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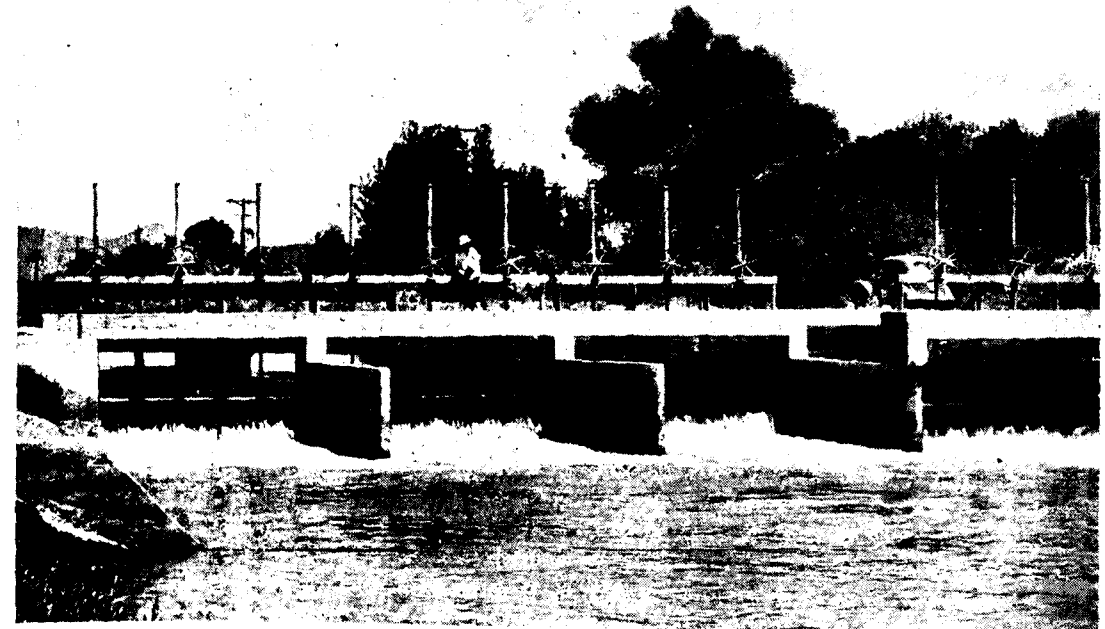
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This irrigation gate in the Western U. S. State of Colorado controls the flow of water into the canal which carries water to miles of farm fields



The main canal in an irrigation project in the western State of Oregon supplies about 65,000 acres of farm land with irrigation water

Courtesy: USOWI



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Nihar Ranjan Sen Gupta

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NOTES

1945

The Old Year is dragging out its miserable course to an end as we pen these columns. But what are the portents for the New Year, do they bear any augury of the dawn of peace and, what is still more important, of the return of sanity to this unhappy planet of ours? We are no prophets nor do we possess the ability to see into the dim and murky future any further than the average man, but judging by the history of the Post-World-War I period, we are constrained to say that in 1945—and probably for a full decade thereafter—this world will remain the same sinful, passion-torn, power-lust riven, inferno as it has been ever since the beginning of this century.

When the Democracies were hard-pressed, there came forth from the lips of those who were leading the nations of the world to fight the war-to-end-aggression, promises of a rosy, prosperous and peaceful Post-War-World. There would be no more war, no more exploitation, no more subjugation of man by man they said, and the Ether veritably throbbed with the broadcasts about Atlantic Charter, the Four-Freedoms and so on and so forth. Came the turning of the tide against the Axis and with it started the slow dispersal into the thin air of the Most Glorious Vision of the Post-War World. Into 1945 will continue the disillusionment of this weary world, we make bold to say, that started in 1944. In India we had even an earlier start with Mr. Churchill's unequivocal statement about India being outside the pale, so far as the Atlantic Charter was concerned. That helped us to assess the full value of Western ethics. The rest of the world started to learn the lesson in 1944. Stalin being the first preceptor with his strong-arm exposition on Poland, Mr. Churchill following up with his tutorial disser-

tations in Parliament and Mr. Roosevelt ably summing up with his "de-bunking" of the "Atlantic Charter."

Who are we to malign the Great thus, and whom do we represent, it may well be asked. Well, we represent all of that great tribe, the tribe of Nobodies composed of those vast masses of suffering, voiceless and submerged humanity who possess little of the birthrights of man beyond the classification of Homo Sapiens, and who are amongst the worst suzerers from the wars waged by the power-lust maddened "followers" of the Apostle of Peace. And how dare we pronounce judgment? We do not judge but like bits of straws we merely point the way the wind is blowing, and what with the partition of Poland, the propaganda campaign against China to deny her the just fruits of her heroic stand, the intervention in Greece which has raised a storm even in democratic Britain, there is no want of indications. We would rather not say much about the campaign of slander against India in general and Hindus in particular that has been continuously in action for over a century and a half. Abbe Dubois the French Jesuit, subsidized by that most Christian body, the British East India Company, was the first outstanding figure of the last century in this matter, in this century we have had the Western Sapphira, Miss Mayo—who wrote so ably about the Philippines as well—and the latest is that remarkable English author Beverley Nichols, who never grew out of his conceited puppyhood. This last scribe has rolled all the great heads of Hindu India into the dust. Mahatma Gandhi he has made into a charlatan and Tagore he has lowered to the state of a "minor poet." Perhaps he later felt that Tagore was a brother scribe—however unworthy—and therefore some amends were due, and so in a moment

of unctuous charity, he raised the geographical site of Tagore's University, Santiniketan, some thousands of feet up into the Himalayas! Not content with this remarkable feat of levitation, nor yet with his culinary efforts with truth, this worthy descendant of super-fatted haberdashers delivered a lecture on art and artists in India, and, what is more, had it printed. But since he himself says that he is a follower of Winston Churchill, staunch and true, we shall accept all his statements as being on par, and leave it at that.

We confess that we are not well-versed in International Politics and therefore we have hopes that we are wrong, but the signs of the times do indicate that the seeds of the Third World War are being sown. Neither the Four Freedoms nor the Atlantic Charter seem to be in the offing. The only certainty that seems to be in store for the Post-War World is that fine product of Western culture and civilisation, namely, Power-Politics. And as Western culture—especially the European variety—rests mainly on a cash basis, the troubles of man will be on the increase. The only hope of mankind lies in the hands of Him Who is greater than all the dictators and pro-consuls of the world. In 1945 we can only hope and try to work for our own salvation under His eye. No one will help us unless we strive for it ourselves that much is certain. While there is a war, they are all too pre-occupied with the prosecution of war. After the war they would be too busy scrambling for the spoils.

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee's Address

In his presidential address to the 26th session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Bilaspur (C.P.), Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee struck upon a new note which would no doubt be welcome. At the outset he described in short the systematic destruction of Indian trade and industry and declared: "It is a calumny to say that India has been mainly an agricultural country. Not only was she industrially rich but she sent out materials and finished goods to other parts of the world." He narrated how under the Company as well as under the Crown the 'bleeding' has continued regularised, systematised and camouflaged by "services rendered" in return. Dr. Mookerjee rightly pointed out, a point which is often missed, that India's economic slavery is due to her political subjugation and Swaraj is the first and essential remedy for Indian poverty.

Discussing the political situation in the country, Dr. Mookerjee dilated on several important subjects. Acceptance of office under the present constitution, in his opinion, could never be the be-all and end-all of any political

organisation. He said: "I know from my own experience how helpless a provincial Ministry sometimes is to carry into effect any important plan of reform and reorganisation concerning the economic or political rights of the people if the Governor and the permanent officials take it into their heads to obstruct such proposals." In spite of this shortcoming, however, he believed that "a boycott of the constitutional machinery was sometimes more harmful to the interests of the people than its utilisation as a weapon for fighting reactionary forces and for preparing the field for wresting large powers." This is exactly the position the Congress had taken up in 1937. Dr. Mookerjee echoed the voice of the Congress when he said: "Every seat of power has to be captured and the whole machinery worked in a team spirit backed by popular support, so as to prevent avoidable mischief and to advance the good of the people whenever possible. . . . But let there be no misgiving that our real work must remain outside the Legislature."

Dr. Mookerjee boldly declared the Mahasabha's views on the communal question and pointed out their differences with the Congress. He disagreed with the C. R. formula and called Gandhiji's attempt to conciliate Mr. Jinnah a fresh Himalayan blunder. He said: "Once we allow religious considerations to determine the sovereignty of particular areas in India which will by no means be confined to one single community following one religion, there will be no peace and progress for us." He brought out the points of unity underlying the Indian civilisation and said that irrespective of provincial barriers or the diversity in faiths and languages there existed a remarkable economic and cultural unity and inter-dependence which could not be destroyed at the dictate of interested parties. He expressed his eager support for ample safeguards to protect the religious and cultural rights of minorities wherever necessary. He explained the Mahasabha's attitude towards Muslims and said that it was not one of hostility or domination. The Muslim League policy was attacked because it was actuated by considerations which would retard progress in India. Here also Dr. Mookerjee stands on the same platform as the Congress.

We welcome the new orientation that Dr. Mookerjee has given towards a uniform nationalistic outlook with the Congress. The foremost leaders of public opinion in this country are slowly coming to the conclusion that the main function of the Congress is that of a Tribunal or rather a forum where all particular differences in the political outlook of the different parties and communities in India would be discussed freely and settled with amity.

Lord Wavell's Speech

Lord Wavell and Mr. Amery spoke almost simultaneously and in the same vein. Both tried to shift the responsibility for the continuance of the deadlock on Indian shoulders. The Viceroy said:

"It is now once more fashionable to demand a move by HMG 'to solve the deadlock.' But remember that HMG has made two attempts in the last decade. The first was the Constitution Act of 1935—a complete constitution based on years of discussion and research. I agree with Mr. Mealing that had that Act been worked in the right spirit, it would have carried us far, in fact, I think we should now be near the goal. The second attempt was the draft declaration propounded by Sir Stafford Cripps. Both attempts failed.

"After the second failure, HMG said, they could do no more and that India herself must make a constructive suggestion. No such suggestion has yet emerged; and the recent discussion between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah shows how intractable the communal problem still is. I am glad to see that prominent Indians are undertaking further discussion of the problem.

"The previous rejections of their offers must naturally make HMG chary of a further advance until they feel that the spirit of compromise and co-operation is real. But their desire for a solution remains perfectly genuine; and I have tried to indicate lines on which progress might be attempted, if the Indian leaders desire it."

The Act of 1935 has been condemned by the people and stands fully exposed. This Act has taken away India's right to defend her own borders and to conduct her own foreign affairs, to run her railways and to determine her currency and exchange policies in her own interests. By this reactionary Act the Governor-General and the Governors, who previously enjoyed powers of emergency legislation by means of Ordinances for limited periods only, have been granted powers to enact permanent laws in defiance of the Legislatures. India's right to grant protection to her own industries against British competition has been circumvented by the provision for the establishment of (India) Ltds. and by equipping the Governor-General with powers "to prevent commercial discrimination." The martial races of the country have been placed out of the control of popular Legislature by a demarcation of Excluded and partially Excluded Areas to be under the direct administration of the Whitehall through the Governor-General and the provincial Governors. These in a nutshell, are the "Reforms" that India had "gained," which in the Britisher's opinion, marked a "long step forward." The Cripps proposal was even more reactionary in its immediate implications while for the dim future it held out vague promises draped around the sinister project for the vivisection of India. Even the Muslim League, composed mainly of the Government's own men, did not see any virtue in the Cripps proposals and rejected it. In spite of the British Government's

pretensions to the contrary, Indian opinion will continue to urge that the initiative for resolving the Indian deadlock lies with Britain and Britain alone.

Lord Wavell on National Government

Lord Wavell told the Associated Chambers of Commerce that it was commonly said that current and post-war problems could only be solved by a National Government, but the precise meaning of the term was seldom or never defined. "I am afraid that to some a National Government may mean a government in which their own particular party is in power. I think of a National Government as one formed to meet a national crisis, in which 'none are for a party but all are for the State,' to quote Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*."

The Viceroy was very far from being accurate in saying that the meaning of the true National Government was seldom or never defined. The Congress has defined and explained it in a way which would have convinced anybody except such as are pledged to obduracy. A Government composed of the leaders of the people and responsible to the Legislature with the Governor-General as the constitutional head was the Congress definition of National Government. Congress had made the very important concession in this definition that they did not want complete control over the Defence services during the continuance of the War.

Lord Wavell seems to have a fancy for Macaulay. We quote below a few of his words which, although written a century ago, may be applicable in a fair degree to modern conditions in this country:

"The servants of the company obtained—not for their employers, but for themselves—a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependents, who ranged thru the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while 30 millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Sunj ud Dowlah. (Italics ours—Ed. M. R.)

The Mining Policy of the Govt. of India

The Government of India's mining policy forms a dark and characteristic chapter of British Indian history. The Geological Survey of India was established in 1845. Dr. Cyril Fox, Director of the Geological Survey in 1942, in the course of a statement made in a conference held on July 6, 1942 and presided over by Sir Firoze

Khan Noon, called attention to the neglectful policy of the Government of India in regard to the development of India's mineral resources during the past century. The formation of the utilisation branch of the Geological Survey was announced in that conference and Dr. Fox made the astounding revelation there that the importance of geological work on the part of the Government was realised only in the interests of getting bunker coal for the purpose of supplying ships which came from Europe with merchandise to this country. This is what he said: "The work of geologists in India was mainly to promote the export of raw materials rather than to encourage industrial development in this country." The Government evidently took the view that the Department was concerned in getting minerals for export to other countries and was not interested in the question of manufacturing anything out of those minerals. Dr. Fox made a reference to the year 1902 when the Department possessed six specialised mineral experts and was prepared for a big utilisation drive. It was prevented by the Government and the experts were turned into simple mining inspectors!

The Government of India suddenly became active in its Geological Department after Japan entered the war, and particularly after the loss of Malay and Burma. British evacuee mining experts from Burma found ready employment here. The parent bodies under which they had worked in the Burma mines have not gone into liquidation and it is not known whether such evacuees drew salary both from their firms as also from the Government. Mr. K. C. Neogy, speaking in the Central Legislative Assembly on September 14, 1942, expressed a shrewd suspicion that "ultimately the activities of this branch (utilisation) of the department will be utilised for the purpose of rehabilitating in India, the powerful British financial interests which were dislodged from enemy occupied countries, interests which were engaged in the mineral industry in Malay and Burma." Subsequent events have tended only to confirm his suspicions.

Mr. Neogy investigated the activities of the utilisation Branch further. In reply to his question on Sept. 15, 1942, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar stated that the Utilisation Branch would, with the help of experts, prove deposits and undertake small-scale mining operations which might include the operation of experimental and pilot plants for smelting, etc., up to the stage when it became clear that production could be undertaken by commercial firms. In the course of the same reply Dr. Ambedkar gave materials for a contradiction of his own statement and the real fact came out. He stated that the Government of India, acting through Mr. Cowen, late

General Manager of the Mawchi mines of the Burma Corporation, negotiated with the Mewar Government for working the most promising lead-zinc mines at Zawar in the Udaipur State. *They secured the cancellation of payment of compensation of the lease of the mines held by a private Indian firm* and obtained a prospecting license from the Mewar Government. Had Dr. Ambedkar's earlier professions been sincere, what prevented the Government to work the Zawar mines jointly with the existing Indian leaseholder and why was it necessary to have the lease cancelled? Dr. Ambedkar evaded the question when Mr. Neogy pointedly asked: "Before getting the Udaipur durbar obligingly to cancel this lease, was any attempt made by the Government to find out whether any agreement could not be arrived at with that private party for the purpose of enabling whatever activities the department wanted to be carried on?"

In the course of a debate on the same subject on September 21, 1942, Pandit L. K. Maitra asked: "Is Dr. Ambedkar in a position to tell us that after the field-work is done and after the exploratory work is finished, when the Utilisation Branch recommends that certain metals or mineral substances may be commercially mined, Indians will get the benefit out of it? Is he prepared to give an assurance that the money that will be spent on this Utilisation Branch will eventually lead to the fostering of the Indian enterprise in the development of mineral industry, and not to the investment of British capital as has been our unfortunate experience in the past?" No assurance however came forward, from the Treasury Branches, to the effect that if the Utilization Branch decides that certain types of minerals could be developed in this country profitably, preference should, in the first instance, be given to Indian companies to work and develop them. When Mr. Jamnadas Mehta raised discussion about the exploitation of the mica mines by joint Anglo-American interests to the exclusion of Indian commercial firms, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Leader of the House, frantically tried to have the discussion stopped and ultimately succeeded in his attempt on a ruling of the President, Sir Abdur Rahim.

After incurring a lot of expenditure on the mines, the Government of India have decided that the Zawar operations could not be considered as a war project in view of the fact that no pilot plant could get into production till very late in 1945, and that India and the Allied Nations were already receiving a substantial portion of their requirements from other sources. The Geological Survey has finally recommended discontinuance of further prospecting and disposal of the operatives to the best advantage

of the Government of India. The essential desirability of developing a mine of two of the most strategic metals, lead and zinc, in India and in the interest of India has been completely neglected. With increasing prospects of the recapture of Burma, it may well be that the Imperialists desire to have the Zawar mine closed in the interest of the Burma Corporation unless the mines could be secured by the Corporation itself. It is understood that the Government of India are now trying to surrender their lease of the mines to the Mewar Government thus leaving the Mewar Durbar free to dispose of the concession in any way they like. The fear is entertained in informed quarters that this may be a device for helping the Burma Corporation to secure the lease through diplomatic pressure of the Political Department.

Petroleum Concessions and the Need for a New Mining Legislation

The grant of petroleum prospecting licenses by the provinces deserves attention. Mr. K. C. Neogy had asked the Government of India whether petroleum was included among the minerals with which the Utilisation Branch of the Geological Survey of India was concerned. In reply, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar stated that according to the present programme, that is in 1942, petroleum was not so included,—although sulphur, mica, tungsten or wolfram, and non-ferrous metals like lead, zinc, copper and tin were included among minerals required for war purposes. The exclusion of petroleum from this list was mysterious and no explanation for it was put forward.

It is widely believed—as it was plainly stated in a scientific journal—that the right to carry on certain preliminary scientific investigations as regards the occurrence of oil in the foothills of the Himalayas and other areas in India has already been granted by the provincial governments in favour of certain well-known foreign concessionaires. Mr. Neogy, on other occasions also, enquired of the Government of India the reason for the grant of prospecting licenses for oil, a defence material, by the provinces instead of keeping it under their own responsibility. The Government of India have denied even any knowledge of such a grant on the plea that regulation of mines and oilfields form a provincial subject. In the provinces under Sec. 93, and in the others with subservient Ministries, it is not at all difficult to have licenses issued to most favoured parties. It is desirable to clarify once for all the constitutional position in respect of mineral rights between the Centre and the Provinces. Under the Government of India Act 1935, "Regula-

tion of mines and oilfields and mineral developments to the extent to which such regulation and development under Federal control is declared by Federal law to be expedient in the public interest" is a Central subject, while there is an entry in the Provincial Legislative List which states that "Regulation of mines and mineral development is subject to the provisions of List 1 (the Federal list) with respect to regulation and development under Federal control." No Federal law has so far been enacted and therefore the provinces continue to possess full freedom to frame their own mining laws and rules to regulate the grant of mineral concessions in their territories. This has been the position since the introduction of the new reforms in April 1937, but it requires revision. The regulation and development of oil and strategic minerals as would be necessary for national defence should be in the hands of the Central Government. Experience during the present war has definitely proved Central control to be expedient in the public interest and the power to legislate for minerals of strategic and key industrial importance should rest with the Centre alone. The provinces have so far enjoyed this privilege by virtue of sufferance from the Centre and the position should now be made clear by means of appropriate legislation for giving effect to this policy.

"Churchill Must Go"—Wells

Under the heading "Churchill Must Go," Mr. H. G. Wells, in the Socialist London Weekly *Tribune*, describes the British Prime Minister as "would-be British Fuehrer." Mr. Wells writes:

"Churchill's ideology picked up in the garrison life of India, on the reefs of South Africa, the maternal home and conversation of wealthy Conservative households is a pitiful jumble of incoherent nonsense. A boy scout is better equipped. He has never given evidence of thinking extensively or of any scientific or literary capacity. His ignorance of contemporary social and physical science is conspicuous. He has served his purpose, and it is high time he retired before we forget the debt we owe him. We want him to go—now—before he discredits us further, for his own sake as well as ours, and if he takes all the Royalties in the world with him—so much the better for human hope. The matter is urgent."

