maiboroda even went down to the village. Bursting shells, flares of illuminating bombs smashed the curtain of rain and night, but Maiboroda crawled onward, deep in mud, pressing his body. An engine's hum sounded from the village and Maiboroda froze. Soon, however, he decided that it was a truck, not a tank. Nevertheless, the scout's inquisitiveness had been aroused and they crawled to the village. By some uncautious movement, he betrayed his presence and his return journey was made under trench mortar fire. Neither in the trench nor on the way to Kovaliev's dugout did the scout feel any pain. Only after he had handed the rain-soaked map marked with crosses, and rid himself of the thing that had been the strain centre, did Maiboroda utter a groan. There were two splinters in his shoulder and blood mingled with dirt was streaming down his body. The scouts retired into a trench where they could shelter under tarpaulin tent-cloak and rest. They had a hard night before them: so far, they had done nothing special except their ordinary wartime job with their usual ability. At least that was how it seemed to them and Captain Kovaliev was now engrossed in one idea—they had to move. Over the telephone the Lieutenant Colonel urged him, "Don't drag it over, Kovaliev." Well, he was not intending to drag out the operation.

Sergei Kovaliev went down into the trench where the men were living under artillery and mortar bombardment that was gaining momentum. But nobody bucked or started at the explosions. They were apparently indifferent to either the downpour or water spreading into the trench, or mud or even fire, that occasionally snatched away one of their number. This was war's stern necessity, their life's faithful companion. They stood here on this narrow land strip called forward positions, and, taking advantage of what was—comparatively speaking—lull in the battle, parked their satchels, recalled the funniest stories they knew, because they had to be cheerful—their natures demanded it of them that moment. Listening to the jokes and laughter that even through shells and screaming exploding could be heard from the trenches where men moved in full view of death

that stalked on the battle-field, Kovaliev became still more strongly convinced that here were soldiers of new spiritual strength—soldiers of the 1943 Soviet arms. And though they were not totally devoid of fear and the ordinary human longing for family warmth and peace, the path they had followed during the war fostered that lofty fearlessness and faithfulness to duty that comes only to those who have put down their roots deep into the life, who have a great love of their country. Therein lies their moral advantage over the enemy. Another thing: the soldiers of the Red Army of 1943 are experts at their jobs, so the war's burdens for them are not fate's evil chances but, labour that demands calm, confidence, will, effort and self-sacrifice, the labour that leads to victory.

Kovaliev lingered awhile with infantrymen before joining artillerymen and everywhere he saw the same quiet expectation.

At two o'clock in the morning he roused his men, and led them to the hillock. Crawling through mud and carrying guns and shells was not so easy. But Kovaliev's idea was to get there noiselessly: so the men made no demur but crept on all the night, yard by yard, through the lane cleared in the minefield. Their feet were soaking wet, their bodies were stuck in mud, but none lagged behind. That night each took an extra ounce of canned food or biscuit, weighing them down more than usual. They discovered that the rain could penetrate their overcoat, tarpaulin cloak, uniform—indeed, their very skin pores to such a degree that they lost the power to feel that it was water.

But that was nothing extraordinary; it had all been gone through innumerable times, and it would probably be hard to find a single man in that battalion who paid any attention to the difficulties they had to overcome. Somewhere behind them an anti-tank gun got stuck; a whisper down the line brought back those who had gone ahead. Then the same process was repeated all over again. It was very near day-break when Kovaliev's battalion assembled on the hillock prepared for attack. The weary, silent men lay in grass. The rain was much lighter now: one might almost think that it had only fallen in order to give Kovaliev better cover for moving to the hillock through the field called 'Noman's land.' Now it was ours, and left behind.

The attack did not last above half an hour, but Kovaliev could afterwards remember only two seconds into which was packed everything which should be called the third year of the war of the Russian force. One second when tanks, planes, artillery and battalion were to tackle the enemy simultaneously. All the men's purposefulness, ability, their solid strength and character, all their courage and fighting spirit were to acquire a mathematical precision. Hardly had the deafening artillery volley time to die away when Kovaliev had already got his battalion going and that same second he saw tanks moving to the village through the hollow, infantrymen running down the hill while our bombers, attackplanes and fighters were sweeping overhead. It was as though an unseen fist grasped all this force and pounded this patch of ground they called cross-roads. That second held not only the clearest precision of the vast war machine, but also some masterful will. It was not until afterwards that Kovaliev learnt that that will was hidden here on the battle-field in a dugout where sat the general and colonel who had hurried him during the night. It was they who, during the battle din, had been able to arrange all the skill and courage of thousands of people on the earth and in sky with 'split of a second accuracy.' It was they who still encouraged the attackers over the radio with "another attack to the right along the road" and directed tanks "burst through here; they want to cut off the infantry but they will never do it."