Princes' Resignation

The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes have tendered resignation in a body, but the causes which led to the adoption of a drastic step of this nature have not yet been made fully public. In his statement to the press, Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber, has declined to elucidate the issues at

the present moment. The *Hindustan Times*, however, throws some light on this hitch between the princes and the paramount power. The differences seem to have been seven-fold, the problems being (1) joint services, (2) protection against attacks from British India, (3) the attachment scheme, (4) industrial policy, (5) courts of arbitration, (6) post-war reconstruction and (7) Treaty rights. A deputation of the princes had waited on the Crown Representative, Lord Wavell, some time before the resignation, with the object of obtaining clarifications of these problems. The Viceroy's reply conveyed to them by the Political Department of the Government of India has been reported in the *Hindustan Times*.

The joint services scheme, in which the princes agree generally that the smaller Indian States which cannot by themselves maintain an efficient standard of administration should co-operate with some other State or States to secure this essential end, has been supported by the Crown Representative.

In demanding protection against attacks from British India, the States have expressed the fear of Jatha invasions and campaigns against them in the British Indian press. Lord Wavell has assured them that the States will continue to receive protections whether from baseless agitations against individual States directed from British India or from scurrilous attacks in the British Indian press. Such provisions have been made in the Government of India Act itself and protection of the princes form an important item in the lists of special responsibilities for the Governor-General as well as the Governors.

The States have claimed an equal participation with British India so far as the industrial policy is concerned. They demand production goods like machinery and fuel, etc., on the same basis as the provinces. The transference of capital from British India to the States to avoid the E. P. T. has engaged the attention both of the States and the Central Government and this transference has been brought under the supervision of the latter. The control of capital issue under Sec. 94-A of the D. I. Rules has also been a point of controversy. The industrial life of the States has already been chained up under this Rule in spite of their much vaunted Treaty Rights. An order has been issued to the States for receiving payments in British India for goods delivered to the Supply Department and the States have very much resented it. The reply of the Crown Representative on industrial policy has been rather vague and has been confined mainly to the expression of a pious wish. The problem of post-war reconstruction for the States are simi-

lar and the intention of the Government in this respect also is not quite clear. In the several post-war reconstruction committees, the states have not been adequately represented and the princes have made a grievance of it.

The remaining three crucial points have been left completely unsolved. The princes proposed that recourse to Courts of Arbitration should be had as a matter of right for resolving the issues which are justiciable or relate to fiscal economic or financial matters including the interpretation of Treaties and Agreements. The Crown Representative has expressed his inability to accept this proposal. The princes have been greatly alarmed by the attachment scheme, and the manner in which the India (Attachment of States) Act was rushed through the Parliament, without any consultation with the princes, has, not unnaturally, confirmed their apprehension. The groups of States formed under the joint services or co-operative grouping scheme will be some sort of a coalition of the autocrat princes while the real power will be exercised by the super-autocrat, the Political Agent. The States have been very much apprehensive of the merger scheme. The merger of small States into larger ones without consent of the merging states has involved the transference of the paramount power's rights to the attaching states. The Princes had earlier obtained an assurance that the functions of the Paramount Power would not be transferred to the British Indian Government. The Princes have failed in their attempt to secure a revision of the Instrument of Attachment so as to include in it the consent of the merging state, and the refusal of the Government to revise the Instrument has confirmed the Princes' fear that the principle may be extended in future also to States not immediately concerned with the merger scheme.

Too much fuss has been—and is still being—made about what the princes call Treaty Rights. These treaties are all in reality subsidiary alliances and the princes enjoy their "rights" under sufferance of the Paramount Power. Encroachments on these "rights" have systematically been made to meet Imperial needs. Dynastic rights and questions of misrule have always been determined in pursuance of an Imperial policy and the Princes' rights have been completely disregarded whenever they were in conflict with Imperial interests. The recent order of the Textile Directorate to pay for their goods in British India against the protest of the States and the application of the Control of Capital Issues order to the States are the most recent instances of the helplessness of the Princes against the Government of India in spite of what they call their sacred Treaty Rights.

It is not only that the Princes have little freedom of action, but their freedom of speech is also greatly restricted. Just as they are unable to take any action even for their own welfare when such action tends to conflict with Imperial interests, they cannot deliberate on any question which is not favoured by the Viceroy. The Chamber of Princes only suggest the agenda for their meeting, discussion takes place only on such items of it as have been approved by the Crown Representative; the text of draft resolution which was framed for discussion by the Chamber of Princes, and which could not be discussed, shows that unilateral action has systematically been taken to trample down their treaty rights. The substance of the resolution which has been published by the *Hindustan Times* is given below :

The Chamber requests His Excellency the Crown Representative to be pleased to convey to His Majesty's Government the grave misgivings and apprehensions aroused in the states, by the recent tendency to alter the states' relationship with the Crown and to qualify the observance of the Crown's obligations, by unilateral action without the consent of the states notwithstanding the solemn royal pronouncements that these treaty rights shall be maintained unimpaired, and the recent assurance conveyed to the Indian princes by His Majesty's Government that the fulfilment of the fundamental obligations arising out of the treaties and sanads remains an integral part of His Majesty's Government's policy.

The Chamber further requests H. E. the Crown Representative to convey this expression of their devotion to his Imperial Majesty the King Emperor, with the respectful submission that in this matter of fundamental importance to the continuance of their relationship with the Crown, the Indian princes solicit His Majesty's personal good offices to ensure an early and satisfactory announcement.

Invoking the personal good offices of His Majesty is irrelevant as the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility in the British constitution restricts the rights of the British King to act otherwise than on the advice of the Cabinet.

U. P. Education Plan

The United Provinces, like Madras, is forging ahead with schemes of post-war development of education. A committee of officials, non-officials, and eminent educationists of the province has been appointed by the Governor to discuss the post-war development schemes of the Education Department of the U. P. Government. The committee recently met and the following decisions were made :

The meeting was of the opinion that compulsory education should be introduced in selected areas till the whole province was covered. The Government proposals envisaged that this should be done in 20 years, but the meeting thought that that period was too long and that it should be possible to achieve the desired results in about 10 years if the scheme worked successfully throughout the province. Compulsion was to be applied to children between the ages of five and 13 years.

As regards girls it was strongly urged by the lady members that if necessary, owing to there being no girls school available, girls up to the age of 10 should be admitted into boys schools, provided that there was a substantial number of women teachers in that school. It was revealed that while the number of girls in girls primary schools at present was 76,000, no less than 1,30,000 girls were voluntarily reading in boys schools.

The meeting then discussed the arrangements for training a large number of teachers required and was of the opinion that it would be necessary to open two new training colleges. The meeting noted with approval Government's proposal to add a large number of girls high schools throughout the province.

As regards the education of depressed classes, the meeting unanimously decided that there should be no separate schools, and that full facilities should be given to the members of the depressed classes to read in ordinary state schools, and liberal assistance by way of stipends and freeships should be afforded to them.

On the question of technical education, the meeting was of the opinion that technical education should be run parallel to general education and should have the same stages—primary, secondary, intermediate and degree—and that the degree courses should be managed by the university, and the others by a special board of technical education.

The meeting concluded with a general discussion on university and high school education. It was unanimously accepted that the intermediate examination should be abolished and one year of its course should be added to the degree course and the other year to the high school course, the total number of years required to take the degree not being exceeded.

It has been estimated that the 20 years educational scheme of the United Provinces in the post-war period involves an expenditure of Rs. 21,12,87,650 on junior basic schools and Rs. 16,22,47,290 on senior basic schools.

Mass Education to be Made Compulsory in Madras

The report on Educational Post-War Reconstruction prepared by the D. P. I. has recently been considered by the sub-committee of the Post-War Reconstruction Department of the Government of Madras. The Committee agreed that

Compulsory education for both boys and girls of all communities should be introduced in all areas, in the first place from standards I to V, providing additional accommodation and staff to the extent necessary in areas already served by existing schools, and opening new schools in schoolless areas with sufficient population, and building them up to V Standard schools.

It was agreed that, after the scheme for compulsory education up to V Standard had been completed, the further step should be taken of extending compulsion to the VI, VII and VIII Standards by stages.

It was agreed that special provision should be made for elementary schools for girls in all areas in which co-education was not fully possible.

It was agreed that there should be a considerable increase in the number of Arts Colleges for women that more L. T. Colleges for women should be opened; and that these institutions should be spread over areas hitherto unprovided with such institutions.

In Bengal, the Government is busy in devising ways and means for the denial of education. No effect has been given to the

Primary Education Act passed by the Bengal Legislature years ago, although the Primary Education cess has been collected in some areas.

The Education Sub-Committee of the Post-War Reconstruction in Bengal recently considered the problem of secondary education and decided that a selective process should be adopted for deciding which boys and girls shall be provided with special facilities for higher academic learning. Way is also being cleared for the passage of the Secondary Education Bill for the curtailment of education by handing over important powers of the Legislature to the Governor. The measure has found eager and active support with the European members of the Bengal Legislature, the prop of the present Ministry and the upholders of the Imperialist policy of denial of education.

Corruption and Bribery Rampant in Food Administration

Hindustan Standard's New Delhi correspondent reports :

New Delhi, Dec. 16.—Sensational findings that corruption, bribery and petty harassment by minor officials, are rampant in the food administration of the country, are contained in a voluminous report submitted by Mr. S. Butler, officer on special duty, who toured many of the provinces in order to report on the Government Grain Purchases Scheme.

Mr. Butler says, "In no food administration is here complete absence of any bribery and corruption" and that "another aspect, more serious perhaps than bribery and corruption, is that of petty harassment by minor officials. That it goes on to a fairly extensive degree there is no doubt. That it should and must be eliminated is equally undisputed." That Provincial and State Governments do not generally speaking, "take sufficient specific steps in this direction, is, I am afraid, a fact."

It is understood that Government are now seriously considering as to what is the best way of eliminating corruption and bribery. In this connection, I understand, a special branch within each Food Control Administration, dealing with the elimination of bribery and corruption, may be set up. The Central Government seems to have brought the matter to the notice of the Provincial Governments, who are being urged to take effective steps to counteract such practices.

Allegations about serious cases of corruption have been made in the press and within the Legislature before now, all to no or little effect. It is hardly likely that this report will produce any better results. Bribery, corruption and inefficiency are the inevitable consequences of *Divide et Impera*, which means keeping time-servers and reactionaries in positions of trust.

Nature of Corruption in Railway Administration Revealed

The staff correspondent of the *National Call* reports :

A number of sensational and startling disclosures far beyond one's imagination, were made in the course

of a lengthy statement by Om Prakash, an Out Agency Clerk at Baghat, relating to the case against 64 persons including Mr. H. M. Nolan, Superintendent, S. S. Light Railway; Mr. D'Costa, Traffic Inspector, seven Station Masters, a railway contractor and a number of prominent sugar Merchants of the United Provinces, proceeding in the court of R. B. Vinod Chand, Special Magistrate at Meerut, under the various sections of the Indian Penal Code and the Defence of India Rules. This case is described as the most sensational case of profiteering, bribery and corruption of the present war in Northern India: Om Prakash who was also one of the accused in the case has been given King's Pardon. According to a rough estimate about Rs. 800,000 were paid as a bribe and approximately double of this amount was made by the accused merchants as profit by selling sugar and Gur, etc., in the black market and contravening the various regulations of the Sugar Control Order.

There was a surprise to-day in the court when Lalita Prashad, Station Master, Kandhla, who had been declared absconder by the court, surrendered himself remaining under ground for over an year. He was immediately taken in police custody.

Among some of the facts which the approver Om Prakash had disclosed so far in the court during the course of his statement were that thousands of rupees were taken as bribe in the name of police, a number of documents were either torn or destroyed, thousands of railway receipts were antedated and written by the merchants themselves, and the signatures of the goods clerk were forged, railway receipts were prepared even without the forwarding notes, without the actual delivery of goods at the railway station, unauthorised railway receipt forms were printed, thousands of fictitious entries were made and several orders of the District Magistrate were deliberately defied.

The hearing of the case is proceeding.

Strictures on Ispahanis Expected in Woodhead Reports

The *National Call's* Delhi correspondent reports that the first part of the Woodhead Report is likely to be issued some time in January while the second part is expected to be issued in March. The first part will deal with the famine in Bengal and the second part will make recommendations regarding procurement and food supply. The correspondent says:

It is understood that the Woodhead Commission is taking due notice of the findings of the Braund Committee which purports to throw responsibility for Bengal on the Government of India rather than on the Government of Bengal. The Woodhead Commission, it is understood, is likely to white-wash the conduct of the various governments involved by showing that the Bengal famine was consequential on so many factors that blame cannot be made to rest on any single authority. I further understand that very serious strictures are likely to be passed on the conduct of the Bengal Food Procurement Agency which is in the hands of a famous Muslim League firm of Ispahanis.

The report, I believe, will be unanimous, the Indian members concurring to the findings of Sir John Woodhead and his colleagues, and the feeling is that this unanimity may be achieved at the expense of frankness.

Imperialism in Asia Doomed

A sharp contrast to the bulletin of the American Foreign Policy Association is pro-

vided in the bulletin of the Pacific Relations Institute. The *United Press of America* reports that this bulletin calls on the U.S. Government to attempt to obtain at the Pacific Relations Institute Conference, to be held in New York in January 1945, from the European colonial powers an agreement to the unequivocal and deficits programmes under which the peoples of Burma, Malay, Indo-China and East Indies would be assured of self-government in "foreseeable future." The author Lawrence Salisbury says :

An effort must be made now because America's "bargaining power" among the Allies would be greatly lessened with the defeat of Germany and "we may miss a great opportunity of ridding the world of the ever latent threat to the global and inter-racial war." He adds, "Imperialism in Asia is doomed" and "whatever may be the attitude of the colonial Powers the people of Asia will eventually achieve self-government." Therefore in their best interest America and her European Allies should realise that "it is wiser to yield strength to the growing aspirations of the colonial Asiatics than to delay until they are forced to yield from weakness." He said America's "prolonged silence" on the issue of colonial independence meant "tacit commitment to support the imperial system which will inevitably come to an end." He warned that the Jap propaganda for pan-Asia will continue in the post-war, "seizing every opportunity of creating among the other Asiatics hatred of the whites." Hence unless America and the European Powers co-operated the "enlightened policy which treats the Asiatics as potential equals in the world affairs" Japan's purpose "to fight next time with Asia solidly behind her" would more probably be achieved. He said in such a war China might be on the side of Japan, "for if our policy in South-East Asia proves to be a failure, our policy everywhere in East Asia will have failed."

No solution of the Asiatic problem is conceivable until and unless India attain her freedom. Programmes for Burma, Malay, Indo-China and the East Indies, in spite of their unequivocal and definiteness, will be useless and futile with India remaining "a vast prison house with the key at the White Hall."

103 Detenus Die in Bengal Jails

During question hour in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, on December 12, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister informed the House that the number of persons detained without trial who died during detention was 59 in 1943 and 44 in 1942. The increase in death was, in the Government's opinion, due to admission of a large number of prisoners in a bad state of health. The number of prisoners who were released due to ill health was 67 in 1943 and 44 in 1944.

We are unable to appreciate the added amount of security obtained by the British Empire by imprisoning large numbers of prisoners in a bad state of health. A perusal of the official records of the proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly reveals a good many

cases of neglect of the health of the detenus in some instances resulting in the death of the sufferers. The parliamentary secretary's reply reveals a state of affairs which deserves the severest condemnation of the present jail administration of the province. The proportion of deaths appears all the more alarming when we remember Sir Nazimuddin's statement that there were 1577 such prisoners in detention.

Control of Colonies

A bulletin issued by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, says that the desire for national independence among Asiatic peoples can no longer be checked, even by force. The Association has suggested a three-fold policy. Firstly, the United Nations, instead of returning the Japanese occupied areas to their previous colonial rulers, should establish an international trusteeship over them. Secondly, specific dates should be set when this trust could reasonably be expected to be terminated. Thirdly, that during the period of trusteeship, every effort should be made to provide the dependent peoples with education in political and economic matters. Peoples of Asia have knowledge of how these theories of trusteeship and white man's burden have worked out in Africa and Asia. Given any option they would want to manage their own affairs, even if it be attended with a temporary chaos, rather than remain under foreign rule. The Association further says, "The difficulty of liquidating the heritage of empire in subject countries must be accomplished in as orderly a manner as possible if chaos is to be prevented." Asiatics have found to their cost that such pleas are put forward not for the liquidation of an Empire but for the continuance of it in a modified form.

War Effort Load Heaviest on Indian Peasant

The Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Claude Auchinleck at a press conference today gave some impressions of his recent tour of India. He acknowledged that even the humblest in India were bearing the burden of war effort, and that the sacrifice which the Indian peasant with his small margin of reserve was called upon to make was severer than the deprivation of comfort which people in other countries with higher standards might suffer.

Replying to question whether the burden on the civil population would increase with the increase in the tempo of the war against Japan, the C-in-C said one hoped not. He added as more resources became available from overseas, it should not be necessary to demand so much from India, but so long as the war against

Germany continued those resources were difficult to come by. "I can assure you that the Government of India has this matter very much in mind. The strain on the civil population should not be increased to a point at which it becomes unbearable."

Difference in the Emoluments of British and Indian Troops

In reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Central Legislative Assembly on Nov. 3, last. Mr. C. M. Trivedi, on behalf of the Government, made a statement about the difference between the emoluments of a British soldier serving in India and of an Indian soldier serving abroad. The figures are given below:

British other ranks serving in India (i.e., outside their own country):—

Rank	Monthly emoluments
Privates— (Private after 3 years' service)	Rs. 119-12-0
Non-Commissioned Officers— Corporal	142-9-0
Sergeant	171-1-0
Warrant Officers— Class II (Sub-Conductor)	262-5-0
Class I (Conductor)	307-15-0

Indian soldiers serving outside India:—

Privates— (Sepoy after 3 years' service)	44-8-0
Non-Commissioned Officers— Naik	56-0-0
Havildar	63-0-0
Viceroy's Commissioned Officers— Jumadar	108-5-133
Subedar	183-10-223

In addition to the monthly emolument, the married British soldier gets a marriage allowance at the following rates:

For wife	Rs. 30
For wife and 1 child	86
For wife and 2 children	136
For wife and 3	181
Each additional child	45

In his report, Lord Munster has suggested several amenities for the British troops, but the conditions of Indian troops serving inside and outside India, has not merited the attention of either of his Lordship or the British or Indian Governments.

India's North-West Frontier

The *Leader's* special New Delhi representative reports that an Afghan Military Mission has arrived in New Delhi. With the emergence of Russia on the world's diplomatic chess-board, India's North-West Frontier is again coming into lime-light as a bulwark of defence of the British Empire in India. A committee under the chairmanship of General Tucker is already examining the problem of frontier in regard both to the tribal aspect and future defence line. The arrival of the Afghan Military Mission at a time when the Tucker Committee is

at work may be of some diplomatic significance. It is for the first time that a military mission from a neighbouring country has come to visit India during the war. Formerly goodwill or cultural missions have toured the country from Siam, Turkey and Iran. According to an official statement, the Afghan mission has come to study Indian Army methods.

Muslim League Politics

Muslim League politics in this country has developed three different characteristics, (i) one for Mr. Jinnah as Dictator, (ii) one for the provinces where the League is in opposition and (iii) one for the provinces where it is in office. The worthlessness of Mr. Jinnah's long standing grievance against the Congress parliamentary Board of the Working Committee in that it interfered in provincial administration has been proved by his uncalled-for intervention in Sind politics after Mr. Roger Thomas had been appointed Minister by the Sind Premier. The opportunist policy pursued in the provinces has also been exposed. In the Punjab, the League opposed the Members' Salary Enhancement Bill on grounds of principle demanding that any extra money should go to the small salaried people, while in Bengal such a Bill is being sponsored by the League to put more money in the pockets of the League members of the Legislature at a time when the petty clerks and school teachers, including a large number of their brothers in faith, are starving. In the Punjab the Leaguers have suddenly become conscious about the political prisoners and have demanded their release condemning the government action as "crushing the civil liberties of the people." The Punjab Premier has given a fit reply to them when he challenged the Leaguers who, he said, had one high command and one leader, to release all political prisoners and detenus in the N.-W. F. P., Sind, Bengal and Assam, and then press such motions in the Punjab Assembly. In respect of the states also the same dual policy is pursued. In Hindu majority states, where the Ruler is a Muslim, separatism is condemned but if the Ruler is a Hindu separatism is fostered. In the Hindu majority states where the Ruler is a Muslim, dictatorship is applauded as being the best arrangement, but where the Ruler is a Hindu popular government is demanded.