Yes, the Germans attempted to cut off Kovaliev's battalion with artillery. Then came the second moment. The enemy set fire, leading a heavy tank, and a critical delay occurred. But here Senior Lieutenant Andrei Sedykh rushed out, flung his arm bleeding from gunshot wound, and led men onward before the tanks.

All these ordinary people fight with skill and courage, they live constantly under fire and accomplish things that border on noble exploits. In July, 1943—the flaming days—Germany encountered just these hardy, fearless, ordinary people bearing their burden of war with proud faith in their strength. These people withstood, and then pursued the enemy. And now they are dealing him blow after blow.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Science and Training in Citizenship

The following is an extract from the Convocation Address (as published in *Science and Culture*) delivered by Sir Jnan Chandra Ghosh at the Mysore University before the graduates of the year 1943:

Every belligerent country in this Global War has now realised that trained and intelligent man power is the greatest of all assets, and that the foremost aim of all State economy is to bring down the wastage of human resources to a minimum. Science is definite that ability above the average is very widely distributed in the community; that it would be of the greatest advantage to the country as a whole, if provision for satisfactory training, and scope for the play of such abilities are most widely spread. Let poverty be no bar to real talent receiving the highest education and the fullest opportunities for self-expression! Barring such cases, I would however envisage education for the average person primarily as a process of preparation for social service and not as a means of developing only the private aptitudes of the individual.

We have to be practical people winning our battle against so-called fate by mastering our environment, by bending our energies to the tasks of better living.

Nothing else matters now; nothing else should divert our minds from this central purpose.

New adjustments have also become imperative in our higher education. It should primarily aim at the moving target of the future employment market, if it were not to miss its mark. According to Sir John Orr, employment for the individual is a psychological necessity. The output from each type of higher educational institution must be planned ahead in relation to anticipated requirements of highly trained personnel for industries, transport, agriculture, credit corporations, public health, State services and the so-called learned professions. We in India are familiar with the tragedy of thousands of educated men who fail to get employment suited to their training and then try to eke out a miserable living in the over-crowded law courts. Some have to spend half their lives in getting employment and the next half in repenting, as one victim told me some time ago.

The conviction has now become universal in England and also in U. S. A. that finding employment for the individual is a national obligation.

And the Beveridge plan of social security is possible of fulfilment only on this basis.

Where do we stand? Orthodox economists and cautious administrators will ask the question "Where are the resources to implement these day dreams?" I am no economist. Perhaps the Viceroy-designate is also not one; otherwise he would not have made these

significant remarks at the Pilgrims Luncheon a month ago: "It has always seemed to me a curious fact that money is forthcoming in any quantity for the war, but that no nation has ever yet produced money on the same scale to fight the evils of peace—poverty, lack of education, unemployment, ill-health. When we are prepared to spend, to this end, our money and our efforts as freely and with the same spirit as against Hitler we shall really be making progress. In the country to which I go, these evils have to be met on possibly in a greater scale than anywhere else."

The Outlook

The New Review observes:

At present the resources of the Nazi Command are severely taxed. On the whole the Nazi balance of profits and losses is still on the credit side; their strategic position is stronger than in 1939; they have kept the enemy further away from their frontiers, plundered all the occupied countries and built up the continent into a fortress which looks formidable enough. But their war potential is diminishing with our effective bombings of their plants and factories. Resistance grows in occupied countries; a measure of this is given by the three thousand Belgian civilians shot as hostages, which is ten times the number of the 1914-18 occupation; sabotage is endemic everywhere and guerilla bands scour the Balkans. With Italy's collapse, the position has grown worse and it is said that the general reserves at the disposal of the Nazi High Command are already being drawn upon at an increasing rate, though new classes are mobilized and foreign workers are imported into war factories.

The Russian advance is encouraging and foretells a winter victory. The opportunity is unique for securing the maximum collaboration between the Allies and synchronizing military plans. Armed co-operation may need preliminary agreements on political views and future peace conditions, especially in Middle Europe and the Balkans. This explains the Three Power Conference at Moscow.

The Search for a Philosophy of Indian Education

Every living nation has a national system of education based on a philosophy which it has accepted. Dr. P. Natarajan observes in *The Triveni Quarterly*:

It was Sister Nivedita, under the inspiration of Swami Vivekananda, who attempted early to formulate the aims of national education. Then came that patriot, Lala Lajpat Rai. Since the time of these early writers and thinkers literature on the subject, it is true, has grown, some inspired by spiritual considerations, others by requirements of the State. Educational philosophy, as such, however, has not so far received the attention it ought to have received.