Index of "The Modern Review"

On account of restriction on paper it has not been possible for us to publish in this issue the index of the seventy-sixth (July-December, 1944) volume of *The Modern Review*. Readers desirous of obtaining it should write to the *Modern Review* Office Manager, enclosing one-anna stamp for postage.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE end of the year leaves the position of the Allies on the Western front in a state of flux. This is an anti-climax to the inspired news we have been receiving from that quarter regarding the desperate straits to which the German defenders have been reduced. After the magnificently executed landing operations of the Allies in June, the real war-situation became secondary in importance on the "News-front" the head lines being repeatedly and continuously pirated by this allied spokesman and that, predicting an early and summary collapse of the Germans on the West. Mr. Churchill predicted victory by the end of summer in the first instance, then by the end of autumn and finally after many disappointments discreetly refused to think of victory at all for the present. American spokesmen were no less optimistic and even amongst the Allied fighting generals many broke out in prophecies, Field-Marshal Montgomery being the most optimistic. The earlier checks in Normandy cooled down the optimists for a while but after the German started their retreat to the frontiers, they gushed forth again into a veritable spate of amateur strategy and mock-heroic perorations about the future. Even the very distinct set-back in Holland and the very stiff opposition encountered in the Palatinate and elsewhere failed to daunt these oracles even though Mr. Churchill himself cooled down to a more cautious vein. It is this back-ground against which the present German thrust comes out in such a violent contrast.

We do not think the Allied commanders-in-the-field were under any delusion, whatever the position might have been in the Supreme War Council, for the facts of situation were standing out in stark relief after the German master-plan stood revealed in Eastern Europe. There, after an orderly retreat across hundreds of miles of devastated Soviet territory, the German defenders stood to battle on the approaches to the Reich. Thereafter the fighting took on a new orientation. On the coastal territories of the Baltic States, on the marches of East Prussia, across the heart of Poland and on the foothills of Carpathians a series of grim show-downs took place in which the defenders fought for each square yard of territory with a ferocity and skill that belied all thoughts of an imminent collapse. The debacle in Rumania, the defection of Finland and the seemingly total collapse of the defences in the Balkans were all major disasters and if the Germans were in reality at their last gasp, as Mr. Chur-

chill and other Allied spokesmen led the world to believe, then the Wehrmacht would never have been able to pull the defence together out of such desperate straits. The Wehrmacht succeeded, at that time, in establishing the defence on fresh lines where it materially succeeded in containing the Soviets' assaults *en-masse*. The defence line in Warsaw stood in spite of the very violent thrusts of the Soviets forces—aided as it was most substantially by the truly valiant "forlorn hope" attempts of "General Bor" and his gallant and heroic two hundred thousand Polish patriots. That the Soviets' assault should fail in spite of such a major diversion in great force at the rear was proof enough of the resources and efficiency of the Wehrmacht. Stalin's condemnation of "General Bor" after the failure of the assault on Warsaw is not only one of the most ungracious incidents of this war, it is also an indicator of the extent of the up-setting of the Russian plans consequent on this unexpected check. In East Prussia the Soviets' forces were fought to a standstill and in the Baltic states their progress became progressively slow and laboured in the extreme. Even in Hungary the Russian assault met—and is still meeting—extremely fierce and highly skilled opposition. All these facts clearly go to show that the German supreme command is not so down and out, shorn of all reserves and bereft of all resources, as the wishful thinking of some of the great ones on the Allied side led the democratic world to believe. Turning to the Western front, the extremely slow and halting progress of Montgomery's armies, which virtually have come to a standstill for the present after being manoeuvred into the flooded and marshy areas of the Dutch frontier regions, and the long and bitter opposition the American forces met prior to the German thrust were all pointers standing up a mile high of the strength and capacity still retained by the Nazi war-machine. And the Allied commander-in-the-field must have been well-aware of the implication of these facts, else why their slow, cautious and calculated, step-by-step advance into enemy territory in spite of a more than five-fold superiority in men, armour and artillery and mastery of the skies above the battle lines?

The fact is that the Wehrmacht is trying to force a long war of attrition on its opponents. The first essential of such a project is to disrupt the Allied plan of campaign with regard to both its continuity and coherence. The Russians succeeded in stalling the German campaigns in

this manner before Moscow, at Rostov and finally at Stalingrad. After each set-back the Nazi supreme command had to plan afresh and, new reserves of men and material had to be sent to the field. Major alterations had to be made in the commands and drastic changes had to be made in the strategy of the assault in the matters of venue, tactical moves and the method of approach to seize the initiative. The Russians knew that they had not a ghost of a chance to obtain a decision on the field in their favour without the full weight of Allied intervention on a major continental scale in the West, which would force a substantial diversion of the forces of the Nazi High Command from the Eastern front to the West. And so they confined their counter-thrusts and winter-campaigns to limited objectives, which merely aimed at throwing the German campaigns out-of-gear, inflicting heavy losses in men and high wastages in material on the Germans thereby. Realization of the implications of such methods of warfare dawned on the Nazi war-lords after Stalingrad and with characteristic efficiency they changed their strategy from offence to defence in order to meet the imminent threat on the South and the West. That the defence plan was well thought-out and placed in capable hands is proved by the survival of the defence forces in the face of colossal disasters caused by the defections of all its allies in the West with the exception of the Hungarian fighting forces. This thrust by F. M. Rundstedt is thus just one more move according to plan. "Aachen as Xmas present" and "Paris in New Year" is just so much ballyhoo by Allied news retailers for place names are of little moment in warfare on the continental scale. The German is fighting for time, time to add to and perfect his defences, to his reserves of men now in training and to his reserve of latest weapons, and the measure of his success is by the measure of time by which he can prolong this war.

It might be argued that the Russians could look forward to the day when the Western Allies formed the Second front and brought into action their vast resources in men and material against the enemy. They knew that once the Allies landed in France the battle in the West would be as exacting in costs to the Nazi resources as in the East and sooner or later the Axis war-machine would break under the load of the tremendous odds against it. But what have the Germans to look forward to, that they thus are trying to take a leaf out of the Soviet book of defensive warfare? Apparent they have nothing—or have they? Japan's latest campaign in China provides much food for thought in that respect. As things stand,

already the U.S.A. has made substantial diversions of fighting forces to the Far Eastern theatre and indications are that still more and more troops and plans and material of war will have to be sent to that area. The Allied Supreme Command has had to modify its own dictum of "Asia must wait" already and if the war in Europe lengthens out to the end of 1945, then major alterations will have to be made in its plans. Japan did not wait though the rest of Asia had to perforce and it is gradually dawning on the Allied war-lords that further delay might be dangerous.

But will the Germans succeed in their attempts to gain time? This is a question for the Allied Supreme Command to answer. The situation in Luxembourg and Belgium at the time of writing (27-12-44) is too fluid for others to draw any conclusions. If Rundstedt succeeds in taking Liege and in consolidating for the winter on the line of the Meuse down to the approach to Sedan, then the Allied plans for the spring offensive would be handicapped.

In Italy the fight for the plains of the river Po blazed up about the middle of December and is still continuing in the pulsating manner that has marked the Italian campaign all along. We wrote in a previous issue that the Germans would probably stage a stubborn defence here, as beyond the Po the terrain would be in favour of the Allied forces due to their preponderance in the weight of armour.

In Hungary the battle for Budapest has now mounted to a climax. The Soviets' winter campaign has also started in the North and also on the Slovak border. The difficulties facing the Russians in this year's winter-campaign are peculiar, as we have remarked before, and therefore continuous long-term battering of the German positions have not been possible up till now. Even now the offensive has not mounted up to the proportions of the previous campaigns, though there are signs that the Soviets have solved their supply problems to some extent.

In the Far-East the Chinese have fought the Japanese campaign to a standstill. There is a welcome respite from the pressure on the slender and vanishing resources of China. The situation is far from the re-assuring as yet though the immediate danger seems to have passed. In the Philippines Leyte has been freed from the Japanese. This is a substantial gain for the Allies and it will probably aid the U.S.A. plans for a major offensive against Japan to a very great extent. Luzon and Mindanao have to be brought under American control, however, before the Japanese inner sea-lines can be cut, and that is the main objective before the Allies.

A NEW SOURCE OF MARATHA HISTORY

By SRI JADUNATH SARKAR, KT., C.I.E., D.Litt.

At the end of the year 1771, Mahadji Sindhia rose to unmistakable prominence in Indian politics by the leading part that he took in restoring the exiled Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II to his capital at Delhi. Then followed years of stagnation and gloom for him owing to the premature death of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I (18 Nov. 1772), the murder of his successor Narayan Rao (30 Aug. 1773) and the civil war that broke out in Maharashtra against the next Peshwa Raghunath Rao. The English merchants of Bombay seized the opportunity of this internal weakness of the Puna Government to intervene and annex Maratha territory on the west coast (December 1774). The Maratha national leaders, popularly known as the *Bara-bhai*, patriotically met the challenge and war ensued with the English and the local traitor whom they supported. This is known as the First Maratha War, though it really consisted of two separate conflicts which were rightly styled in some contemporary English histories as the First and Second Maratha Wars. The treaty of Salbai in May 1782 put an end to them, recognising Mahadji Sindhia as guarantor of its terms to the English.

This people's war brought to the front two national leaders of unrivalled ability and character: Nana Fadnis the statesman and Mahadji Sindhia the soldier and diplomat. The work of the latter survives to our day. From the Convention of Wargaum (January 1779) in this war to the day of his own death on 12 Feb. 1794, Mahadji Sindhia dominated contemporary Indian history in North and South alike. He was the friend and "patron" of the English and the Regent Plenipotentiary (*Wakil-i-mutlaq*) of the Mughal Empire after December 1784, and his successor Daulat Rao Sindhia continued to hold that commanding post till his reduction by Wellesley in 1803.

Therefore, no history of India in the last quarter of the 18th century can be complete which does not use the original Marathi and Persian State-papers and news-reports emanating from the courts of these two Sindhias or the camps of their generals. Hitherto our best sources of the history of Mahadji were the letters relating to this period (published by Rajwade in his *Sadhanen*, vol. 12) and the despatches sent to Nana Fadnis by that minister's envoys (*wakils*) stationed in Mahadji's camp (printed by Parasnis and reprinted by the Gwalior Darbar). These are supplemented by the reports, also in Marathi, sent by the Peshwa's agents at Delhi (the Hingane family) and also (though incidentally) by Nana

Fadnis's agents at the Court of Ahalya Bai Holkar (both series printed by Parasnis), besides a mass of Persian news-letters called *akhbarat* written by professional 'reporters of events' (called *wagha-navises*) kept at the Emperor's Court or in Sindhia's camp by prominent princes and nobles. This last class of records has not yet been printed, or even fully listed.

The Marathi despatches and news-letters sent from Mahadji Sindhia's camp run in an unbroken stream so long as Mahadji was absent in Northern India. But after his return to Puna in June 1792, they naturally ceased, because Nana and Mahadji being now at the same place there was no occasion to send such information about the one to the other in writing. This gap in our materials is filled by Persian *akhbarats* from the Peshwa's Court and Mahadji's camp written in Puna for employers in Northern India, such as the Nawab of Oudh, the English Council in Calcutta and others. A mass of these manuscript newspapers covering the years 1793-1795 are preserved in the British Museum (London). I have worked through photographs of them belonging to Kumar Raghuvir Sinh.

But these Persian "private press reports" from Puna do not supply us with any information (except at second hand or hearsay) about the happenings in Sindhia's dominions and spheres of influence in Northern India. *Akhbarats* were undoubtedly sent from those places to the Peshwa and the two Sindhias at Puna during these ten years, but they no longer survive among the Peshwas' Daftar in Puna and the Sindhia archives at Gwalior.

This gap has most happily been filled by the recent exploration of the *Gulgule Daftar*, preserved in the Sarola House in the city of Kotah. These are the property of a family of Saraswat Brahmans surnamed Gulgule who were placed at Kotah as the managers of the Maratha tributes from Rajputana as early as 1740. The founder of the family Balaji Yashwant and his son Lalaji Ballal cover between them the long period from about 1734 to 1810. Balaji started his career as a clerk of Sindhia about 1733 and rose to be *Kamavisdar* or Commissioner of tribute collection for Sindhia at Kotah.

Kotah was for a long time the pivot of Maratha interests in Rajputana, Malwa and further north, and a convenient half-way house between Delhi and Poona, being just at the gate of the Mukundara Pass. Money governed the unending military operations of the Marathas, and Gulgule at Kotah was constantly kept

informed of the developments of their campaigns and diplomacy. He received frequent despatches from Sindhia's captains, envoys and civil administrators in various places, reporting the progress of events, the substance of the letters received by Mahadji and his orders on them, and the diplomatic moves in which they were engaged. Besides, Gulgule like other high officers had his own paid news writer at his master's court or camp. Thus, after Mahadji Sindhia's arrival at Puna in June 1792, this is the only source from which we get *inside* information in full detail about the sayings and doings of Mahadji and of his chief officers. The Persian *akhbarats* mentioned above and the Marathi letters in Khare's *Aitihasik Lekh Samgraha* often give only the current reports and echoes of original information. Lalaji Ballal's agent, Jagannath Vishwanath, wrote to his master from Puna during 1791-94, full details of the affairs at the Peshwa's Court, and Sindhia's moves and fortunes there. These letters are an invaluable corrective and supplement to the letters of the Southern Maratha jagirdars printed by Khare in many volumes.

For the period 1789-1802, when the Sindhia-Holkar rivalry dominated and distracted the history of Rajputana, Malwa and Puna, one would naturally look for the primary sources of information in the record offices of the Gwalior and Indore States. But the old historical papers of the Holkars were badly burnt in a fire in the wooden house where they were stored, and only their charred fragments have been printed in three or four thin volumes by the Indore Darbar. Hence, this side of the case is practically silent except for the book *Holkaranchi Kaifiyat* which is open to doubt as a later compilation, written in 1824 on the basis of hearsay and traditions and not quoting original documents.

As for the Sindhias, the record office at Gwalior contains only a few historical papers for the period before 1803, and these are of second-rate or third-rate importance, often relating to money matters only. After 1803 the records in the English language are profuse and most authoritative, except for the small domestic concerns of these two States. The full correspondence, both letters received and sent out, of the successive British Residents with Sindhia have been published in five volumes in the "Poona Residency Correspondence Series" (Bombay Govt. Press),—the last of them being under preparation.

Thus it happens that the Gulgule Daftar is of supreme importance, and in some points our only source, for the history of Mahadji Sindhia from 1792 to 1794 and also for the Sindhia-Holkar relations from the rise of Jaswant Rao

Holkar at the beginning of 1799 to the neutralisation of Daulat Rao Sindhia by Wellesley in the first months of 1804. On the early career of Jaswant Rao Holkar, the Gulgule Daftar contains the only original sources in Marathi that I know of, and these documents with their exact dates and precise details, very usefully supplement, and where necessary correct, the memoirs of Bhawani Shankar Bakhshi written in Persian. In fact, no full history either of Mahadji Sindhia or of Jaswant Rao Holkar can be written unless the Gulgule records relating to them are printed.

The Gulgule records change in character as we pass from the year 1742 when they begin to 1785, when Sindhia became regent of the Emperor. At first the letters are very short, mostly bare entries or orders about small money transactions or land rights and similar commonplace things, without the least historical significance. But after 1785 they become despatches, giving authentic accounts of battles and diplomatic negotiations, announcements of policy, or exact reports of the speeches and doings of the chiefs on the two sides. Here we get State-papers in the true sense of the term, written on the spot by competent agents and exactly dated. An example may be here cited: the detailed study of the Lakheri campaign of De Boigne (1793) which I had composed with great labour and thought from the previously known materials, had to be vitally changed and corrected after the Gulgule papers on the subject were made available to me.

In addition to the Marathi records, the Sarola House archives contain a number of Persian letters written to Lalaji Ballal or to Zalim Singh (through Lalaji) on behalf of the French commanders of Sindhia, such as De Boigne, Perron, Bourquien, &c. by their Persian secretaries (*munshis*). But they are of no historical importance, in not being despatches on campaigns, but mostly conventional letters referring to petty matters. On them, however, we get the exact signatures of these officers and also impressions of their Persian seals.

The despatches and news-letters in the Marathi language in the Gulgule collection number over 5,000. They have been carefully preserved and sorted according to the different chiefs to whom or for whom they were written. This work was done by their late owner Pandit Purushottam Rao Gulgule about 20 years ago. He permitted Sardar Anand Rao Bhau Phalke, a noble of the Gwalior State, to transcribe them from the Modi script of the originals into Devanagari characters, and to publish them. Phalke printed two volumes of selections from these archives; the first (printed in 1929) contains 296 very short documents

relating to the family of Sindhias from Ranoji (the founder of the house) to Ravloji, 9 persons, covering the years 1742-1767; his second volume (printed in 1930) is made up of 198 letters from the Peshwas, the Pawars of Dhar and Dewas, the Gaekwads, and the Holkars, from 1738 to 1814. But both volumes are very scanty, as not a single despatch or news-letter relating to any of these chiefs has been included, because the latter class of records are not *letters* written by them! No letter of Mahadji Sindhia has been yet printed, as Sardar Phalke reserved this chief's correspondence for future publication on account of their vast size which demands several volumes to deal with them exhaustively.

The present head of the Gulgule family Pandit Chandra Kant has very kindly permitted Maharaj-Kumar Raghuvir Sinh, D.Litt., LL.B., the heir of the Maharajah of Sitamau (in Malwa) to take typed copies of these records. All lovers of Indian history must pray that this highly enlightened and liberal prince will be able to publish the very cream and truly unique portion of the Gulgule archives,—namely, the records of Mahadji and Daulat Rao Sindhia, under the competent editorship of Rao Bahadur Govind Rao Sardesai, soon enough to enable the older generation of students of Maratha history like myself to use them before we leave the earthly scene.

SOME NON-POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

I

WHAT, it may be asked by many not friendly to our only all-India non-communal political organisation, has the Indian National Congress done so far? A complete answer to a question like this should cover so many points and concern itself with so many aspects of national life that one naturally shrinks from undertaking such an onerous task. Naturally the answer which comes first of all to our mind is its achievements in the sphere of political progress. It may point with just pride to the progressive advance made in widening our liberties and claim that these have been secured mainly, if not wholly, on account of the repeated demands made by this organisation and the self-sacrifice and devotion of very large number of its members who have courted imprisonment and even physical pain in order to put pressure on an alien unsympathetic bureaucracy.

It is not intended to deal here with those political advances for the securing of which the activities of the Congress are responsible, but to discuss certain other improvements in our all-India condition which the present writer regards as the outcome of the activities of this great organisation.

II

Ever since the foundation of the Indian National Congress, it has always carried on a vigorous campaign for the inclusion of Indians in the various branches of the public services. Even up to the seventies of the last century, the highest of Indian ambitions was limited to appointment as the Principal Sudder Amin on the Judicial and as the Deputy Magistrate on the Executive side. No one could then imagine that an Indian could aspire to the position of a Session Judge or a District Magistrate. The present writer has heard from his father that when in 1871, three Bengalis forced their way into the I.C.S., the late Rev. K. M. Banerjee, always known for his balanced judgment and the sobriety of his language, described their success as the "second great battle of Plassey fought on British soil." Since that time, many such battles of Plassey have been fought and won but without attracting much public notice. Even the most careless comparison of the Civil List of the period just referred to with any of today will show what progress has been made in this direction all of which, it is maintained, represents

gains made by the country through the constant agitation carried on by our great national organisation.

Today we see Indians occupying the highest possible positions everywhere and administering the country in various different capacities with skill and success but into this it is not necessary to enter. Only those who have any knowledge and recollection of those older days can fully appreciate the robust optimism which urged the Congress to demand the legitimate rights of Indians in no uncertain voice and to continue insisting on them till they had been secured.

There is, however, still a sharp distinction between the Provincial and Imperial services as well as special provisions for safeguarding the interests of a certain class of the servants of India. National India does not feel the slightest doubt that it too will disappear. In this connection, something ought also to be said about the rapid Indianisation of the Army which has been forced on the British administration by the exigencies of the present war but it is such an important matter that the present writer will content himself with merely making the barest reference to it.