With the younger generation of the vocalized urban public in India Russia has become a word to swear by.

Youth is carried away by the imagination of the revolution in that vast country but many of them do not seem to realize the implications of the revolution, and the thorough-going materialistic philosophy that has come to be accepted by that nation. This materialism does not stop with politics. It encroaches into the field of the education of the youngest nurslings of the nation. While the rest of the civilized world has accepted the principle of the liberty of the child, with a sheer attitude of vengeance and reaction, it would seem, the Russians wish to apply the opposite philosophy. The following striking sentence from a Resolution passed at a large Conference held to consider the principles underlying pre-school education will reveal this attitude unmistakably. The import of the words become all the more striking when we remember that it refers to children under three years of age. It laid down the object of even pre-school education as "the development of the maximum activity and initiative; the maximum possibility of collective direction of activity; while preserving and developing such elements of individuality as will guarantee each child the greatest capacity for living and manifesting its instincts of creative work and research, and the possibility of acting on its own experience, from definite sense observation capable of immediate utilization." In another place Mr. A. Pinkevich states as follows in so many unmistakable words: "It need not be stressed that the pre-school period, as well as the school period, aims at the inculcation of the materialistic international world outlook." These are plain indications of the philosophy underlying education in Soviet Russia. How many of us here want this attitude in India when its implications are fully understood?

America is perhaps the other country which strikes the imagination of Indian youth. America does not take the extreme utilitarian and materialistic position as Russia but the Pragmatic philosophy which is the accepted basis of American education contains the same principle though in a more diluted form. There are no absolute values in Pragmatism.

What 'works,' or succeeds here and now, is everything, and the True and the Good are to be reduced and boiled down to terms of usefulness if they are to be acceptable to the pragmatist. This philosophy might suit certain stages of the development of the individual personality in the process of education but it cannot satisfy all stages. The child under twelve must definitely be left free to understand things which may not fulfil the strict pragmatic tests. In higher education, again, the pragmatic touchstone in education would mislead us.

The failings of the matter-of-fact and conventional English attitude in Education is what we know so well here in India.

It is supported by the philosophy of Spencer and Locke and at best works on the basis of biological analogies. Purely human values get left out and the scope of education becomes restricted by a biological determinism, on which mental testing is a superstructure. The development of a strong individuality is all that it aims at even when it works at its best. Competition and survival of the fittest are ideas

that are tacitly implied, and the higher and truly human aspects of the development of the personality are left out of its scope. Some public schools attempt to develop something vaguely resembling character; but this they succeed in doing through certain traditional factors peculiar to these institutions rather than on the basis of any conscious educational theory.

In our search for a suitable educational theory for our country we can go to more remote Continental philosophers.

Here, again, we cannot find a basis which can be said to be perfectly in keeping with India's heritage. The idealism of Kant comes very near to what we want and what is in keeping with the genius of our country. Kant himself depends on Rousseau, who may be said to be the father of modern educational theory. Close students of Rousseau's philosophy and his ideas as developed in the *Emile* see revealed for the first time some simple concepts like *Brahmacharya*, *Gurubhakti*, etc.

It is not, therefore, to Russia, America or England that we have to turn to see common aspects between the soul of India and what is most genuine and true in the thought of modern humanity. Hidden away from the glamour of modernism there is a thin line of thought which brings us back to our own national experience, and this is to be sought in the line of thought that unites Rousseau through Kant and Froebel, through Pestalozzi and Fichte to modern idealists like Giovanni Gentile.

Lessons from War-time China

The Social Service Quarterly observes:

Much can be profitably learnt by both the Government and the people of India from what China is doing in wartime. If a comparison is instituted between China in wartime and India in wartime one is tempted to exclaim in Hamlet's words: "Look here, upon this picture and on this!" A large portion of China has been overrun by the enemy. China has been fighting for its independence for the last six years and more; she is fighting against heavy odds; she has to shift her industries from time to time to safe zones and to provide food and employment to millions of her people evacuated from the areas occupied by the enemy. In spite of all these difficulties and many more, China is producing more and more manufactured articles and more and more foodstuffs, and developing her mineral and other resources more and more to meet her wartime needs. India's difficulties due to wartime are nothing as compared with China's. While the Government and the people are of one mind in China, they are at loggerheads in India. While the Chinese people belonging to different creeds and parties have merged their differences and fighting as one people, for their nation, the Indian people are indulging in communal and party squabbles. China is full of enthusiasm and optimism while a dark shadow of despair and pessimism spreads over India. In China everything is done according to plan, while there is no plan in India and things are done in a haphazard manner. Defective organization and want of co-ordination are the chief characteristics of wartime India. The muddle in food policy has culminated in the loss of thousands of human lives in Bengal and elsewhere. The Government and the people, the different sections among the people, the provinces and the central authority, the different departments of Government, the States, are pulling in different directions, with the most devastating results.