III

Bengal and Madras had long an indigenous textile industry but they had been ruined by the importation of cheap foreign textiles from Lancashire. It was in 1905 that Bengal launched the boycott movement as a protest against partition. The present writer has vivid recollections of the mammoth meeting held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, where there was an audience said to have numbered between thirty and thirty-five thousand. There were three meetings held simultaneously—one on the first and the second on the ground floor of the Town Hall but the largest was held in the *maidan* opposite the Town Hall. The boycott movement spread like wild-fire all over India and it was then that the British administration came to realise the intensity of the opposition this uncalculated-for measure had provoked as well as the strength and the unity which lay behind the boycott movement. The Congress did not formally sanction the boycott but gave its approval to *Swadeshi*.

The first to benefit were the Bombay mills. They had to be enlarged again and again. There was greater demand for hand-woven stuff. We next had small-scale

and cottage industries supplying many of our major wants and every Indian is aware to what extent we are growing self-sufficient. Large-scale Indian industries have also come to stay. But these are too well-known to require any but the barest mention. It is the Congress and the Congress alone which gave the required fillip to industry and it has thus indirectly met many of our most crying needs. In conclusion, to fill in this barest of sketches, reference has to be made to the organisation of the National Planning Committee and the unfortunate circumstances under which its activities have been suspended.

IV

It was Hume, the "father of the Indian National Congress" who, in laying down the aims and objects of our national organisation, said that they were "the regeneration of India on all lines, spiritual, moral, social, industrial and political," though at the same time he added that the energies of the Congress were to be principally "directed to national and political objects upon which the whole country was able to stand on a common ground." Later on, another friend of the Congress, Sir William Wedderburn, pointed out how "the workers for political progress were the most active friends of social reform."

Who of the elder generation does not remember the question of sea-voyage and how it was tackled by the older race of Congressmen so that it has today ceased to be a problem at all? We are now concerned with another and still more difficult problem, the problem of the *Harijans* and of untouchability. This too is being boldly faced everywhere. When they were in office, the different Congress ministries made educational grants for the uplift of this backward community. The use of public wells and roads by *Harijans*, their proper treatment in schools, dispensaries and hospitals and temple entry are now insisted on. The present writer confesses his inability to give an adequate description of the value of the work done by Mahatma Gandhi both through his own efforts and through the *Harijan Seva Sangh* in this direction.

In addition to the campaign against untouchability carried on by the *Seva Sangh*, we also find that the destruction of caste exclusiveness has been hastened by the national struggle for political freedom. Common ideals and common sufferings have brought the different classes closer to one another. In the jails, members of all castes mixed freely and came to know and love one another. Then again, the distinction between the rich and the poor was obliterated and new bonds of sympathy forged between them. It was in the jails that the economically prosperous Congressmen came to learn something about the miseries of their poorer brethren and the oppression to which they are only too often subjected. The first-hand knowledge acquired in this way explains the whole-hearted enthusiasm with which the richer and the more influential have given their moral and financial support to organisations, such as the All-India Spinners' Association, the All-India Village Industries Association, the *Harijan Seva Sangh*, the Wardha Scheme of Education and the Prohibition policy of the Congress.

V

Three years after its foundation, the Congress alarmed by a large increase in the consumption of liquor entered a demand for a policy to promote temperance. This led to an increase in the import duty on foreign spirits, the imposition of excise duty on Indian-brewed malt liquors, the abolition of the outstill system in Bengal and the closing of more than 7,000 liquor shops in Madras in 1889-90. Ten years later at the Lahore sessions, the Congress passed a resolution in which a further rapid increase in the consumption of alcohol was ascribed to the "cheap supply of liquor" rendered possible by the indifference of the administration to the

problem of intemperance. Recommending the enacting of legislation to discourage the easy availability of liquor and the imposition of additional taxation upon intoxicants not intended to be used as medicines, the Congress stated that unless these or similar steps were taken immediately

"the moral, material, and physical deterioration of those classes among whom liquor etc., have obtained a firm hold would be inevitable; and as intoxicants have already affected the great labouring class, the benevolent intention of the Government to help the growth of the Indian arts and industries would bear no fruit."

As the Congress became more and more broad-based, the new blood that entered it and which had more intimate contact with the masses and sympathised with their miseries, came to the conclusion that hesitating measures such as an increase in the duty would merely scotch the evil but would never kill it. These people also noticed a serious increase in the consumption of narcotics as also that the use of drink and drugs was growing more and more extensive in the rural areas so much so that, in most provinces, the revenue from excise formed a considerable proportion of the total revenue. This explains why total prohibition became one of the planks of the Congress platform from 1920 and why it was pressed on the attention of the people and a large volume of public opinion in favour of it was sought to be created by Congress leaders not the least among whom was Mahatma Gandhi.

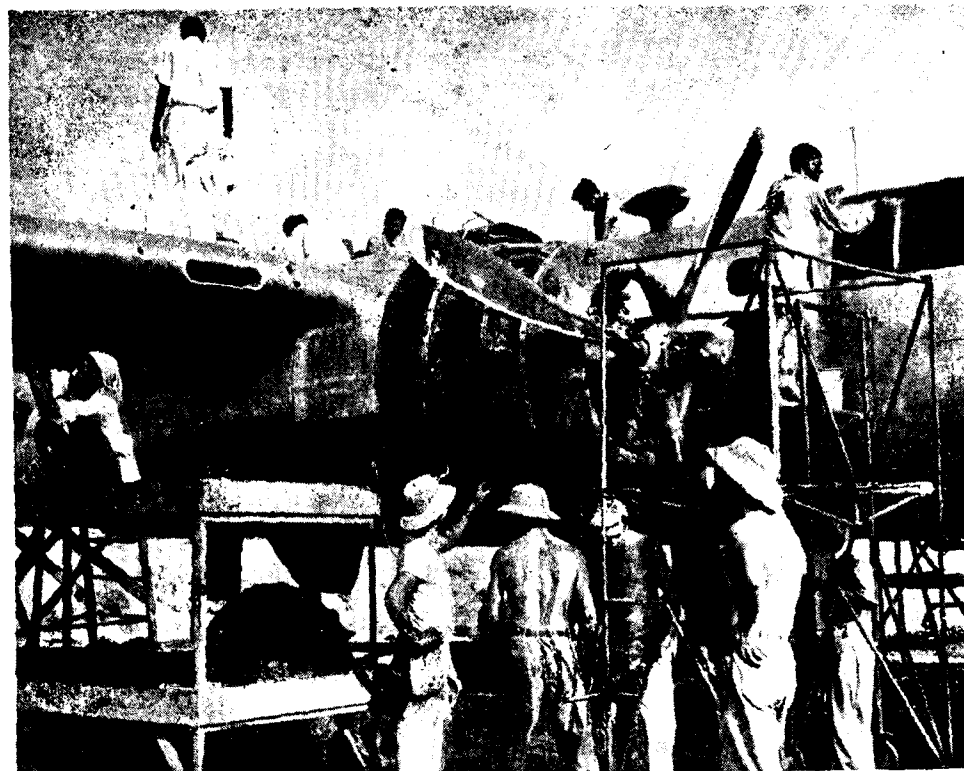
This move received little support from the British administration which probably held that it was a political stunt to capture the imagination of the masses. Dr. Ansari, the nationalist Muslim leader, was referring to this unsympathetic attitude of our rulers when he said,

"Forbidden by his religion to the Mussalman and held pernicious by the Hindu, the evil of drink would not have spread so rapidly and extensively, had the Government taken sympathetic attitude towards those who were endeavouring to stop it."

Though the necessity of prohibition was urged on the country by Congressmen from 1920, the movement assumed its most militant form during the Civil Disobedience Movement when shops selling liquor and drugs were picketed with very great success by women most of whom belonged to highly connected and prosperous families. Two or three of them would be seated on chairs, sometimes provided by the shop-keepers. Every one would have a badge with a number and a book of printed forms in which the names of those who patronised these shops were entered. An appeal would be made to them not to buy and if it failed, a letter enclosing "temperance" literature and some sort of pledge was posted to them.

The campaign was carried on up to the time of the introduction of Provincial autonomy when Congress ministries were formed in some of our provinces. The seriousness of the menace was realised only when it was found that the revenue from drink and drugs constituted as much as 25 per cent of the total revenue of Bombay, Madras and Bihar and 20 per cent or more of the revenue of the Central Provinces, the United Provinces and Assam. In spite of the inelasticity of the revenue structure, the different Congress ministries took immediate steps to introduce prohibition in certain restricted areas and, to make up the loss, taxed the rich with the anticipated result of incurring their hostility. It is a regrettable fact that, little by little, prohibition has been withdrawn on the plea that it leads to the illicit manufacture of liquor, smuggling, etc.

The one thing, however, with which we are concerned here is that the introduction of prohibition has reformed many a drunkard and drug addict so that today their families have at least the happiness of knowing that the whole of their earnings is spent on providing the necessities of life. The present writer has



Indian mechanics work under the direction of U.S. Engineers on a B-25 at a field somewhere in India



These dogs and their trainers are attached to the Marauders, the American infantry troops that fought for the city of Myitkyina, Burma

Courtesy: USOWI



Britain's harvest is being gathered in Sussex by tractors driven by Land Girls



Accompanied by parishioners, members of the Women's Land Army and Young Farmers' Club, the Bishop of Salisbury passes through a wheat field blessing Britain's crops

met many such persons in different parts of India and is therefore in a position to vouch for the correctness of the opinion expressed above. The one thing about which he is certain is that though indulgence in stimulants and narcotics is easier than in the days when the Congress ministries were enforcing their prohibition policy, there can be little doubt that the example of these reformed drunkards and drug addicts must open the eyes of their friends and neighbours as regards the benefits derivable from abstinence—indeed a valuable contribution to their economic betterment.

VI

The Civil Disobedience Movement very greatly accelerated the disappearance of the *purdah* and the awakening of women. Many women came out of the *purdah* for the first time and never went back. Ladies belonging to the highest and wealthiest aristocratic Hindu families as also ladies belonging to the wealthiest Parsi families picketed liquor shops and shops selling foreign cloth, led processions, were handled roughly, often beaten and flung into jail.

The present writer has seen an enthusiastic Congress woman, the wife of a Hindu holding the very highest of official positions, dragged by the hair of her head by an Indian police constable in front of College Square, Calcutta, and in the presence and under the eyes of a non-Indian Commissioner of Police, not fit to black her shoes. It is true that she was breaking the law by picketing the Presidency (Government) College but what he witnessed he considered deliberate "frightfulness." Jawaharlal Nehru has told us in his autobiography how even his frail mother was beaten. This happened not here and there but all over India and only cases concerned with people occupying high positions attracted public attention and called forth public comments. It was when our women in their thousands were treated thus that the iron entered into our soul and we felt what Englishmen must have felt when only one Englishwoman had been ill-treated at Amritsar during the troublous days in the Punjab.

Thanks, however, to Mahatma Gandhi the resentment natural as it was, never found any expression in violence. And violence too in a disarmed country would have been useless. Probably this was as much responsible as the principle of soul force in keeping the country quiet. It had, however, one very beneficial effect. *Purdah*, at least among Congresswomen, disappeared for good. Only yesterday, the U.P., had a woman minister. A lady belonging to a very respectable and highly connected Muslim family was the very active secretary of a coolies' union in a city of North India when the present writer visited it three years ago. Two of the most prominent socialists are women. Truly, out of evil cometh good. Today we have Hindu and Mussalman women members in the different provincial assemblies.

VII

When engaged in conducting the campaign against the oppression of the ryots by the European indigo planters of Champaran in Bihar, Gandhiji had observed that in meeting these poor men he felt that he was face to face with God, Ahimsa and Truth. But it would be a mistake to suppose that a burning love for the masses is confined to him only. Vallabhbhai Patel has said,

"If any one is fit to walk with his head erect on this earth, it is the peasant. He is the producer, the others are parasites."

Along with these great men, leaders like Jawaharlal, Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, etc., had realised the appalling poverty of the peasant because of his enforced idleness for periods varying from four to six months every year due to lack of supplementary occupations. Congressmen, as a class, began to feel sympathy with the masses when such among them as

had participated in the different attempts made to enlarge India's political powers, were sent to jail where intimate contact was established with them.

Gandhiji's suggestion that hand-spinning along with hand-weaving offers an immediate, practical and permanent solution of this our most vital problem, unemployment with its concomitant, chronic under-nourishment, was enthusiastically accepted. All understood that India had ample supplies of the raw material and that no appliances beyond the means of the masses were required for implementing the *khadi* programme. Its value lay in the fact that it could be taken up and laid aside at the convenience of the operator, that it could, by supplying all the cloth required by him, reduce the expenditure he has to incur for procuring this necessary of life and that even two annas a day, small as the amount undoubtedly is, promises a substantial addition to the very meagre earnings of the agricultural population living on the verge of starvation.

The extent of economic benefit which can be derived by the adoption of the *khadi* programme becomes evident when we remember that only 10 crores go towards the payment of the wages of cotton operatives in our Indian mills which are normally said to manufacture cotton textiles worth about Rs. 50 crores whereas the sale of *khadi* of the same value would mean the payment of Rs. 35 crores as wages to the workers.

The All-India Spinners' Association, originally organised by Mahatma Gandhi, recently severed all connection with the Congress mainly because it was felt that no handle should be given to the critics and opponents of the latter to describe it as part of its political machinery to influence public opinion. According to the report of the All-India Spinners' Association for the year 1940, it provided work for more than 275,000 villagers including nearly 20,000 *Harijans* and nearly 58,000 Muslims who received as wages nearly 35 lakhs while the value of the *khadi* produced was about Rs. 50 lakhs. It has to be remembered that the figures given above do not take into account probably still larger numbers engaged in similar work though not under the direct supervision and control of the All-India Spinners' Association.

The attention of the reader may now be drawn to the light in which the *khadi* programme is regarded by a well-known Western thinker. G. D. H. Cole on page 290 of his *Guide to Modern Politics* says,

"Gandhi's campaign for the development of the home made clothes industry, *Khaddar*, is no mere fad of a romantic age to revive the standard of the Indian villager."

This is why the present writer regards it as one of the most precious non-political contributions of the Congress to our national well-being.

VIII

The impact of Western industrialised civilisation on our old agricultural economic order has implied not only loss of employment for our rural craftsmen and increasing pressure on an already overburdened land, but also expenditure which he cannot always afford by the rural buyer for the purchase of manufactured articles which he cannot do without. In other cases, it has meant the substitution of less for more lasting articles and adulterated for pure foodstuffs. What is most regrettable is the unexampled rapidity with which our rural arts and crafts have been disappearing.

It has also been realised that the fundamental problem of India, like that of almost every other country in the world, is the adoption of effective measures for the gradual increase in the volume of employment and that industrialisation is no cure for large-scale unemployment. Improvements in technical processes merely mean cheapening the cost of production through displacement of industrial labour, a fact

amply proved by what Mr. Philip Murray, Chairman of the Steel Workers' Organising Committee, said on the 6th May, 1940, in the *New Republic*,

"The continuous automatic steel strip enables 126 men to do the work previously performed by 4,512."

So far as India is concerned, Mahatma Gandhi with his accustomed clarity emphasised the difficult problem we have to face when he remarked that

"Mechanisation is good when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work as is the case in India. The problem, therefore, with us is labour absorption and not labour saving machinery."

The aim of the All-India Village Industries Association organised in 1934 by the Congress under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, was the resuscitation and popularisation of our village arts and crafts in order that we might use our raw materials in the areas where they are produced or in places as close to them as possible thus ensuring a continuous demand for them and a fair price for their producers. The second object was the supply of adequate quantities of manufactures at prices within the reach of the poor consumers. The third purpose was the providing of employment for our village craftsmen and, along with it, the reduction of the pressure on the land. The fundamental idea was to make the villages prosperous by making them self-sufficient and to decentralise production thus avoiding the evils of capitalism.

On the first page of the Report of the All-India Village Industries Association for 1941 we find the following account of its activities:

"The Association fixed on a minimum wage, organised exhibitions and museums to demonstrate the possibilities of persons taking to village industries, carried on propaganda to make the village people conscious, and develop their economic thought along decentralisation of industries."

Industries like paddy husking and flour grinding, oil pressing, *gur* making, bee keeping, paper and soap making, tanning and leather work, coir spinning and weaving, mat and basket making, slate pencil manufacturing, horn work, button making, etc., have been started in suitable villages. In 1935, the Gram Sevak Vidyalaya was organised to train students in various village industries. Along with the above, the Association also carried on village uplift and rural welfare work. No one can deny the valuable nature of the services sought to be rendered to the masses by this purely non-political activity of the Congress.

IX

Recognising the intimate connection between illiteracy on the one hand and poverty, ill-health and superstition on the other, Mahatma Gandhi outlined his scheme of Primary education in 1937. This, either in the form he gave it or with modifications to suit local needs, has captured the imagination of India. To realise its true place in the educational system, we must remember that it is meant for villages where the percentage of illiteracy is much higher than in towns, that it aims at imparting what may be characterised as practical literacy and familiarity with some useful handicraft and that one of its objects is to prevent the rush of rural folk to large urban centres. Its special feature is that the whole of the elementary school curriculum centres round a basic handicraft which, in its turn, leads to several subsidiary occupations.

There seems little doubt that its adoption with such variations as may be found necessary in different areas, would revolutionise village education within a few years provided the different political organisations could be persuaded to withdraw their opposition to it mainly because it comes from what many of them regard as a dubious quarter. The present writer with over four

decades of educational work to his credit holds the above view as he regards it as the most practical attempt at a type of education that has its roots in village life. In addition, he believes that the mass drive against adult illiteracy sponsored by the Congress ministries during their limited period of power and continued, though with less intensity, after they had withdrawn from office, owes nearly all its inspiration to the efforts made to popularise mass education through this scheme.

X

It did not take the Congress long to realise the importance of having one common language through which a man from say a province like Bengal could make himself understood say in Maharashtra or Tamilnad. Though it is perfectly true that English has played a valuable role in the interchange of ideas between Western educated people belonging to different provinces, it cannot be denied that it is useless as a means of communication where the masses are concerned. There is also the fact that the United India which nationalists envisage will require a medium of national self-expression which cannot but be one or other of the so-called Indian vernaculars. While there are objections to the selection of that particular type of Hindi which one authority has very happily called "Bazar Hindusthani," with its words drawn from Sanskrit, Persian and Urdu sources, for South India specially does not know much of it, we cannot deny that it is spoken in a more or less modified form more largely and that it is more widely understood than any other Indian language.

The steps taken by the Congress to popularise this language were characterised probably more by enthusiasm than by discretion and its political opponents did not fail to take advantage of the mistake made. But as they have no constructive suggestion to offer and moreover as the need for an all-India language is recognised, it is difficult to see by what other equally widely understood language it can be substituted. Under these circumstances, the establishment of an organisation for the popularisation of an all-India means of communication seems a distinct service. The use of Hindi or variants of it in the cinemas is also another pointer to the evolution of this common language for the whole of India and this too may fairly be regarded as one of the by-products of nationalism.

XI

It cannot be denied that, by temperament, the average Indian is unwilling to assert himself even when he has justice on his side. A little reflection will show what a marvellous change for the better has come over his character under the stress of the no-tax and the no-rent campaigns as well as other militant forms of the Civil Disobedience Movement. It is admitted that critics of the Congress are not altogether wrong when they contend that the adoption of what has been called "direct action" has brought in indiscipline as against which it has developed a capacity for suffering, a new type of pugnacity displaying itself by not striking back when struck and a self-confidence to which the Indian had been a stranger for generations.

The transformation referred to here is noticeable not only among those who defied the British administration and had to pay the penalty for doing so but also among those who stood by and watched the struggle from a distance. And what is still more remarkable is the fact that this psychological change noticed first among the leaders, nearly all of whom were drawn from different layers of the middle classes, was later on manifested by the masses whose patient endurance of all kinds of oppression has been noted and commented on by most non-Indian observers.

Gandhiji, the sincerest and most consistent exponent of Ahimsa, had given India the political *mantram*, "*Swaraj* is the abandonment of the fear of death. A nation which allows itself to be influenced by the fear of death cannot attain *Swaraj*, and cannot retain it if somehow attained. . . . We are not yet completely free because we are not prepared to look death quietly in the face."