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Cultural Fellowship of Bengal

Sisir Kumar Mitra writes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

It is not known when Buddhism started to spread in Bengal, but the heyday of its influence is witnessed during the four and a half centuries of Pala rule which was remarkable for intellectual and artistic activities of a very high order. The event with which the Palas began shows the democratic tendency in the political consciousness of old Bengal. For Gopala, the founder of the dynasty, was elected king with the consent and will of the people, a fact which indicates that there was unity in the political life of the time. Buddhism and the great culture that it built up had during the Pala period deeply permeated the mind and heart of Bengal, but the days of its decline began when after the fall of the Palas the Senas (twelfth century) rose as champions of conventional Hinduism with the result that a reaction set in against the liberating influence of Buddhism on society.

The Senas were strict followers of the canons and traditions of their religion, and during their rule the social laws became rigid and proved a hindrance to all kinds of collective progress of the people.

It must, however, be said to their credit that they endeavoured to re-affirm to the people the greatness and glory of the Hindu ideals, however orthodox might be their way of doing it; and that solidarity of the people and their loyalty to the rulers made it possible for the latter to enforce those invidious laws including the new caste alignments as formulated by them. There is no denying the fact that the policy of the Senas was largely

responsible for the disintegration that was soon found to be paving the way for the Muslims to come and invade Bengal without much resistance. Not only that, as the spirit of the past was not understood in its deeper implications, and as only a mental approach to it was made and that also by a very small section belonging to the upper ranks in society, the people were precluded from having before them any large and integral vision by which to be inspired to those common, corporate activities that bring real and all-round well-being to a country. Thus while the intellectuals were busy with their academic pre-occupations, the people in the mass were tending to be confined within innumerable folk-forms of culture, whose deteriorations, especially of those in the domain of religion, became so glaring in the pre-Chaitanya period.

Nevertheless, the soul of Bengal has scarcely allowed any such adverse condition to continue for a very long time; and it has always struggled, more with success than with failure, to be reborn again and again in new forms of religion and culture.

Sri Chaitanya came with his message of neo-Vaishnavism not only to stand against all such reactionary forces as were then destroying the social and religious life of the people, but also to vindicate the truth of devotion to God as the only truth that can be realized by all, high and low, and for which a heart full of love for the Divine was the only thing necessary. But the Vaishnavism of Bengal was a new orientation of the Bhakti cult, different in tint from the Vaishnavism of the North or of the South in the same way as the Buddhism that was prevalent in Bengal was not exactly the accepted Buddhism of the rest of India. Dharmapala, a Buddhist by faith and an ardent patron of

Buddhist culture, performed Vedic sacrifices and offered liberal gifts to the Brahmins who conducted the sacrifices on his behalf. Many of his ministers were Brahmins.

The stamp that Buddhism left on the religious life of Bengal can be perceived even to-day.

It is interesting that many of their deities the Bengali Hindus have received from Buddhism, to which, again, it is still more interesting to note, they had been adapted from Tantricism and Pauranic Hinduism, from both of which the particular form of Mahayana Buddhism, for many centuries the prevailing religion in Bengal, derived many of its conceptions including those of its anthropomorphic symbolism. Its Yoga and Bhakti cults are distinctly Hindu in their inspiration. Tantric Buddhism which rose to its height during the Pala period is the source of many cults of Bengal of which an important one is the Sahajiya.

The Vitamins

The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health quotes from *Good Health* (U. S. A.) :

Vitamins are to the body what the percussion cap is to the gun. They are activators. They ignite the ammunition. The brain pulls the trigger, but without the vitamins the effort is a mis-fire. Digestion, bowel action, heart action, and muscle action, resistance to disease, even brain action—bodily activities of every sort—are controlled by vitamins.

Vitamins are among the latest and most wonderful of scientific discoveries. Fuel (called calories) consisting of protein for repair of the living tissues, carbohydrates and fat to furnish energy and bodily heat, is necessary, but without vitamins the body perishes from starvation as certainly as if no food at all were eaten.

Each particular vitamin has a particular duty to perform in the body, and its absence produces definite starvation effects. Vitamins help one another, that is, groups or combinations of vitamins are necessary for the accomplishment of certain results. Vitamin physiology is a very intricate and elaborate subject full of knotty problems, which are being solved by scores of the world's gifted physiologists, who have devoted toilsome years to a world-wide search in the pursuit of these subtle magic-working agents. Of these, six have now been so completely studied that their properties and uses are well understood and standardized so they can be handled and used with the same accuracy and confidence as other foodstuffs. Much intensive work is still being done, and many fascinating glimpses of other vitamins are being reported. Some of these newer vitamins will in time also be standardized and be made available for human use.

Vitamin starvation is known as avitaminosis, a diseased condition which is probably more widespread than is generally supposed. Lesser degrees of avitaminosis result in various states of subnutrition which are the source of much debility, and lack of vitality, and so indirectly the cause of lost man-work hours. It is the natural result of the universal lack of knowledge of scientific nutrition.

A New Tendency in Literature

In the course of an article on the influence of literature on India's social life in *The Aryan Path* Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma observes :

Of late a new tendency, mostly as a result of Western influences, has begun to manifest itself in India. We have a group of writers these days, writing through the medium of every Indian language and also in English, which aims at social revolution. These writers are not many but they are very effective and they are revolutionary not only in the content of their writings but also in technique and attitude. On their minds have played many influences, political, psychological and economic.

The last part of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of writers with democratic sympathies who believed in the inherent dignity of man.

Today we have writers who advocate socialism not only in its humanitarian aspect, but also in its economic aspect.

Some have gone farther than this and appear as hot-gospellers of communism with all its implications. On the one hand, these writers describe the hard lives of the poor and dispossessed, and on the other they want to foment a social revolution which will lead to a classless society.

Naturally in their writings there is a violent swing towards realism of a very sordid, degenerate kind. Allied to this is their emphasis on themes which show the aberrations of sex life. In this respect they have carried outspokenness to its utmost limit for they feel that repression (God knows what this word means!) is dangerous to health, peace of mind and happiness.

They are inveterate foes of religion. They believe that organised religion has chained the human spirit, that religious institutions have been the handmaids of political and social tyranny and that ritualism has impoverished the human soul. They believe in the religion of humanity, which it is so difficult to define adequately.

In a word, all these writers are working towards a new concept of social relationships. This does not mean that they all embody the tendencies mentioned above. It only shows that they want to be the harbingers of a new era.

In one sense they are doing with crude violence, loud emphasis and propagandist zeal what other writers have done with a sense of artistic restraint, social responsibility and historic continuity.

The note of social unrest that we find in these writers was also in evidence in Rabindranath Tagore and Sarat Chandra Chatterjee. Both these writers gave expression to a sense of dissatisfaction with certain social institutions and placed especially under the searchlight the relations between the sexes. But their criticism of social life did not become strident and hysterical. At best they laid bare some of the causes of social decay and sought readjustment in certain matters.

But the writers of today are not content with these things and shout for a drastic overhauling of society. Naturally their influence is noticeable in the social life of today. Their gospel has gone home to the minds of the young more than to those of the older generation. They question the utility of every old social institution and wish to remould society after their heart's desire. The passion for reconstruction which they show adds, on ultimate analysis, to the social chaos. They can neither demolish nor rebuild, but they do swell the volume of discontent. Their case is pathetic if not tragic.

INDIA'S GREATEST TANTRIK-YOGI ASTROLOGER & PALMIST

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RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S. (LONDON) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society is now at Calcutta.