Not content with merely giving this *mantram*, Gandhiji taught by his own example that the one and only way to freedom is absolute fearlessness with the result that thousands, if not lakhs, of Indians not only accepted the message but also acted up to it. It was astonishing to see a whole nation including the generally timorous down-trodden masses throwing off, as it were overnight, what an Englishman has called "the mental bonds of servitude" and acquiring a new dignity through sheer cold courage. The process commencing in the days of the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1920-22, found its consummation in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-32 when an Indian commenting on what he had seen wrote as follows, in June, 1930:

"The national upheaval has well-nigh broken the mental bonds of slavery. Man, woman and child are learning to hold their heads high and breathe as free beings. The dread of imprisonment is gone. The fear of bullets and lathis is also going."

In his *India and the Simon Report*, Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews was referring to this wonderful psychological change when, after giving a patient hearing to an Indian friend who was bitterly condemning the Non-Co-operation Movement, he asked the very pertinent question,

"Does the Indian villager today stand up to the Englishman more fearlessly than before? Has he become less afraid of the Government official, of the landowner, and of the police?"

and the Indian, after a very long pause replied, "You're right, I never thought of that. Of course there is no comparison. The villager looks every man in the face today."

That this new fearlessness even in the face of death was not confined to the villager was demonstrated most clearly in Bombay when a young and humble Congress-worker drawn from the poverty-stricken working classes was run over and killed by a motor lorry carrying foreign piece-goods while offering Satyagraha by lying in front of it.

As the funeral procession that escorted the dead body of this poor and unknown boy was passing to the burning ghat, people were astonished to see that Hindu women who never attend funerals were carrying the bier along with the men. Still more wonderful was the fact that although no Hindu female may light the pyre even of her husband, father, brother or son, it was a Brahmin woman of the most exclusive sect and family who set fire to the funeral pyre of this youth.

It was thus that under the stress of common suffering, new bonds between the rich and the poor were forged. Even if they weaken with time, it is not likely that they will disappear altogether. The Congress and the Congress alone should get the credit for the establishment of this new relationship between the Indian classes and the Indian masses.

XII

Still another remarkable result of the conscious or unconscious imbibing of Congress teachings has been a marked improvement in the character of Indians in general. This naturally enough comes under the notice of a man like the present writer who has lived long enough to compare what was to be seen nearly seventy years ago with what one sees today. In every grade of society, there is a greater love of truth, a more passionate hatred of insincerity and a larger measure of

admiration for uprightness. People no longer show any backwardness in giving public expression to their convictions and to pay the penalties contingent on doing so. It is true that these qualities, praiseworthy in their own way, occasionally display themselves in undesirable forms specially among the educated young men and young women. None the less we must hope for the disappearance of their objectionable features and the retention of those only that are admirable.

The present writer for one can never sufficiently admire the obstinacy often displayed by Bengali youngmen in refusing to get married before they are in a position to support their families. The disintegration of the joint family system is another very welcome sign of a change of heart brought about by the urge for self-respect and economic independence which ever goes hand in hand with the desire for political independence.

Then again, the insistent demand for better treatment, the readiness with which gratuitous insults whatever the quarter from which they proceed are resented and, above all, the claims for justice and fairness are all more or less due to that independence of character which has been fostered by constant Congress propaganda. That cringing servility which has been the shame and the disgrace of India's manhood and to which Lord Macaulay made such caustic reference is no longer the rule either in official or public life. The restoration of the self-respect of Indians as a class had come first of all in the days of the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1920-22 but it had not touched directly or indirectly so many Indians as the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-32. Here in addition to the thousands who actively participated in it and most of whom paid the penalty for their temerity in ways about which the future dispassionate historian of Indian nationalism will have much to say provided the records are not destroyed or placed beyond his reach, there were others, numbering millions, who in spite of their fundamental ideological differences with the Congress felt a glow of pride when they realised the steadiness with which sufferings were borne and were stirred to the inner depths of their beings when they contrasted the gallantry of their countrymen and countrywomen against what appeared to them, at least in those hectic days, as the calculated frightfulness of an administration which claimed to be civilised and to be present in our country for the benefit of its people.

When Gandhiji after his march from the 12th March to the 5th April, lasting for 24 days in which he and his followers covered about 200 miles, lifted a piece of salt from the sea-side on the morning of the 6th April, 1930 without paying the tax, he was doing exactly what had been done more than a century before in the famous Boston tea party—asserting the freedom of the Indian people as a matter of right. In the frail, weak old man defying the mightiest empire in the world, India saw herself, poor, helpless and unarmed, asserting not merely her right to self-determination in the political sphere but also the acquiring by her children of a new dignity and a new self-respect. No one who calls himself an Indian will care to deny that, here, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress was rendering a service to the people of this country which no other organisation in our motherland had ever even dreamt of performing.

Formerly, Indians patiently endured the results of natural calamities and, if relief came, it was received from official sources. It was very rare to find Indians organising themselves for doing this kind of work. Today, if there is a devastating flood, a disastrous famine, a great fire, any outbreak of an epidemic or even overwhelming pressure on local resources on account of a large religious concourse, one finds Indian organisations and Indian volunteers in large numbers ready to cope with the situation. Whatever the faults and shortcomings of the educated community, and no

one denies that they have their share like others including even their critics, it has to be admitted that it is a manlier and a bolder race inspired by higher ideals of public duty and public responsibility than earlier generations. Today Indians engage themselves in public service because they are patriotic and for their public activities the only reward they expect is the appreciation of their countrymen and the approbation of their conscience. The valuable work done by Indian organisations during the disastrous earthquake in Bihar and in the recent famine in Bengal is too well-known to require anything except the barest mention. It is the contention of the present writer that all this is the result of the example set by the Congress and of the work which Congressmen are doing even today.

XIII

A scrutiny of the actual situation will prove that, in spite of difference of language and even of race, there are and have been real points of unity among Indians all over the country. The Hindu religion, the universal acceptance of the obligatory nature of pilgrimages, the conception that India, like Palestine for the Jews, is a sacred country are all factors which have continued to hold up before the country at large some idea of territorial unity. This has been strengthened by remembrance of the historical fact, that, from time to time, very large areas, though not the whole of present day India, have been ruled by one sovereign. Another factor tending to produce the same feeling is the cultural unity of the Hindu background which, in a sense, resembles the idea of "Christendom" in medieval Europe.

It is admitted that during the centuries of Mussalman ascendancy, the unity found in the Hindu period disappeared to a very large extent, that the history of India became a history of the different provinces and also that, even under British rule, there was a time when there was little if any sympathy between the people of the different provinces. But those times have changed. The railway and the steamer have brought them together. Business has promoted intercourse between the provinces and removed distance. Lastly, a common political aspiration has made it easy for the non-communal among their people to meet in the spirit of brotherhood on the common platform of Indian nationalism. Remembering all these things and recognising their value as unifying elements, one has to admit that all Indians are being gradually stamped with a common seal.

The partition of Bengal aroused indignation not only in that province but all over India. Whole India shuddered when news regarding the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy leaked out and the Creeping Lane insult filled every Indian heart with intense resentment. The Khilafat agitation which followed, united Hindu and Muslim at least once, while the Non-Co-operation Movement was characterised by the absence of class antagonism and communalism. The rich and the poor, the educated and uneducated and followers of different faiths united under the pressure of what was regarded as common political suffering and thus the way was paved for a unified Indian nation. The earthquake of Quettah and that in Bihar were regarded in the light of all-India calamities. The recent famine in Bengal aroused the sympathy and opened the purse strings of Indians of every part of India. These are some out of many incidents showing the gradual disappearance of provincial isolation.

Two examples taken from art and literature tend to prove the correctness of the above view. The first is concerned with the work of a particular and popular school of painting in Bengal which, at least in the eyes of an amateur, bears a very close resemblance to the frescoes of Ajanta. Instances taken from literature also prove the same thing. The Bengali and the Rajput are

essentially different. But every one familiar with Bengali literature is aware of the extent to which the events of Rajput history have influenced it. Similarly, the doings of Sivaji and the Marhattas and the stories of the Sikh gurus have fascinated Bengali writers. Today many of them have been dramatised, others are found in historical novels which are very widely read and the rest have been enshrined in moving poetry of very high literary merit. On the 26th May, 1939, the *Marhatta*, a weekly published from Poona, in an editorial made a moving reference to the lead given by Hindu Bengal to nationalism and expressed regret for the way in which its interests were being neglected by the then Government. There are still other instances to prove that the barriers of provincialism are breaking down very rapidly.

Indians as Indians are today conscious of the link of common sympathy binding them together when they hear about the sufferings of Indians abroad. One has only to turn to any of the newspapers and read the comments made in the editorial columns as well as in the correspondence which appears from time to time in order to gauge the feelings of indignation excited when our brethren overseas are the victims of injustice. And yet, in a majority of these cases, these Indians are born and bred abroad and have but little in common with their brethren in India.

Though we have many all-India organisations to-day, it cannot be denied that the Congress has done more than any other single political party in making us forget inter-provincial jealousies and misunderstandings thus taking the leading part in gradually moulding the vast heterogeneous population of India into a homogeneous nation. This was referred to by the late Amvica Charan Majumdar, the President of the 31st Congress held at Lucknow in 1916, when he said,

"A generation ago, the stalwart and turbulent Punjabi, the intelligent and sensitive Bengalee, the orthodox and exclusive Madrassi, the ardent and astute Marhatta, the anglicised Parsi and the cold, calculating Gujrati, were perfect strangers to one another, and if they happened to meet anywhere they learnt only to despise each other. Their hereditary tradition was one of mutual distrust, while their past history was marked only by internecine feuds, pillage and bloodshed. But what are they today? They are now all united by a strong and indissoluble tie of brotherhood, over-riding all distinctions of caste and creed, and inspired by mutual appreciation and common fellowship. Hatred has given place to love and callousness to sympathy."

This very clearly proves that the Congress has not only laid the foundations for the colossal work of nation-building but has also made considerable progress with it. This one achievement is sufficient justification for the existence of the Congress.

When a leader like a Gandhi, a Nehru, a Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a Rajendra Prasad or an Abdul Gaffar Khan visits any part of India, he is made welcome at once. Difference in the religion professed makes no difference here. The present writer has seen Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan given as hearty a welcome as any non-Muslim leader. Many in India have at last come to realise that difference in the language spoken or the faith professed is no drawback to unity. The case of the United States of America where many languages are spoken and many faiths professed as well as that of Switzerland have taught us this lesson. It only remains for all to learn it when we shall achieve communal unity.

The Congress has gradually become the most powerful factor in bringing about an all-India unity. The present writer has toured through every part of India except Sind and the North-West Frontier and has been the guest of the very well-to-do, of the middle as well as of the poorer classes. He has, in a majority of cases, been entertained in the homes of his brothers in faith. But he has also been invited to meals at the houses of

non-Christians. In a very large number of these homes, he has seen pictures of Mahatma Gandhi. Pictures of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stand next in popularity. Then come pictures of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Rajendra Prasad. After these come the pictures of leaders of local Congress organisations. The time may yet come when the claims of Mahatma Gandhi to immortality will rest on his unique achievement in not only introducing the technique of non-violence and truth in the political field, but also in miraculously forging an all-India unity.

XIV

It was probably Lord Salisbury who remarked that the success of a people who know how to wait is always sure. The Indian National Congress has been working under exceptional difficulties for more than 50 years, differences of opinion and of policy have manifested themselves from time to time but they have been composed and the march towards the goal resumed with unfaltering steps. The political consciousness of the people has been aroused. This has naturally raised new and difficult problems. They are being sought to be solved satisfactorily by those who have been entrusted by Providence to guide the destinies of this great national movement.

Our Mussalman brethren have been galvanised into increased vitality of which the signs are to be found in the keenness they now show for safeguarding their interests. There is no doubt that the somewhat unfortunate shape their political consciousness is taking is causing sharp differences between the two largest communities in our motherland. But we firmly hold that an ultimate union is inevitable and that once all com-

munities unite for the attainment of economic and political freedom, "there is no force on the surface of the earth," as Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, President in the 12th session of the Indian National Congress observed in 1896, "which can resist our just and legitimate demands."

In the midst of a constant struggle between a jealous bureaucracy determined to retain power as long as possible and a progressive political organisation equally determined to force as much as possible from unwilling hands, the national movement, in spite of misrepresentation, calumny and downright persecution, has been gaining strength ever since 1885 when it first came into existence. Like a mountain torrent which in its headlong rush sweeps away all obstacles which lie in its path, the Indian National Congress is gradually obliterating those differences which are presented by dissimilarities of creed and caste, of language, customs, habits and manners. The work of unification is proceeding rapidly, the angularities due to provincial and racial causes are being rounded off and a united Indian nation fired by common aims and aspirations is in the making.

No doubt mistakes have been committed from time to time but these are unavoidable in every organisation which is alive and active. The pity of it is that its critics very rarely realise that if they had been placed in a similar position, they also, unless they are gods, would have made perhaps worse mistakes. But the one thing which stands out clearly is that there is no other single organisation, political or non-political, in India which has so much to its credit and so little to its discredit and that is the note on which the present writer would like to close this discussion.

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

Position of Gandhiji

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I

In this article I propose to deal with the position taken by Gandhiji during his recent negotiations with Mr. Jinnah and afterwards.¹

II

In his letter, dated 24th September, 1944, Gandhiji wrote to Mr. Jinnah, among other things:

"With your assistance I am exploring the possibilities of reaching an agreement so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied....."

"I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the north-west zones, i.e., Baluchistan, Sind, N.-W.F.P. and that part of the Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all the other elements, and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in

absolute majority desire to live in separation from the rest of India.

"Differing from you on the general basis, I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore on my basis and on the following terms:—

"The areas should be demarcated by a commission approved by the Congress and the League. The wishes of the inhabitants of the areas demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population of the areas or through some equivalent method.

"If the vote is in favour of separation, it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate State as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination and can, therefore, be constituted into two sovereign independent States.

"There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties.

"The treaty shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two States.

"Immediately on the acceptance of this agreement by the Congress and the League, the two shall decide upon a common course of action for the attainment of the independence of India.

1 As indicated in a foot-note to our preceding article, our original plan was to deal with the question of the "two-nations" theory of Mr. Jinnah in this article. Considerations of space, however, do not permit this. We shall deal with the question in our next article in this series.

2 See *The Statesman and Hindustan Standard* of 29th September, 1944 (Dak Edition).

"The League will, however, be free to remain out of any direct action to which the Congress may resort, and in which the League may not be willing to participate."³

If the letter from which the above extracts have been taken, has been correctly reported in the Press, as is very likely, then there is some confusion of ideas in it. It is not very clear from the language which Gandhiji has been reported to have used in extract 5 as quoted above, as to whether the Muslim-majority areas as contemplated by him are to constitute "a separate State" or "two sovereign independent States." Probably he meant—and this also follows from the wording of extract 7 above—that if the plebiscite suggested by him favoured separation, then India, after it had been freed from foreign domination, was to be divided "into two sovereign independent States." Our examination of Gandhiji's position in this article will proceed on this assumption—which we believe to be correct—of his view on this particular point.

Gandhiji suggested the formula contained in the extracts quoted above, in place of that which is popularly known as the "Rajaji" (or the C. R.) formula for the settlement of the Indian communal problem, but which had also previously received his own approval. He did this because Mr. Jinnah had stated, in his letter to him, dated 11th September, 1944, that the Rajaji formula⁴ had not only put the Lahore Resolution⁵ of the Muslim League "out of shape," but also "mutilated it."⁶ We shall refer hereinafter to the formula presented by Gandhiji himself as the "Gandhiji" formula. Let us now analyse the implications of the formula.

According to this formula, India is to be divided into two sovereign independent States, and these two

3 The italics in these extracts are ours.

4 For convenience of reference and comparison we may reproduce here the Rajaji formula:—

(i) "Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transitional period.

(ii) "After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the North-West and East of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state.

(iii) "It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

(iv) "In the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence and commerce and communications and for other essential purposes.

(v) "Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.

(vi) "These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the Government of India."

5 The relevant extracts from this Resolution were published in the first article in this series. See *The Modern Review*, December, 1944.

6 Gandhiji has been reported to have said on 30th September, 1944, to a correspondent of *The News Chronicle*, London, that Mr. Jinnah had "rejected Rajaji's formula."—*Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 3rd October, 1944 (Dak Edition).

States are to be "the contracting parties" to "a treaty of separation," and this treaty of separation is to "provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, etc." Further, the treaty "shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two States." And in the course of an interview granted to a correspondent of *The News Chronicle*, London, on 30th September, 1944, Gandhiji is reported to have said:

"It is my suggestion that provided there was safeguard of plebiscite, there could be sovereignty for predominantly Muslim areas, but it should be accompanied by bonds of alliance between Hindustan and Pakistan. There should be a common policy and working arrangement on foreign affairs, Defence, communications and similar matters. This is manifestly vital to the welfare of both parts of India."⁷

With all due deference to Gandhiji, we are constrained to observe that in expressing these views as he has done, he has spoken like a layman who is totally ignorant of the lessons of history of Federations like the United States, Switzerland, and the German Empire (formed in 1871), and who does not know how human nature works in Politics, whether national or international. Moreover, there are, as we shall shortly see, not merely misuse of political terms, but also some inherent contradictions, in his views. May we ask him in all politeness, what will be the sanction of his "treaty of separation"? In the absence of a common central authority, capable, in the last resort, of enforcing its decisions, if necessary, with the application of physical force, who will enforce the terms of the treaty, or of the alliance, as suggested by him, in the event of their non-fulfilment by either of the contracting parties? The philosophy of non-violence will be worse than useless in such matters. Government is not a matter of charity, goodwill, advice, instruction, or even persuasion. Ultimately, it involves the application of physical force. And it must be borne in mind in this connexion that this "treaty of separation" is to govern matters of such vital concern to India as foreign affairs, defence, etc. We do not like to repeat here what we have already said in our previous article⁸ in this series, in connexion with the position taken by Mr. Jinnah. We only want to emphasize here that all those arguments which we have put forward against that position, apply with equal force to the position taken by Gandhiji in this matter. It is, indeed, not only a gross, but a very dangerous, delusion to think that a treaty as contemplated by Gandhiji, can solve the Indian problem satisfactorily. The very same arguments may also be advanced against the view taken by Gandhiji when he clarified, in his letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated 11th September, 1944, clause (iv) of the Rajaji formula.⁹ He said: "Mutual agreement" means agreement between contracting parties. 'Safeguarding defence, etc.' means for me a central or joint board of control. Safeguarding means safeguarding against all who may put the common interests in jeopardy.¹⁰ This is mere paraphrasing unless Gandhiji meant that his central or joint board of control would be a real Government, amply vested with legislative, judicial and executive powers, and capable, in the last resort, of enforcing its will, if necessary, with the application of physical force. And if he did really mean this, then there would be no room for the continuance of separate contracting parties. They would be *ipso facto* merged in one Indian Union or Federation, and would form politically a single State.

7 See extract 6 from Gandhiji's letter of 24th September, 1944, as quoted above. The italics are ours.

8 See *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 3rd October, 1944, (Dak Edition). The italics are ours.

9 Published in *The Modern Review* of December, 1944.

10 See foot-note 4 above.

11 The italics in this quotation are ours.

If, however, it is argued against the position taken above by us that under the Gandhiji formula there will be a treaty of separation which will "provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, etc.," then our reply is that this is the very thing which the proposed treaty will not be able to ensure. Apart from what we have already said in our previous article¹¹ against the efficacy of such treaties, we may observe here that a treaty between two or more independent and sovereign States cannot permanently and effectively bind them. The reason is that it does not create a political power superior to the contracting parties. Moreover, as a distinguished American political scientist¹² has rightly pointed out in another connexion, "*Rebus sic stantibus*," expressed or implied, is a clause in every treaty, and States have ever asserted the right to declare such instruments of no force when by change of conditions their welfare has become so greatly affected or menaced as to overbalance the evil results to be expected, by way of retaliation or otherwise, from the violation of their faith as given in a treaty."

If, however, the words "efficient" and "satisfactory" have been used by Gandhiji to mean what they really imply, then there must be, by force of logic, a single State for the whole of India, an All-India Union or Federation—and not a Confederation, nor an Alliance, of Sovereign States, as the expression "a treaty of separation" seems to imply. Gandhiji owes it to the people of India to explain what he really meant by his formula. There must not be any subterfuge, intentional or unintentional, or any hide-and-seek policy, in such a vital matter. As it is, the formula is self-contradictory. If, however, Gandhiji says that he really meant by his formula the creation of a Federal Constitution for the whole of India, then we have no quarrel with him. In that case he should abandon the use of such misleading terms as "a treaty of separation," "two sovereign independent States," "two States," etc., and openly declare that India should be a Federation of autonomous, constituent units, as suggested by the All-India Congress Committee in its resolution, adopted on the 8th of August, 1942, in its Bombay Session.