It is well-known that the astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated lawsuits and also to cure incurable diseases (Phthisis, Asthma, Piles, Diabetes, Saminal diseases, Insanity, Hysteria, Epilepsy and all kinds of Female Diseases—Sterility, Painful Menstruation, Menorrhagia, etc.) are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc. and also many reputed personalities of the world (of England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan, etc.) have given many spontaneous testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A few names of eminent personalities are given below who have tested his wonderful attainments in Astrology, Palmistry and Tantric rites, etc. : His Highness the Maharaja of Atgar, Her Highness the Dowager Sixth Maharani Saheba of Tripura, the Raja Bahadur of Barkimedi, an Hon'ble Member of the Orissa Assembly, Maharaj Kumar of Hindol, Maharaja Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury, Kt. of Sontosh, Hon'ble Chief Justice Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee, Kt. of Calcutta High Court, Hon'ble Justice Sir C. Madhavam Nair, Kt. Privy-Council, Kumar Ramendra Narayan Roy of famous Bhowal Case, Hon'ble Mr. S. C. Mitra, M.A., B.L., President of Bengal Legislative Council, Hon'ble Mr. P. D. Raikot, Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Khan Sahib Mr. Motahar Hossain Khan, B.A., Suptd. of Excise, Rangpur, Mr. E. A. Araki, M.A. (Cantab), J.P., Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, Chandhur Mohazem Hossain (Lal Mea) M.L.C., Lieut. Mr. P. N. P. Unawalla, R. I. N. R. Calcutta, Khan Bahadur K. M. Hassan, C.I.E., Dy.-General Manager, E. I. Ceylon, Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan, Mr. Andre Tempe, Illinois, America, Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, Rly., Kumar C. Singh Rai of Loisingha, Patna State, Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. O. & Notary Public, China, Mr. Isaac Mumi Etia, of Africa, Mr. R. L. Dutt, Solicitor, Calcutta, Mr. P. K. Mitra, Solicitor, Maharaj Kumar P. N. Roy Choudhury, B.A., of Santosh, Vice-Consul of Spain, Mr. B. K. Roy, Advocate-General of Orissa, Rai Saheb S. M. Das, a Judge of the Kinnhar State High Court, Sreemati Sarala Devi, M.L.A., the reputed Congress Leader of Orissa, Rai Saheb Hriday Ballav De, D.S.P., of Cuttack Police, Mr. M. Azam, M.A., Inspector of Schools, Cuttack, Choudhury Srijit Harekrishna Samanta Roy, Zaminder, Cuttack, have personal experience of his wonderful predictions and mysterious powers.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Britain Debtor to India

John Haynes Holmes observes in his Editorial comments in *Unity*:

The *Worldover Press* brings some interesting news about Britain and India. It seems that, in the relation between these two great powers, Britain is being rapidly switched from the position of a creditor nation to that of a debtor nation, and India *vice versa*. Analyzing the debt situation, the London *Economist*, in a recent article, points out that at the beginning of the war India owed Great Britain some 360 million pounds sterling. By the end of this year, the amount will have been reduced to 12 million pounds. During this same period Great Britain's debt to India has increased from 58 million pounds to 345 million pounds as of February 3, 1943. The explanation lies in an agreement signed in 1939 between Britain and the Government of India whereby India was to pay for the upkeep of Indian troops in India, while Britain was to pay as soon as they left Indian soil. Likewise Britain agreed to pay for all imported equipment and capital expenditure incident to the war. Now that India has unexpectedly become the heart of the battle zone, the agreement is all in her favor, with the above financial result which the *Economist* calls "something almost bewildering." I see in all this a possible outcome of the Indian problem which I had not anticipated. Here is the way in which it may work out, if the Empire insists upon denying the Indian people their freedom! At the close of the war, Britain will be hopelessly in debt especially to India, while India will stand free and clear of obligations.

In Australia, the War has Moved North

New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent, Lewis B. Sebring, Jr., who accompanied Mrs. Roosevelt on her recent trip from the Southernmost point of Australia almost to the extreme Northeastern tip, reports that they were impressed by the evidence of the way the war in the Southwest Pacific has moved to the north in the past year, releasing Australia from the threat of invasion.

Melbourne, in the extreme Southeastern corner of Australia, where in July, 1942, soldiers predominated, has become an essentially civilian city again, though most of the civilians are engaged in some kind of war work. Sydney, 450 miles northeast of Melbourne, presents much the same picture.

"Between them," Sebring reports, "is an area which really tells the story of those days, a year and a half ago, when it seemed as if this small Southeastern corner of Australia might be the last defence zone against the overwhelming Japanese power which was rushing from the North. Numerous army camps, dirt runways and hastily-built emergency airfields frequently scar the green of the Australian landscape. They stand as a tribute to the foresight of the military leaders who, a year and a half ago, saw the tide overwhelming them and took steps to defend that corner of Australia which contains its great cities and its most valuable industrial assets.

"Even Queensland has become a rear area. Australia's front-line is now in New Guinea and has been since a year ago this month—and then the Japanese were still advancing to the South. Now they are retreating to the North.

"Mrs. Roosevelt saw the country freed from shadow and she was able to follow the course of the shadow of retreat by the trail of military 'ghosts' left behind."—USOWI.

Vital Importance of Blood Plasma Proven

"Bottles of blood plasma took precedence over everything except food and surgical instruments when the U. S. Army's portable hospital unit of 30 men, one of the first to reach New Guinea during the Buna campaign a year ago, had to tramp for two weeks over the worst kind of jungle trails to reach the frontlines," reveals New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent Lewis B. Sebring, Jr. "But the men never regretted their efforts to bring up the blood plasma.