In his letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated 22nd September, 1944, Gandhiji stated: "I can be no willing party to a division which does not provide for the simultaneous safeguarding of common interests, such as defence, foreign affairs and the like. There will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity." Certainly, there "will be no feeling of security by the people of India" without this recognition and also its translation into consequential constitutional provisions. But we may point out to Gandhiji that he cannot have both. If he wants to appease the Muslim separatists by conceding to their absurd and unreasonable demand for a "division" of India, he should not expect any "simultaneous safeguarding" of common interests. The two things are, by virtue of their nature, fundamentally incompatible with each other.¹³ Indeed, it appears to me, after a very

12 See extract 6 from Gandhiji's letter of 24th September, 1944, as quoted above.

13 Published in *The Modern Review* of December, 1944.

14 See W. W. Willoughby, *An Examination of the Nature of the State*, pp. 198-99.

15 Gandhiji has also been reported to have said at a Press Conference at Bombay on 28th September, 1944, that "he accepted the principle of sovereign States, consistent with friendliness." And "friendliness suggests," he said, "that before the whole world we must act as one nation, not united by extraneous circumstances, or united by force of British arms but united by greater force, that is our own determined will." This is, undoubtedly, a very fine sentiment. But, unfortunately,

careful consideration of the correspondence that passed between Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji, and also of what followed the break-down of their negotiations, that Gandhiji's mind must have been in a serious conflict during the negotiations between two things—his desire to maintain, in consonance with his unequivocal declarations in the past, the unity and integrity of India as far as possible and the implications of the commitment he had made by giving his assent, while he was fasting,¹⁶ to the communal formula which Mr. Rajagopalachariar had presented to him at Poona. As a consequence, the offer made by Gandhiji himself to Mr. Jinnah is indefinite, misleading, and self-contradictory. It cannot really solve the Indian problem unless it has for its object the establishment of an All-India Federation, composed of autonomous, constituent units, with adequate statutory safeguards for all racial or religious minorities in this country. But in so far as the offer made by him concedes the principle of separation or partition, it has the same mischievous potentialities as the Rajaji formula. The partitionists would make a full use of it in a future negotiation for the settlement of our communal question, and the enemies of India's unity would not be slow to take a full advantage of it either. And Gandhiji has said that, so far as he is concerned, the offer made by him stands.¹⁷ Moreover, in his correspondence¹⁸ with Mr. Jinnah, Gandhiji again and again assured the former that, although he refused to assume any representative capacity, he pledged himself to use all the influence he might have with the Congress, to have any agreement reached between them ratified by the latter. And this means much. Herein lies a danger of the Gandhiji formula. And there is not much essential difference between the Rajaji formula and the Gandhiji formula in so far as their mischief-making

the politics of sovereign States and friendliness as Gandhiji contemplates, are seldom compatible with each other. Things would not be otherwise here. As Spinoza rightly pointed out long ago, "Two States are natural enemies." And this is particularly so in the case of border States. Gandhiji cannot have both "sovereignty" and "friendliness." *Federalism* is the only durable and satisfactory solution in a case like ours. Gandhiji should work for that.

16 It appears from a statement of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar to the Associated Press of India, dated at Panchgani 9th July, 1944, that he "had secured Gandhiji's personal approval even during his fast in February-March last year (i.e., 1943) for the formula that" he was then releasing to the public. We cannot help remarking here that it is really strange that Mr. Rajagopalachariar should have chosen to present his highly complicated formula with its far-reaching implications, to Gandhiji when the latter had been fasting and, therefore, could not be, being a human being, in a sufficiently proper and alert state of mind and body. Gandhiji has been reported to have said at the Press Conference, held at Bombay on 28th September, 1944: "When he (i.e., Rajaji) found me in the Aga Khan Palace and presented the formula (i.e., the Rajaji formula) I did not take even five minutes and I said: 'Yes, because I saw it in a concrete shape.'" (The italics are ours). We do not know if the implications of the Rajaji formula were so simple as to enable Gandhiji to come to a decision within five minutes. At least we do not think so. Perhaps Gandhiji has since realised that the formula is not really so simple as it may have appeared to him when he was fasting. At any rate, this only confirms what we have said above in this foot-note.

17 See Gandhiji's statement at the Press Conference, held at Bombay on 28th September, 1944.

18 See, for instance, Gandhiji's letters to Mr. Jinnah, dated 11th and 26th September, 1944.

property is concerned.¹⁹ This is our deliberate view. Of course, it is far from our mind in saying this to ascribe any sinister motive to the authors of the formulas. We are only exposing here the inherent defects of the formulas and their probable consequences. And Gandhiji himself has invited criticisms of his offer from the general public.²⁰

III

We should also like to refer here to another view of Gandhiji, which we think in the public interest should not be allowed to go unchallenged. At a Press Conference, held at Bombay on 28th September, 1944, he has been reported to have said in reference to his own formula:

"I think it is a just solution of the problem and it is in the spirit of the policy which the Congress has consistently²¹ adopted in connexion with the communal question, namely, self-determination." And, with reference to his assent to the Rajaji formula, he has been reported to have said at the same Press Conference:

"Thereby I have not departed from the Congress standpoint in general terms. Congress has accepted self-determination and the Rajaji-formula has also accepted the principle of self-determination and the formula had become a common ground."

Further in the course of a statement to a special representative of the *United Press*, Gandhiji has been reported to have previously said²²: "At the same time, at the time I made the statement you refer to, I was also a party to the self-determination resolution of the A.I.C.C. I hold that Rajaji's formula gives effect to that resolution."

The clear implication of these statements is that, even though the Gandhiji formula and the Rajaji formula may concede the principle of partition of India, yet they are quite in consonance with the object and policy of the Indian National Congress. We should like to submit to Gandhiji very respectfully that his view is both wrong and misleading. And, quoting his own words used in another connexion, we may also say that mere "assertion is no proof." Nor can the repetition of what is not a fact make it a fact. We have already dealt with this question in an article entitled *The Rajagopalachari Formula and the Congress*, in the October (1944) number of this *Review*,²³ and, therefore, do not propose to repeat our arguments here. We should like to invite Gandhiji's attention to this article, and to say only that the Rajaji formula is definitely against the declared policy and object of the Congress. The resolution of the Congress Working Committee adopted at New Delhi early in April, 1942, which presumably Gandhiji had in mind when he made the statements quoted above, was completely neutralized and nullified by the resolutions of the A.I.C.C. (All-India Congress Committee), adopted by the latter in 1942 during its Allahabad and Bombay sessions—and, in particular, by

19 And Gandhiji himself said at the Press Conference at Bombay on 28th September, 1944:—"Where there is an obvious Muslim majority they should be allowed to constitute a separate state by themselves and that has been fully conceded in the Rajaji formula or my formula. There is not much distinction between them. That right is conceded without the slightest reservation."

20 See Gandhiji's statement to the correspondent of *The News Chronicle*, London, dated at Bombay 30th September, 1944.

21 The italic is ours.

22 The "United Press" message, dated at Wardhaganj 8th August 1944.

23 Also see our letter entitled "The C. R. Formula and the Congress" in *Hindusthan Standard* of 4th September, 1944, Calcutta (and of 5th September, 1944, *Dak Edition*), and in *Free Press Journal* of Bombay, dated 7th September, 1944.

what is now known as the Jagatnarin Lal resolution. This resolution—rather counter-resolution—of Mr. Jagatnarin Lal which the A.I.C.C. adopted on 2nd May, 1942, by a majority of 92 votes against 17 during its Allahabad Session, and which we have quoted in our article referred to before, is so categorical and so unequivocal that there can be no room for any reasonable doubt about its implications in anybody's mind. Moreover, the A.I.C.C. accepted this resolution of Mr. Jagatnarin Lal after he had made it definitely clear, in the course of his speech in support of his resolution, as to what his real object was in moving it. He had said:—"I want the A. I. C. C. to give a clear and unequivocal declaration against the disintegration of India.....I appeal to the members of the A.I.C.C. to give here right now their firm, clear and unequivocal mandate against the disintegration of our country and against Pakistan." And the A.I.C.C. did it. The A.I.C.C. did not pass in 1942 any "self-determination" resolution. These remarks apply equally well to the Gandhiji formula. We really wonder how after all this Gandhiji still maintains that his formula as well as the Rajaji formula, both of which concede the principle of division of India, is consistent with the position of the Congress. He seems to be under a misapprehension. This is evident from the following sentence in his letter to Sardar Durlab Singh, dated at Sewagram 14th November, 1944:—

"Maulana Saheb explained the implications of the Jagatnarin Lal resolution which please see."

We have seen what the Maulana Saheb said. "Giving permission for the resolution moved by Shri Jagatnarin Lal, the President (Maulana Abul Kalam Azad)," says an official document of the Congress, "gave it as his opinion" that the resolution no way contradicted the position taken up by the Working Committee at Delhi with regard to the question of the demand for the partition of India made by the Muslim League and incorporated in the resolution dealing with Sir Stafford's draft proposals."

This was a purely personal opinion of the President as the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee, and not even an official ruling. Even if it had been an official ruling, it would not have mattered in the least. As we have shown in some detail in our article published in the October (1944) number of this *Review*, under the Constitution of the Indian National Congress, the Working Committee, being what it is, has no power to act against any policy or programme laid down by the All-India Congress Committee or by the Congress itself. Further, it is subordinate to the All-India Congress Committee which can undo what the former has done. The Working Committee is in a sense a Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, and an agent of the latter. As its master and official superior, the All-India Congress Committee may, therefore, with unquestionable constitutionality, set aside or repudiate any action or decision taken by the Working Committee. Moreover, the language of the particular resolution of the A.I.C.C., which Mr. Jagatnarin Lal had moved, is to be the determining factor here. And that language, Gandhiji knows very well, is absolutely unequivocal and categorical. No personal remark of the President, not even an official ruling by him can undo, nullify, or neutralize the implications of a resolution which the A.I.C.C., while in full possession of all facts, solemnly and deliberately adopted. There is no provision in the Constitution of the Congress which empowers the President to neutralize the effect of a resolution which has been adopted by the A.I.C.C. The A.I.C.C. itself, or its own master the Indian National Congress in its annual or special session, can undo it, and none else. This is the correct constitutional position. The acceptance of Gandhiji's view would mean the placing of the Working

24 The italics are ours.

Committee above the A.I.C.C., and the enthronement of the dictatorship or absolutism of the President of the Congress. We believe that the Congress is yet a democratic body, and not an authoritarian institution. Being a lawyer, Mr. Jinnah, therefore, was perfectly right when he pointed out, in his letter to Gandhiji, dated 25th September, 1944, the difficulties created by the Jagatnarin Lal resolution in the way of the division of India, so far as the Congress was concerned.

In regard to the much-abused and much-misunderstood doctrine of self-determination referred to by Gandhiji, all that we should like to say here is that the right of self-determination is, as Lord Curzon pointed out once in 1923, like a two-edged sword and can be admitted only with reservations. The doctrine is to be applied to a country as a whole, and not to any section of its population at its dictation. Otherwise, there will be a disintegration of the country. Moreover, if the doctrine is unwisely applied to sections of the population in a country on a religious basis, then the minorities in the areas affected, who may be opposed to the majorities in them, should also have the right of self-determination on the same ground. Logic, reason, and equity would, therefore, require that there should be parallel governments, over the same territories, for majorities and minorities. Thus there would be created an absurd situation. The principle of self-determination is not such a simple thing as some people imagine it to be. It is not without any reason, therefore, that we find such a comment on it, in Hall's great *Treatise on International Law*,²⁵ as the following:—

"The phrase (self-determination) is one of dangerous vagueness as encouraging inordinate nationalist claims, and its application, in ignoring economic conditions, has led to some disastrous results."²⁶

And if Gandhiji applies this principle to sections of the Indian people as he proposes to do, it is sure to lead to equally, if not more, disastrous results for this country.

It may, perhaps, not be out of place to refer here to the Aaland Islands dispute and to a certain view of the Committee of International jurists appointed in 1920 by the Council of the League of Nations to give

an advisory opinion in this connexion.²⁷ The dispute "was one concerning certain islands which lie midway between Finland and Sweden, inhabited almost exclusively by people of the Swedish race, but which historically and geographically had always formed a part of Finland." The Finnish Government "declared that the Aalands were geographically part of Finland, and that it was strategically impossible for Finland to surrender them." The Swedish Government complained that the Finns were refusing "to allow the Aalanders the right of self-determination."²⁸ As a matter of fact, by plebiscites held in 1918 and again in 1919 the people of the Aaland Islands, writes Professor Garner,²⁹ an American authority on International Law, "had voted almost unanimously in favour of separation" from Finland. The Committee of Jurists, however, declared its opinion, continues Professor Garner,³⁰ "that there was no rule of positive international law which recognized the right of fractions of peoples as such to separate themselves by a simple act of their own will from a definitely established state of which they form a part, any more than it recognizes the rights of other states to demand such separation.....It added that the recognition of the right of self-determination in the form asserted by the inhabitants of the Aaland Islands would amount to an infringement upon the sovereignty of existing states, would lead to destruction of the stability which the very word 'state' implies, and would endanger the interests of the international community."

In June, 1921, the Council of the League of Nations decided to recognize Finnish sovereignty over the Aaland Islands, practically accepting the recommendation of a Political Commission previously appointed by it. And in October, 1921, this decision was accepted by the League of Nations "under the condition that autonomous rights³¹ should be granted to the population of the Islands." This incident has a very valuable lesson for us, and we invite the attention of both Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji to it.

27 See *The Annual Register*, 1920, pp. 153-54, 218-19, and 267; also *The Annual Register*, 1921, pp. 76, 152-53, 199-200, and 257-58.

28 See *Ibid.*

29 See his *Political Science and Government*, p. 135.

30 *Ibid.*

31 The italics are ours.

DESERT

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Wounds have replaced warm roses. Nothing stirs
Except black winds which dally with the hours:
Weed-gatherers have exiled the gardeners
And with uncanny cunning do succeed
In making men wild lovers of the weed
Oblivious of their heritage of flowers.

Inheritors of the desert, grim and bare,
We are mad, self-crowned monarchs who
Painting red struggle on the envenomed air:

In love with ugliest intrigue and strife,
Driving authentic beauty out of life,
We record the beginning of the end.

Sowers of song-seeds have departed, and
Our gardens bloom no more; the singing throng
Makes way for vultures, while the poet's hand
In sad, star-widowed solitude withdraws,
Leaving a multitude of hungry claws
Which close around the throat of real Song!

contend,

crawling are allowed periods of exercise round their health and clearing up the coughs, colds, the floor. and similar ailments which often affect city children.

Down below are the older infants, in con-



The wash basins, like all the other nursery fittings, have been specially constructed in miniature to suit the young children



One of the very young children is enjoying her mid-day meal

ditions like those described in the country nursery. They have not had the same advantages of country air, but plenty of rest and healthy food has done wonders in improving

The problem of providing nurseries for the small children of working mothers has always been a serious one, but it has taken the war to solve it on a proper scale.

THE GOLCONDA FORT

How a Cowherd Helped a King in Its Construction

By M. FATHULLA KHAN

SOME queer legends about the celebrated fort of Golconda in Hyderabad-Deccan, round which centres the romantic rise, the glorious prosperity and the sudden fall of the famous Qutb Shahi dynasty, have come to light in connection with its construction for the first time. These are contained in an interesting three-centuries old document which has come to the notice of the writer.

Although there is no recorded history of the fort prior to the year 1363 A.D., traces in the citadel indicate that it is at least as old as the fort of Warangal which dates from the middle of the thirteenth century. Therefore, it must have originally been a small mud fort,

like that of Warangal, under some Hindu prince before it fell under the sway of the Warangal rajas who subsequently ceded it, together with its dependencies, to Muhammad Shah Bahmani in the year 1363. It was after this Sultan that Golconda was known, for a time, as Muhammad Nagar. Even though the Bahmani kingdom began to break up in 1490 A.D., Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk, the Bahmani Viceroy of Golconda, continued to hold allegiance to Sultan Muhammad Shah II, his benefactor, until the latter died in 1518. Thereon he assumed independence as Sultan Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda.

Quli Qutb Shah is said to have had replaced

the mud fortifications by substantial stone ones during his viceroyalty.

The fifth king of Golconda, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1611) was the next monarch who is recorded to have made extensive additions to the fort.



Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah

We then come to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-1672), the seventh king of Golconda, who apprehended danger from the Mughals, and, therefore, further strengthened the defences of the fort, making it as far as possible impregnable. He added new defences in the new wall to the fortifications on the north-east, which is 3,340 yards long, taking in the small strategic hillock within the fort, as otherwise this hill would have presented a very favourable position to the enemy making it difficult to dislodge him from there.

It will thus be seen that the fort did already exist at Golconda long before the Qutb Shahi dynasty was founded, and that its fortifications had been strengthened not only by two of the Sultans prior to Abdullah Qutb Shah, but also by the latter himself to a considerable extent.

STORY OF THE COWHERD

The *sanad* or document, which is written separately in Persian and in Telugu and bears the seal of Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, with whose name the events mentioned therein are associated, is granted in the name of *Dhangar* (Cowherd) Kondiah, and it is now in possession of a distant descendant of the original recipient.

The *sanad* mentions the original name of the citadel as Manugal fort, *alias* Golakonda, situated at Muhammad Nagar in Bhagnagram pargana, and it records the story as to how Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah managed to construct the fort.

The Sultan, narrates the document, having failed in his attempt to construct a fort consulted a *murshid* or spiritual guide by name Syed Muzaffar Shah of Aurangabad, then residing at Gulbargah, as to why his ancestor was not able to construct a fort and why even his own attempt had failed. The *murshid*, thereupon, suggested that the services of the *Dhangar* (Cowherd) Kondiah, who had promoted the scheme to construct the forts at Warangal and Bhongir for Raja Pratapa Rudra Deva, and which fact had been acknowledged by the Raja himself in the *sanad* granted to Kondiah, be requisitioned in this connection. The Sultan agreed; and the cowherd was accordingly sent for. When Kondiah arrived at Golconda, he was entrusted with the task of completing the Sultan's project. The cowherd,



The Golconda Fort

in obedience, laid the foundation of the fort, calling it, after his occupation, *Golla Konda*. The cowherd then pointed out to the Sultan the mysterious gold image lying in Sadhu Gokuldas' well, and explained to him the secret about it. The construction of the fort was eventually completed

WAR NURSERIES

By CICELY FRASER

BEFORE the war, a mother with a baby to look after had no time for any duty outside her own home. The war has altered that, for now that women are going to work in factories to produce shells and tanks, means have had to be found of relieving mothers of this domestic task.



Father is taking his little son to the nursery school and handing him over to one of the charming and efficient nurses

In a large and airy room, its walls dis-tempered and lined with nursery frescoes, forty children between two and five are eating their mid-day dinner. The miniature tables at which they sit in groups of four are painted in bright colours. The children—industriously feeding themselves with large spoons—are dressed in gay check overalls of blue and red and mauve. To look at you would say they were "country bred" children, for their faces are round and their cheeks rosy. Yet a year ago these same kiddies lived in mean houses, with no better playground than the city streets. To see what they looked like then you have only to notice the newcomer in the corner, whose face is pale and thin, and who seems much smaller than the other children of his own age.

The children's new home is a war nursery, built in the country some thirty miles from London. They themselves are evacuees whose

mothers are engaged in war work, and who are brought here for the day to be looked after while mother is working.

This particular nursery has been specially designed and built for the purpose. It stands in a field, where the toddlers can play in fine weather. All the furnishings—chairs, tables, the washbasins and lavatories—are made to scale. In the cupboards lining the playroom walls are toys of all kinds; dolls, engines, books, paints. In another room are forty small beds for the afternoon nap.

The scheme of war nurseries, set up by the Ministry of Health in the first place as an emergency scheme, has spread and developed, and has proved one of the most valuable contributions to social service brought about by the war. When at the outbreak of war large numbers of mothers and children below school age were transferred from the town to country districts, the problem of how to see that the children were kept healthy and occupied became a pressing one. It became still more pressing with the need for mobilising woman power for



With the encouragement of her teacher this little toddler is learning to fit a puzzle together

factory work. And so the Government began setting up nurseries in all parts of the country. They are of two main types, one for children under two, and the other for toddlers

from two to five. Some nurseries are open for school hours, from about nine till five, others from seven in the morning till seven or eight at night. Nurseries have been opened both in country and in city areas, in all cases under the auspices of the Government.