"The Captain of the unit told me: 'Without the plasma, the advantages of our being close to the scene of action and the doses of sulfa drugs we administered would have been lost in many cases.'

"The Captain explained that gun-shot and shrapnel wounds are always accompanied by some shock. 'It then,' he said, 'that a quick injection of plasma becomes essential—it keeps up blood pressure and is of real help until the initial shock is over.'"—USOWI.

India-Born Scientist Aiding U. S. in Drug Research

Dr. Yellapragada Subbarow, Research Director for the Lederle Company, one of the leading pharmaceutical houses in the United States, told the Press that the wonder-working drug penicillin is only one of the life-saving forces that may yet be extracted from fungus moulds.

Dr. Subbarow was born in the south of India and is a graduate of the University of Madras. He directs a group of researches who are fighting against time in their efforts to synthesize sufficient penicillin to meet the requirements of the armed forces.

"There are, all told, about 50,000 different kinds of moulds," the Indian scientist said. "We collect all kinds and give them names. It looks now as if we may have to have nurseries to grow our own moulds. It is definitely a new trend in chemistry calling for a new type of worker.

"I am assembling people here who have special training in work with moulds. Our laboratories are run on the University plan. We have 2,500 workers and nearly 100 buildings. Many of our workers have degrees and are advanced students in chemistry. One of our penicillin workers is a Chinese who studied first at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore and who is now proceeding from one department to another, learning all he can on the latest in chemical synthesis."

Dr. Subbarow said penicillin, which has proven effective against many types of human infections which were

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formerly virtually immune to ordinary treatment, is "one of today's finest discoveries—one of the really great drugs."—USOWI.

Valuable Work of Indian Professor at Chicago University

The U. S. magazine *Time* recently called attention to the valuable work of Dr. Subramanyan Chandrasekhar at the Yerkes Observatory near Chicago, Illinois, on the pre-stellar universe.

Since 1938, he has been Associate Professor of Theoretical Astrophysics at the University of Chicago. Realising the importance of Dr. Chandrasekhar's research, the University gives him time to work at the Yerkes Observatory and at the U. S. Army Testing Centre where he is a research consultant.

Dr. Chandrasekhar now leads, with his wife, the secluded existence of a scientist, but he is always aware of the vital part which scientists are playing in America's war effort.—USOWI.

East and West Association Sponsors Course on India

The East and West Association will sponsor a discussion course on "The People of India: Their Cultural, Social and Historical Backgrounds," for teachers, librarians and others, from October through January.

On special request, Indian languages will be taught to small groups at separate meetings.

Mr. and Mrs. Ramkrishna Shahu Modak will conduct the course.

Similar free public courses on the life and customs of Indians, Chinese and other peoples of the Pacific area will be offered at New York City College and at the American Museum of Natural History as a result of the increased interest in the contributions of Orientals to Western civilization, and in their occupations, industries, manners and dress.—USOWI.

Uday Shankar is Subject of Article in Dance Magazine

The October issue of *Dance* magazine carried an article on Uday Shankar's dance and music school at Almora, written by the well-known Indian journalist, Basanta Kumar Roy, long-time resident of the United States and graduate of the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. Roy, who is best known as the biographer of Rabindranath Tagore, first publicized Uday Shankar here, so that when the dancer first toured the United States in 1923 he was already known because of articles published in American as well as European art publications.

"Now that the classical Russian ballet is slowly drifting toward modernism in America and the supreme message of the Greek-American art of Isadora Duncan is almost extinct, it may fall to the lot of India's Uday Shankar to contribute new impetus, new life and a new ideal to the art of the dance itself," writes Mr. Roy.—USOWI.

Panama—The Crossroads of the World

Under the above caption in the *World Order*, C. E. Hamilton gives us a short but interesting history of Panama:

IN THE BEST CIRCLES—

where the dainty aids to Beauty are most appreciated, there you find the fragrant excellent preserver and invigorator of the hair



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On this vital, strategic and overwhelmingly important strip of land, the country of Panama, diversity prevails almost beyond imagination. Several thousand species of constantly blooming, luxuriant plant life, stimulated by an abundance of rain and warmed by the tropical sun, grow with such super-abundance that a trail cut through the jungles is completely closed and lost within a few days.

The jungles, haven of wild pig, stalking jaguar, huge boa, chattering monkey and gorgeously colored birds, hem modern cities on all sides. There are Indian tribes who know nothing of the world a few miles from their jungle retreat, living as they have for hundreds of years, within a comparatively short distance from educational institutions and the Panama Canal, one of the engineering feats of modern civilization.

On the streets we meet United States soldiers, sailors, marines and civilians, San Blas Indians, Hindus, Chinese, Latin Americans from all parts of Central and South America, Europeans, and many Negroes.

Man's most modern means of transportation, the aeroplane, roars its challenge while constantly guarding the air.

Within a few minutes' drive of Panama City with its many imposing homes, the ox-cart and thatched roof hut are quite common-places.

The history of Panama dates back to 1501 when it was first visited by Rodrigo Galvan de Bastidas. It was rediscovered by Columbus in 1502 on his fourth and last trip. The discovery of the South Sea (Pacific Ocean) by Balboa in 1513 made it necessary to build a city on the Pacific shores in order to carry on successfully the conquest of the lands beyond. In 1519 two cities were actually established and linked by narrow trails across the Isthmus—Nombre de Dios on the Atlantic side and Panama City on the Pacific.

Western India Life

Estd. 1913

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The fame of the city on the Pacific grew rapidly. It supported, according to some historians, 10,000 inhabitants; according to others, 30,000. It became the focal point for gold convoys traveling between Peru and Spain. Immense quantities of gold were stored awaiting shipment.

This great wealth attracted the hordes of pirates who roamed the Caribbean, and in 1671 Henry Morgan, the English buccancer, committed the most audacious act in the annals of piracy by attacking and capturing Fort Lorenzo at the mouth of the Chagres River on the Atlantic side. Then, assembling a force of twenty-seven ships and two thousand men, he sailed up the river to the town of Cruces, from whence he went overland to Panama City.

On Wednesday, January 28, 1671, he challenged the Spanish on the Plains of Matanzillo. The defenders were beaten back, but before leaving, they destroyed all stores of gun powder, thus reducing the city to smoking ruins.

Although the Spaniards hid much of their treasure, the wealth of Old Panama had been so great that Morgan and his men had booty enough to load 195 pack mules.

The site chosen for the new Panama City (the present one) was a rocky peninsula, joined to land by a narrow causeway. It was surrounded by high walls, strongly fortified, and separated from the mainland by a moat which was filled at high tide, thus converting the peninsula into an impregnable island. The only link to the mainland was a drawbridge, lowered at

6-00 a.m. and raised at 9-00 p.m. Parts of the original wall and the gate are still in existence.

The ruins of the old city still stand and are visited by hundreds of tourists each year.

After achieving its independence from Spain in 1821, Panama, a small country, remembering the sack of Old Panama, chose to join Colombia, her southern neighbor, for protection.

An era of prosperity again came to Panama in 1849 when the California gold rush once more made her the crossroads of the world. Panama City became so prosperous and so large that the wall was finally broken in 1866 and again in '77 so that the city could be enlarged by joining to it the suburbs of Santa Ana and Salsipuedes.

In 1855 the Panama Railroad was built, linking the Atlantic and the Pacific. This railroad still carries a great part of the traffic across the Isthmus.

In 1879 a French company, headed by Ferdinand de Lesseps, obtained a concession to build a canal across the Isthmus. However, poor sanitation and subsequent epidemics doomed this first effort to failure. In 1884 the work was discontinued, but it is still possible to see the remains of the original canal started by these early pioneers.

On November 3, 1903, Panama declared her independence from Colombia and immediately signed a treaty with the United States, leasing a strip of land ten miles wide, extending across the Isthmus, for the purpose of the construction of a canal. This strip of land is known today as the Canal Zone.

In making the lease, the two terminal cities of Colon and Panama City, which were already in existence, were exempted from the strip and it is the exemption of these two cities in the Canal Zone which makes it possible to be literally within the Zone, but still in the Republic of Panama. Thus you are in the Republic one moment and in the Zone the next.

Automobiles must be licensed for both countries and traffic disputes on the border streets are frequently settled by getting two policemen—one Panamanian and one American.

In 1904 the work on the American canal was begun. With the discovery of the theory of infection from mosquitoes, the problem of yellow fever and malaria was solved.

In 1915 the United States opened the Panama Canal to commerce and Panama for the third time became the cross-roads of the world.

'Abdu'l-Baha, referring to the Latin States in one of the Tablets of the Divine Plan, said "All have importance, but especially the Republic of Panama, wherein the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans come together through the Panama Canal. It is a center of travel and passage from America to other continents of the world, and in the future it will gain most great importance." Likewise, He again has written, "Ye must give great attention to the Republic of Panama, for in that point the Occident and the Orient find each other united through the Panama Canal, and it is also situated between the two great oceans. That place will become very important in the future. The teachings once established there will unite the east and the west, the north and the south."

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