Britain's young children are being cared for with every kind of attention in the way of feeding, recreation and training

From the very beginning, the idea was to provide something more than a mere place where children might be kept out of the way. Those nurseries are training the children, seeing to their physical health, teaching them to be independent, clean, intelligent, and good citizens. Frequent medical inspections take place, minor ailments are cured.

The trained helpers who are in charge of the nurseries report that most of the children improve in health and physique after a very short time. And they are well-behaved too—not because they are regimented, but because they are occupied and happy.

The parents pay a small sum, a few pence a day, but the main cost of the nurseries (which includes two or three meals a day) is borne by the Government.

Some mothers have been unable or unwilling to evacuate their children under five. Some mothers have been unable or unwilling to evacuate their children under five.

For these infants nurseries have been started in the towns. One manufacturing district has no fewer than seventy, scattered about the outskirts and centres of its towns, and more are being built. These nurseries are usually converted houses. One of the biggest is in an old Victorian mansion. The house has been refitted and re-decorated, with coloured walls and furniture which make it suitable and attractive for children, and is now one of the full-time nurseries. It opens at about 6.30 or seven in the morning, so that mothers going early to work in the factories can bring their children on the way, and it does not shut till about eight at night. It caters for children up to five years of age.

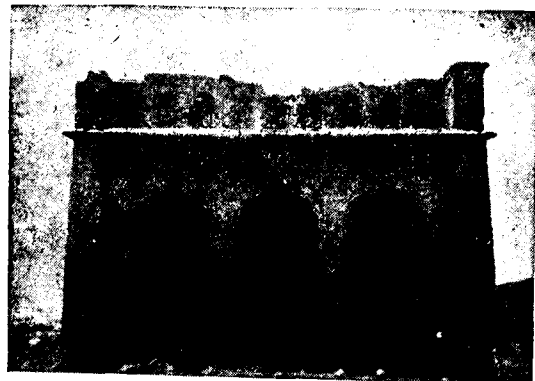
The top floor belongs to the babies in charge of a trained nurse, assisted by a number of helpers. It has a sick room where babies with any suspicion of illness may be isolated—if necessary they are trans-



School-children evacuated to all parts of the country have contributed models, drawings and paintings to the Exhibition of "The History of English Life"

ferred to a hospital. Clothes are found for babies who are poorly dressed, and each baby is bathed every day. They spend most of their time in cots, though babies old enough to start

with the wealth obtained out of the idol in the well. The Sultan was greatly pleased with the services rendered by the cowherd, and he asked the *murshid* to find out from the cowherd what he wished to have in return from him. When asked, the cowherd said that as he



The Mosque

was the *guru* of 12 cowherd and two shepherd castes, a sanad granting him rights and privileges similar to those granted by Raja Pratapa Rudra Deva be awarded to him, with the seal and signature of the Sultan.

Members belonging to cowherd and shepherd castes should not be killed and if this condition were to be violated, evil would befall his kingdom and the goddess of wealth also desert the ruler. Full rights over the Ellamma temple, the mosque, and the Mari Mutt be given to him, and also the lands surrounding these places for the purpose of their maintenance. The honours granted to him by Raja



Sadhu Gokuldas' Well

Pratapa Rudra Deva, such as the use of palanquin, umbrella, crown, musical drums on elephants and camels, ear-rings, lion-headed gold bangles, *panjah* (five-fingered emblem), etc. etc. and the use of all the titles which he had been enjoying ever since the institution of

their *peetham* (seat of learning and authority in the community) for the past 5007 years be allowed to him throughout the Sultan's kingdom. He further requested that some lands and rights for performing certain *jatras* (fairs) be given to his castemen, and that all their rights and privileges should be safeguarded and instructions to all Government officials be issued accordingly. They should have the right of settling their disputes amongst themselves. Except in the case of theft, Government interference should not be allowed. Wherever the sovereignty of the Sultan was extended, their rights and privileges should also be extended in those territories. The right to collect one rupee from each house of his caste people should also be given to him. Such were the wishes of the cowherd Kondiah who asked that a sanad granting them be awarded to him.

When the *murshid* conveyed the cowherd's wish to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, the Sultan



Naga Jharra

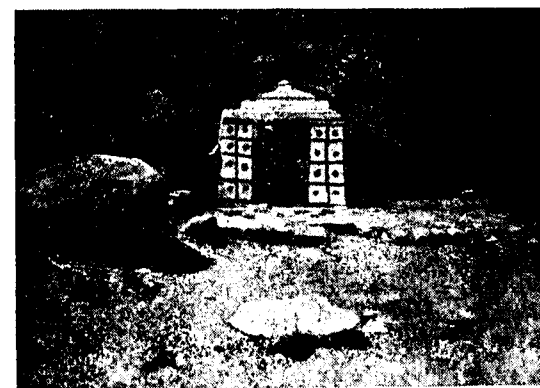
issued a sanad granting him and his *peetham* all that he had asked for.

SANAD HISTORICALLY EXAMINED

There can be no doubt with regard to the authenticity of the document itself. But some of the dates and events mentioned therein are so very contradictory, covering the periods of previous rulers, that one is led to believe that the document might be only a renewal by Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah of the original grants.

The French traveller Monsieur de Thevenot, who visited Golconda in 1666, during Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah's rule, does not mention of either this Sultan as having founded the fort, or of the cowherd as having come to his rescue. He gives quite a different story. He says that the site where the fort stands was pointed out to Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, the first king of Golconda, by a shepherd who guided him to it through a wood, and that the king called it

Golconda, from *Golcar* the Telugu word for shepherd. Thevenot's own words are: "Qutb Shah the first, gave it that name because after his usurpation seeking out for a place where he might build a strong castle, the place where the castle stands was named to him by a shepherd, who guided him through a wood to the hill where the palace is at present; and the place appearing very proper for his design, he built the castle there, and called it Golconda, from the word *Golcar*, which in the Telenghi language signifies a shepherd."



Ellamma Temple

Had the story of the cowherd occurred, as the document would give us the impression, during Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah's reign, why should not have Thevenot told us so, instead of having associated it with the first king of Golconda?

So, from these divergent stories, it occurs to a searching mind that the cowherd legend about the founding of the fort might have originally been associated with the first Hindu rulers of Golconda, and subsequently handed down and kept current by the descendants of the original cowherd Kondiah for the purpose of perpetuating the grants made to his caste *peetham* by the founders of the fort. Thus, the story of the cowherd does not seem to have anything to do with the fortifications built by the Qutb Shahi Sultans.

LEGENDARY SITES

It is, however, interesting to see within and around the fort such sites as the Naga Jharra, Mari Mutt, Ellamma temple, Mallana Mutt, and Sadhu Gokuldas' Well. All these are mentioned in the document, and were pointed out to the writer.

THE GOLD IDOL

There are two queer but slightly varying legends about the gold idol of Sadhu Gokuldas' well mentioned in the sanad. One is that, once

there lived near the fort an old sadhu by name Gokuldas. A cowherd who used to graze his cows in the vicinity greatly venerated the sadhu, and used to offer him daily milk. When the sadhu became confident of the faithfulness of his disciple, he, one day, placed a big vessel filled with oil on an oven, and calling the cowherd said to him: "I want to do you some good; go round this vessel three times." The cowherd obeyed the sadhu. As he was making the third round, the sadhu caught hold of him and tried to hurl him into the boiling oil. The cowherd became furious and lifting the sadhu, in turn, threw him into the vessel. The sadhu suddenly disappeared, and in his place stood a gold image. At this, the cowherd became nervous, and, not knowing what else he should do, he seized the image and threw it into a well close by.

The mystery about this gold idol was that whenever a part or piece out of it was cut it became intact again the next day. This secret was known to the cowherd Kondiah, who explained it to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, as narrated in the document; and that it was from the gold derived out of this idol that it became possible for the Sultan to meet the cost of the construction of the fort.



Mallana Mutt

The other legend is that, during the reign of a certain Hindu ruler, a cowherd used to graze his cows in the vicinity of a rock on which was a temple. One day, the cowherd met a sadhu who had come there for penance. The cowherd respected him profoundly, and used to offer him milk. The sadhu asked him one day if he had ever seen a plant whose leaves grew up as soon as they were eaten away by the cow. The cowherd replied that he had so far never seen such a tree, but that if he came across it any time, he would immediately inform him. Some days afterwards, the cowherd came to the sadhu and told him that he had seen a tree with the qualities described by him.

Thereupon, the sadhu immediately went to the tree and set fire to it. While the tree was in flames, the sadhu told the cowherd that if he went round the burning tree it would do him good. And as the innocent man was going round the sadhu caught hold of him and was about



Mari Mutta

to throw him into the flames, when the cowherd struggled and, freeing himself from the sadhu's clutches, lifted him in turn and hurled him into the fire.

The cowherd went there the next day to see if the sadhu was completely burnt to ashes. But he was amazed to behold a gold image standing in place of the tree, which resembled the sadhu. As the cowherd could not tolerate his sight, he began to break the idol with an axe. No sooner had he cut one hand of the idol than it became intact again. So, he changed his mind and carried the idol home. Thereafter, he would daily cut a piece out of it and exchange the gold piece for his daily requirements from a merchant. While the idol remained intact all the time, the merchant amassed gold in plenty.

One day, the king of the place came to know of the sudden prosperity of the merchant, and wished to know the truth of it from him. The merchant, thereupon, revealed the secret to the king, who took away the idol from the cowherd. The king thereafter extended his territory with the help of the gold derived out of this mysterious idol. Later, when this king died and his successor happened to be an immoral and wicked ruler, the idol disappeared.

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CONTROL FOR CHAOS

By P. R. SRINIVAS

NEARLY always, the Old Year is like a guest who has overstayed his welcome—the departure occasions no regrets. For ten years at any rate, every year has proved in the end a disappointment, being no better than its predecessor in some respects and distinctly worse in many others. 1944 has the advantage that no extravagant hopes were entertained of it at the beginning. It opened in India with the food crisis reaching its climax, the general economic life nearly breaking under the demands of wartime and prices particularly, straining against the leash of controls and other anti-inflationary measures. Let it be said of the year now closed that it could easily have been worse than it was. The food position was slowly brought under control, though by no means to the satisfaction of the people. The national economy was strengthened at a few points; and the markets relating to some of the necessities of life have been better regulated than before. These are small mercies it would be churlish not to feel some gratitude for. But the general outlook from the point of view of the national economy is by no means brighter. This outlook embraces such questions as the progress of the "grow more food" campaign and the general adjustment to wartime conditions and demands, the success of anti-inflationary measures, the progress of post-war planning and India's position in international trade and finance after the war will be over. In the background is the war itself, its vicissitudes and the prospect of its early end. It is indeed a pity, as well from an individual or sectional as from a broad human point of view, that the last quarter of the year failed to strengthen the hopes of an early end to this war that the third quarter kindled in men's minds. The progress of allied arms has slowed down since the liberation of France, while the practical value of American gains in the Pacific is not as highly rated as it used to be. So far as India is concerned, not only is there no prospect of early relief from the strains of the war period, but 1945 may well add to our burdens and privations; so that the main trends of 1944 are less important in themselves than for what they may be expected to lead to.

Take first the food problem. Here the main trends were almost determined by the events of the previous year. 1944, in fact, opened with Bengal and parts of South India in the grip of severe shortage of food-grains. In Bengal particularly, the whole machinery of the food administration had completely broken down, and men had begun to die in tens of thousands in many districts. Destitutes poured into the city of Calcutta in large swarms; and hastily improvised systems of relief did their best to mitigate the suffering and the distress. It is a sad commentary on the administration as a whole in all its rings that a tragedy so acute and on so vast a scale was needed to bring about a realistic appreciation of the food position. From the international plane of the U.N.R.R.A. down to district boards and local authorities, there was for the first time recognition of the gravity of the problem. Questions were asked in the House of Commons; and though Mr. Amery characteristically blamed the Indian birth rate on the one hand and on the other emphasised the priority of British and American lives over Indian, there was sufficient anxiety to avoid the repetition of a similar disaster. It was some advantage that the worst had already occurred. There were less indignant mouths

to feed. The next rice crop was better. Shipping position, too, had eased. And what was most important of all, public opinion was more disposed to support drastic measures of food control.

Meanwhile, the Food Policy Committee had submitted its report. And the basic recommendations were import of wheat and the building up of a large reserve of over 500,000 tons and the inauguration of a system of monopoly procurement and rationing of food-grains in all the towns and cities of India. So far as the acute situation in Bengal was concerned, immediate relief could be provided only through the agency of the army authorities. Imports of wheat during the last one year have been well maintained, though authentic figures are not available. In all the Provinces, the machinery for procurement has been slowly improved. The Railways have functioned with better recognition of the priority of food supplies. And more and more towns are being brought under the scope of the rationing system.

But the country as a whole is hardly out of the wood, so far as the food problem is concerned. The authorities are inclined to pat themselves on their backs for what they have done. While it is true that procurement has gone ahead and rationing ensures even distribution of available stocks, the quality of the supplies is extremely unsatisfactory. Imports have not been sufficient to build up the Reserve recommended by the Food Policy Committee. And it is now recognised that, the grow-more-food campaign has to be buttressed with other measures. On the one hand, it had to lead to an agricultural plan for which the outlines have been drawn up by Sir Phiroze Khareghat, on the other, it has called for statutory restriction of the acreage under cash crops which in the present state are more profitable than food crops. Altogether, our experience of the food problem is illustrative of the restricted scope of war time measures and of the way they pave the transition from wartime controls to post-war planning.

As compared to food control, cotton cloth control can claim a greater degree of success. Though there are still complaints of uneven distribution, which must be attributed to defects of the local administration, the control has succeeded in bringing down prices by more than 40 per cent, since the middle of 1943, in ensuring supplies of yarn for handloom weavers and in making essential goods available at tex-mark prices all over the country. Production as a whole has increased to 5,800 million yards; and though the country can certainly do with more, the position must be considered satisfactory, particularly in view of the coal shortage, which is the principal handicap of industry at the present time.

The coal shortage affects not only the production of cotton cloth in the mills but the whole gamut of Indian industry. Considering the wide orbit of its repercussions, it is strange that the Government did not ward off the danger but was driven to secure relief by such dubious methods as lifting the ban on female labour. But the coal shortage is not the sole handicap of Indian industry. While all the world over, industry was substantially adding to its equipment, quantitatively and qualitatively, Indian industry had to be content with doing jobs of a minor character and that, too, under surveillance. Changes in the fortunes of the allies would seem to have made no great difference. While during the dark days of the war, imports of essential raw materials were denied to Indian industry on the ground of shortage of shipping, improvement in the shipping position led only to increased imports of the finished products. Instances of these are found in many lines. But complaints of this kind are most common in the chemical industry; and it is not without significance that its development in the post-war period is forestalled by the drawing up of plans for a centralised

chemical industry to be run under foreign direction. The ostensible ground for increased imports of consumer goods, however, is the need to fight the effects of inflation.

The effect of these imports of consumer's goods is seen in the figures of foreign trade. Imports went up Rs. 53.76 crores in the first half of 1943 to over Rs. 80 crores in the corresponding period of this year while the rise in exports is only from Rs. 92.72 crores to Rs. 106.74 crores. Leaving these figures aside, which are only a small part of the much bigger picture of the exchange of goods and services between India and the rest of the world, India's foreign trade is characterised by shifts in the direction of trade, of which the closer relations between India and the Middle East may prove lasting, though it had its origin in the closing up of the Mediterranean till the surrender of Italy. The Indian cotton mills, which had long been content with the home market ever since the loss of the Chinese market for yarn, have again been able to secure an export market in adjacent lands. Though this is no unmixed advantage in the present period of scarcity, the progress made is not to be despised. At any rate, it is a matter for satisfaction that the scarcity of cotton cloth has been reduced in spite of our having to earmark a portion for this export trade of recent origin.

The improvement in the position of food and cotton cloth would not however warrant a complacent view either of anti-inflationary measures as a whole or of the claims commonly made for control in the war period. Now, more than at any time statistics are unreliable; they are almost treacherous. In regard to prices and cost of living, while the price of food-grains and sugar and cloth have certainly been brought down, there are other necessities of life like milk and vegetables where the rise in prices more than offsets the decline in the former. This is only to be expected since the basic conditions which make for the rise in prices continue unchanged. The problem of inflation in India was never tackled as such. The Government of India took an unconscionably long time to recognise that there was any inflation. And when it could no longer be buried, they accepted the obligation to fight the effects of inflation rather than inflation itself. To fight inflation, it was necessary to insist that foreign Governments should pay every rupee worth of goods and services in Indian, and not foreign, currency. And that was beyond the powers of the Government of India. The Government, therefore, have endeavoured to check inflation to the extent possible and fight the effects of inflation as well as they can. The former course was taken later; and it is even now far from complete. Generally speaking, additions to currency have been made almost without a break during the whole of the war period; and the following table shows the position during last year:

	Notes in circulation	Sterling securities	
		Issue Dept.	Banking Dept.
7-1-44	845.69	738.84	123.70
31-3-44	882.49	779.84	166.23
7-7-44	931.93	828.33	174.46
29-9-44	941.25	834.33	304.85
8-11-44	989.82	886.33	340.03

The note issue has risen more than five times its pre-war figure. And this in spite of the fact that gold and silver belonging to the Allied nations have been sold in India. The twin problems that this gives rise to are inflation at home and accumulation of sterling balances in London. So far as prices are concerned, as has been mentioned already, the success of control of certain commodities is no index of the control of prices as a whole. The following table shows that, though wholesale prices at one stage showed a fall, the rising trend has reasserted itself.

MUSEUMS IN INDIA Their Educational Functions

By "KAUNDINYA"

THE enormous growth of the science of Museology in Europe and in America during the last fifty years, has developed the role that Museums should play in supplementing the educational curriculum of schools and colleges. It has long been recognised that the services that a Museum can render to any community may be conveniently grouped under three heads: (a) Collection and Preservation, (b) Interpretation and Study, (c) Educational Services, (d) Publicity. Since the Markham Report was published on the positions of Museums in India (1936) which severely criticized the starved and stunted conditions of the majority of them, due to the apathy of Government and the poor financial assistance provided in official budgets, Indian Museums have recently come in for its share of criticisms from our oversea visitors, who are accustomed to the benefits, in their own countries, bestowed by efficient Museum Administration, liberally supported by official and private munificence,—particularly in the United States. In India, the growth of Museum Collections depend on (i) Acquisitions under Ancient Monuments and Treasure Trove Acts or Excavations, (ii) Purchases, and (iii) Gifts. Owing to poor finances and 'public apathy, development and growth under the last two headings are almost nil in marked contrasts with the munificent sums allotted by Government, private donations and gifts which are showered on the Museums of U.S.A. Most museums in India have no definite educational plans, and are unrelated to the programmes of studies current in schools and colleges, and the facilities for private studies are very meagre and the public are severely discouraged by official red-tapism and indifference. The general public and the cultured members of the community are not taken into confidence and are not encouraged to take any interest in the growth of Museums or to make any gifts or endowments. Voluntary gifts of objects and monetary endowments are one of the chief sources of the development of the Museums of U.S.A. To cite some examples at random, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, received by way of gifts and loans notable masterpieces of Art, numbering altogether 233 items, during the year 1928 and as money gifts two several sums of 7328 dollars (Rs. 29,312) and 5,000 dollars (Rs. 20,000), earmarked for the purchase of objects of art, during the same year.

The incentive for private gifts and donations is stimulated by regular programmes of Educational Services (Gallery Talks, Lectures for the General Public, Special Lectures for Schools, Colleges and for Teachers, and incessant Exhibitions throughout the year), and by active publicity work, of which the most important is the issue of *Bulletins* (monthly, bi-monthly, or quarterly) which keep before the public eye the activity of the Museums, and which frequently publish notices of and describe (through short illustrated articles by experts) the most important new additions and accessions, and through which a constant link is maintained with members of the public,

and with those interested in Art and in the Museums' educational programmes. The *Bulletins* are the most important features of American Museums and help to radiate an up-to-date knowledge of the latest acquisitions of examples of Art of diverse schools and countries and are of invaluable assistance, not only, to scholars and research workers but also to the general public interested in Art and Art-History. As a rule, these *Bulletins* are very inexpensive, costing one to two dollars a year for 4 to 12 issues, according to the importance and status of the Museum.

The Markham Report has passed severe strictures on the general absence of Periodical Bulletins for Indian Museums: "Out of a total number of 105 Museums in India, only sixteen museums publish Annual Reports, and for the most part these are thin publications of a few pages, merely serving as a brief catalogue of recent acquisitions. They give the minimum of information and are stereo-typed in character, differing from year to year in little save statistics. But even these are preferable to the obstinate silence preserved by the majority of the museums."

To this dismally black cloud a silver lining has been added recently by Dr. Goetz, the enterprising Curator of the Baroda State Museum and Gallery, with a bright little *Bulletin* of 62 stimulating pages, replete with interesting and educative articles and notices of numerous important items in the Museum (Pictures, Illuminated Mss, Miniatures, Coins etc.), profusely illustrated by excellent plates. In addition to the Half Yearly Report of the working of the Museum, the Bulletin contains a sheaf of original articles describing and discussing several unpublished and very little known works of art of unique interest, e.g., 'Nalanda Seals in the Baroda Museum' (A. S. Gadre), 'Twenty-two Buddhist Miniatures from Bengal' (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya), 'The Art Exhibition of the 15th Guzerati Literary Conference' (V. L. Devakar), 'A unique Decani Miniature' and 'Modern Art in the World Crisis' (H. Goetz). As pointed out in the Introductory Note, "The Baroda Museum through the personal interest of the late Maharaja, has grown to an all-round collection almost unique in India which may offer opportunities for the broadest public education in natural science, ethnology, history and art, as in few other museums in this country. It is the fervent wish of the State to make the utmost of these possibilities. And the present Bulletin forms merely an aspect of a general and comprehensive modernization scheme. Its purpose is not only to publish the scientific treasures collected in it during the last half century, but also to make a wider educated public conversant with them, to resuscitate so life the dead exhibits, to let them reveal their secrets, their meaning, their beauties." The Baroda State has indeed made a new and unique contribution to the growth of educational role of Museums and the greatest credit is due to its eminent Curator who has set a valuable lesson to his brethren to follow.



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

BEGINNINGS OF MODERN EDUCATION IN BENGAL: WOMEN'S EDUCATION: By Jogesh C. Bagal. Pp. 82 + iv. four illustrations. Ranjan Publishing House, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.

The minute and patient study among old old books, MS. records and newspapers by which Mr. Bagal has been building up a true and documented history of the Renaissance in Bengal in the first half of the 19th century has yielded this valuable and interesting history of our women's first steps in the modern world. The highest credit is given, and quite deservedly, to the Christian missionaries and committees of sympathising lay European ladies, who were pioneers in this untrodden and at first very unpromising field and who looked for their reward only beyond the grave. But we are glad to note that an orthodox Hindu like Rajah Radhakanta Deb became a public champion of our women's education at a time when Hindoo society frowned upon the very idea of it. Two valuable documents enrich the Appendix. We also get much new light on Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar's services as the early founder of girls' schools (on behalf of the Government). This history stops a little before the end of the East India Company's rule; but the story of the early pioneers ought to hearten modern social reformers in similar fields where strenuous effort has to be made against orthodox opposition and the apathy of a sleeping society. Our great countrymen of that age were justified in their distant vision of an educated modern and yet domestic Hindoo womanhood.

JACUNATH SARKAR

PESHWA BAJI RAO I AND MARATHA EXPANSION: By V. G. Dighe, Ph.D., with Foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Pp. 236 + x. One portrait and two maps. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2. Price Rs. 6.

This book marks, in the English language, the greatest contribution made to the history of the Peshwas since Grant Duff wrote his history 125 years ago, as Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji and his Times* does to our knowledge of that founder of the Maratha Nation. Undoubtedly Baji Rao I in his meteoric career of twenty years—which was cut short before he was 40,—was the most brilliant and successful of the long line of Peshwas, and he has hitherto waited for a worthy biography. In the meantime original materials of primary importance for a study of his times have accumulated, in English, Portuguese, Marathi and Persian, and been mostly published. In the Peshwas' Daftar selections series alone as many as 2,500 documents on the subject have been printed. It is a most promising prospect for Indian history that a comparatively young son of Maharashtra has mastered this mass of materials and presented a compact study as the fruit of his labours in synthesizing all the diverse sources, and "touched up the salient features with a commendable economy of words." The chapters on the Janjira Campaign and

the Capture of Bassein (based on newly published Portuguese state papers) are the most detailed and documented accounts of these two heroic achievements of the Maratha race to be found in any language. Sir Jadunath commends the book in the words, "This volume will form a very valuable addition to the growing literature on Maratha History, and will long continue as a standard authority in its own field."

New light is thrown on every branch of Baji Rao's manifold activity, which enables us to understand the Nizam ul mulk Asaf Jah's cry of admiration, *Is mulk men ek Baji aur sab paji*. The chapters on the Maratha progress in Malwa and Bundelkhand and on the early and decisive tussle with the Nizam take note of the latest research and correct many long-prevalent historical errors. The two final chapters treat of this Prime Minister's relations with his royal Master (which show Chhatrapati Shahu in a very pleasing light) and Baji Rao's character and achievements, in a sober judicious spirit and are not vitiated by chauvinism or bombast.

Indeed, we hope for more first-rate work from this writer.

B. N. B.

GAURI MATA: Published by Durga Puri Devi, Saradeswari Ashram, 26 Maharani Hemanta Kumari Street, Calcutta. August, 1944. Pp. 117. Price Re. 1-8.

Gauri Mata, "a direct disciple of Sri Ramakrishna Deva," embraced the monastic life at a very early age, and her great work stands for the good of posterity. Her special field lay among women, and it was educational in scope. To her said the Master: "Mould thou the clay," and the words prompted the strenuous endeavour—not mere asceticism but living in God through living for humanity.

The story of her life is here told in brief but with skill and with proper emphasis on points that require it. The glossary at the end will be helpful. The book tells us of remarkable achievement and it deserves to be read with appreciation. The institution which is her legacy should be an asset to society for years to come.

P. R. SEN

PREMCHAND: By Madan Gopal. Published by The Bookbode, 119, Circular Road, Lahore. Pp. 150. Price Rs. 3-8.

Premchand is one of those great Indian writers, who can safely claim a place of his own in the august galaxy of world literature. He was a prolific writer and wielded a vigorous pen for over 35 years and thus gave a status and standing to Hindi letters. But, it is regrettable that neither there is any good biographical book on him nor there are reliable renderings of his works in English and other principal Indian languages. Under the circumstances, this journalistically written treatise on Premchand, though of a rudimentary nature, will be very welcome as a good introduction to the life and works of Premchand. Even in a brief memoir like this, Mr. Madan Gopal has successfully tried to be faithful, critical and sympathetic towards Premchand's works and has also probed into the depths of the fountain of Prem-



WHOLESALE PRICE

	Agricultural commodities	Raw material	Manufactured articles	General index	Cost of Living Bombay
1940-41	108.6	121.4	120.0	114.8	114
1943-44	270.6	184.9	251.7	237.2	237
Sept. 1943	272.0	181.4	251.3	236.4	245
Jan. 1944	264.4	193.3	251.3	237.8	238
Mar. "	257.8	196.7	252.3	236.3	226
June "	265.9	204.3	251.3	244.1	236
Oct. "	262.0	205.5	255.7	242.0	239

The fight against anti-inflationary measures in preference to inflation is definitely a losing battle—the odds are against the authorities. It is a case of letting go the reins and tugging the tail of a fiery steed. The Government are glad that from a political and social point of view they are keeping the situation well in hand. They are able to claim that there is not a rupee of their own war expenditure which is not covered by taxation and borrowing. They are able to claim, too, that they have drawn off a large part of the redundant money by their campaign for small savings and that more than all this, they have fought inflation itself to the extent that they have been able to sell gold and silver in India on account of the allied nations. But it is high time that more was done. There must be a definite ceiling set to the rupee circulation and measures taken to see that the note issue is kept within that limit.

The other problem, viz., that of sterling balances, has unlike the problem of inflation been taken out of its wartime setting. Intrinsically and by reason of its discussion at the Bretton Woods Conference, sterling balances is recognised as a post-war problem. Even before the Conference the controversy in regard to our sterling assets had developed marked acrimony, thanks to the British Press which has more than once shown itself lacking in regard for Britain's good name. As in the political, so on this front, too, India has lost much ground during 1944. The refusal of the Bretton Woods Conference to include the repayment of our sterling balances within the scope of the International Monetary Fund was felt keenly first as an insult and secondly as injury to our national interests. It is possible that the majority of the delegates did not mean it as either;

since there is a great deal to be said for not saddling a new and untried institution with so heavy a responsibility. Somewhat similar is the case of the International Bank where India has not been accorded a permanent seat in the Executive on a formal basis, but has been ensured a seat in all conditions. But considering that the work of the Conference as a whole requires ratification of which we cannot be too sure, a different milieu of conditions calling for a revision of the scheme is not unthinkable.

After all, 1944 was only one year in a world war that might conceivably see its seventh year. All the events are related to what went before; and their significance depends on what may follow thereafter. So far as India is concerned, it is certain that the most strenuous times are yet ahead. The past never seems too sombre in retrospect. Suffice it for us that the war period leaves us with tinted glasses with which we can see a rosy future, beyond the psychic present. In the mixed bag that war presents to peoples planning is a kind of meccano set, which they can either toy with in infantile playfulness or utilise to build up truly constructive qualities. About the ultimate fate of economic planning, it is unwise to be dogmatic. But it is only fair to those concerned to recognise that some progress has been made in what may be called planning the plan. The Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Council has issued two of its progress reports where ideas are clearly gaining in concreteness. It has been definitely stated that nearly Rs. 1,500 crores will be available for investment in the first five years of the Plan. Detailed plans have also been evolved for agriculture, railway development and education. The Bhore Committee is busy drawing up its plan for public health. Industrialists are being asked to clarify their ideas and book orders for machinery for the post-war period. The country, too, is visibly plan-minded. Provinces and States are making plans of their own and are eager to have them correlated into an all-India Plan. It is unduly pessimistic to believe that all these efforts will run to waste. And it is likewise dangerous for the public to forget that, if vigilance is the price of liberty, it is even more necessary to ensure that the surrender of ordinary freedom in the name of planning yields commensurate results in the increase of general well-being.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

By SWAMI BHAWANT DAYAL

Our people in India are no doubt taking a keen interest in the problems of Indians in East Africa but something more is necessary. It is high time that everyone in India should study the question of Indians abroad. To India the East African decision will serve as a test for her own position under the British Empire. It is to be remembered that East Africa was colonized by Indians long before the time when Englishmen knew of this tract of land. According to Premier Churchill's *My African Journey*, "It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African territories and the Indian trader who developed the early beginning of trade and opened up the first slender means of communications. Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark on a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith?"

I know it is useless to quote Mr. Winston Churchill to-day against the East African administration, for much water has flown under the bridges since then. After prosperity had been built up by Indian labour and Indian blood, the White settlers began to look at the presence of our people in East Africa as an obstacle for their future well-being. Often vigorous attempts were made by the White settlers, who practically dominated over the affairs of the territories, to secure the gradual elimination of Indians from there, but they could not achieve their goal owing to the intervention of the Government and the people of India.

Now under the cover of war exigencies and under one false pretext or another, the Whites are once again at their old game of prohibiting Indian immigration into East Africa. They have so engineered the situation as to secure the enactment of the Emergency Defence Regulations under which the non-native immigration into Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika have been ex-

tremely restricted, and even those who came out of that country to India at the instance of East African Governments are prevented from returning to their land of adoption, where they were engaged in different trades and occupations.

The White settlers, it is obvious from the recent events, want to squeeze out as many Indians as possible, and the Emergency Defence Regulation is only a cloak under which the real intention of the White settlers, which is to keep the East African territories exclusively reserved for the European whether he is a Jew or a German, a friend or an enemy of England, is cleverly screened.

The British settlers have been conspiring since a long time past to prevent the immigration of Indians, and they have now virtually succeeded in their object. One recalls in this connection the Convention of the European Association, of which the late Lord Delamere was the head-figure, started clamouring for the elimination of our people from East Africa in the early twenties. The Government then appointed an Economic Commission consisting of some officials and some of the leading lights of the Convention and although the ostensible purpose of it was to enquire into and report upon the economic condition of the country, they arrived at the astounding conclusion that the presence of Indians in the colony was responsible for all its misfortunes and miseries, hence their future immigration must be prohibited and the Government should aim at the gradual reduction of those Indians who were already domiciled in East Africa.

A strenuous agitation was started by the Convention, but ultimately the proposal was turned down by the Colonial Office in London due to the unanimous and vehement opposition of the people and the Government of India. At the time of that upheaval, the White settlers threatened an armed revolution if their demands were not granted, and the armed rebellion was very near to being carried into effect. Our esteemed friend the late Sadhu C. P. Andrews was assaulted by those White hooligans during his visit to South Africa at that time.

The white settlers have never hesitated to use extra-legal means of getting their own way. But now under the cover of war they want to achieve what they failed to have at that time and have, therefore, by enacting an Emergency Defence Regulation put a ban on the Indian immigration. It is reported that a large number of Indians, numbering about ten thousand, had returned to India in response to the appeal made by the East African Governments. Under the new Regulation those Indians will not be permitted to return to East Africa. They are thus stranded in India, away from their business venue. This is the British way of doing things, it must be admitted.

I am glad that a delegation of Indian settlers of East Africa under the leadership of Shri Shamsud-Deen, M.L.C., has recently visited India in order to draw the attention of the Government and the people of India to the tragic situation created by the Emergency Defence Regulation in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. They told plainly their tale of woe and distress to the Viceroy Lord Wavell and Dr. Narayan Bhaskar Khare.

the Member of Commonwealth Relations Department.

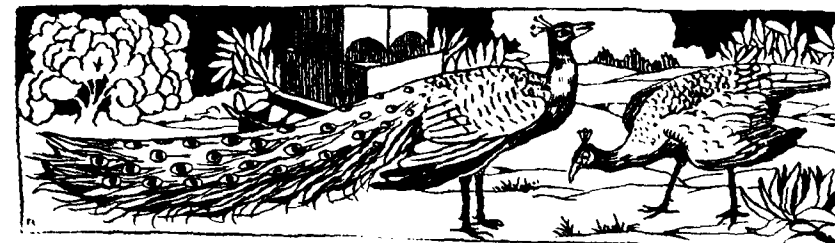
I understand the decision, prohibiting the immigration of outsiders in that territory was taken by the East African administration with the full knowledge and, perhaps also the approval of the Government of India. It is an irony of fate that the approval of the Government of India to its enactment was acquired under some false pretences. It passes beyond our comprehension how the India Government with their bitter experience of the past, took the word of the East African authorities at its face value and did not care to find out the Indian opinion on the proposed emergency legislation.

In practice the Regulation has been used only against the Indian immigration because the Whites are permitted to enter the territories on the pretext of employment in essential war work. The situation in East Africa raises an issue of grave importance to India. What is involved is not merely the rights and privileges of our people already settled there but the much bigger issue whether India will allow the door of East Africa to be closed against her people for future immigration.

Some time back I reminded my countrymen that the Premier of South Africa, Field-Marshal Jan Christian Smuts, a new Messiah of White Race Supremacy Religion and a foremost exponent of racial discrimination, was bent upon creating the UNITED STATES OF AFRICA or a FEDERATION OF AFRICA, and it is reported that he has recently been very active gathering forces to achieve his object. The Smuts' Government of South Africa has been putting extreme political pressure on the Imperial Government for the amalgamation of all these African territories with the Union. If it succeeds the lot of Indians as well as of natives will be positively worsened. Are we going to adopt the policy of 'wait and see' till the hammer-blow falls on our people in Africa?

The White hegemony which is sought to be established in East Africa is a great danger to India's present and future interests and unless the Government of India insists on immediate withdrawal of the restriction with regard to immigration it would in fact barter away India's rights. It is certain that without Swaraj the grievances of Indians abroad can never be removed and India cannot give an effective retort to this unabashed racial arrogance of the Whites, yet even the present Government of India can do a great deal to give the Indians the much needed protection, if only they seriously take up the matter which in all fairness they should. The India Government is in a position to bring the East African authorities to their knees owing to the monopoly of piecegoods trade which India holds just now in those territories. Should the Government of India leave our people in the lurch or come to their rescue to protect their just rights which are being assailed in such a ruthless manner?

India's door is kept open to every foreigner and thousands of foreign refugees and evacuees are being fed and housed in spite of the general scarcity of food and famine and deaths of millions of her people. Can it be tolerated that the people of India should not be free to emigrate to East Africa which they have helped to develop with their sweat and blood?



chand's inspiration. We commend this book to lovers of Hindi literature.

M. S. SENGAR

THE STARVING MILLIONS: By Santosh Kumar Chatterjee, M.A. Ashoka Library, 15, Shyama Charan Dey Street, Calcutta, Pages 94. Price Rs. 1-8.

This is a timely book on Famines in India with special reference to the Bengal Famine of the last year. India had 14 recorded famines during the seven centuries (11th to 17th century) before the advent of the British, some of which were local only. Since the establishment of the British rule in India, we had four famines during the last thirty years of the 18th century. During the first half of the 19th century we had nine famines and the second half of the century saw another sixteen. The Bengal famine of 1943 is unfortunate from many points of view. Loss of Burma and other sources of rice supply, local crop failure in some districts on account of natural calamities, denial policy of the Government, lack of communication due to destruction of boats etc., profiteering and hoarding by seekers of gain, maladministration of the provincial Government and inefficiency of the Central Government, export of food-grains from India even during scarcity, inflation and last but not the least Bureaucratic stubbornness in not yielding to the popular demands and cries in taking suitable measures promptly when the country was actually in the grip of famine, are some of the causes which the history shall have to record of this most unfortunate visitation.

The writer has, in a small compass, given facts and figures but has not given reference from which they have been taken. He has succeeded in showing that there was not only confusion of thought but of action also so far as the authorities were concerned (both Provincial and Central), and as a result some three millions had to perish. A book of this nature deserves to be widely read.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SANKARACHARYA'S SELECT WORKS: Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, Price Re. 1-4.

This contains the Sanskrit text, along with an English rendering made by Mr. S. Venkataramanan, of some of the small popular philosophical treatises of Sankara as well as a number of hymns, including extracts from a few, attributed to him. It serves as a useful introduction to the more abstruse writings of the Great Master. That the book is passing through a third edition testifies to its popularity.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BANGLA SAHITYER KHASRA [A Sketch of Bengali Literature]: By Sri Priya Ranjan Sen. The Book Emporium Ltd., 22/3, Cornwallis St., Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

To all serious students of Bengali literature Prof. P. R. Sen is too well-known to need an introduction. Here he presents a short history of Bengali literature, haring out as far as possible, dry statistics and knotty controversies. Works by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen and Dr. Sukumar Sen are immensely valuable for their wealth of details, but they are not meant for the average reader. For him too we needed a book and here it is. The preliminary chapters on the Meaning of Literature and the relation of Bengali to Sanskrit are not out of place. They serve as a good introduction. The last chapter brings the story down to the time of Rabindranath and it includes comments on Sarat Chandra, Prabhat Kumar and Pramatha Chaudhuri.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

BANGIYA NATYASHALA: By Brajendra Nath Banerjee. Visva-Bharati, 6/3, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta. Price eight annas.

This book is included in the Visva-Bidya-Sangraha series of the Visva-Bharati. Lebedeff, a Russian ad-

venturer, gave start to the Bengali theatre so early as 1795. Within eighty years from that date the Bengali stage took a regular shape on Western model. Professional theatres came to be opened in Calcutta and the moffusil by 1872. The reader will find in the volume the story of this development, told in a fascinating manner. In the narrative the author has mainly depended on materials, hitherto unused. From this point of view also the book has been unique. The stage has played a very important role in our national life, which, too, the author has not failed to refer to. The publishers deserve congratulation for bringing out such a neat volume on the Bengali stage.

CHHELEDER JEHangIR: By Simati Bani Gupta, M.A., B.T., with a Preface by Brajendra Nath Banerjee. Published by Lalit Mohan Gupta, 72/1, College Street, Calcutta, Illustrated. Price Rs. 2.

Among the Moghul Emperors, Jehangir's was a most romantic life, and it aroused the curiosity of the people of different ages. The authoress has presented this romantic career in a way suitable for our juvenile readers. The style is easy and lucid. Apart from its valuable contents, the illustrations of the book are a great attraction for the reader. The frontispiece is of four colours, and the inside pictures are printed in one but distinct colours. And all of these are reproductions of first class Mughal paintings. We should congratulate both the authoress and the publisher for producing the book in such a beautiful and neat way.

JOGESHI C. BAGAI

HINDI

DARSHAN AUR JIVAN: By Sampurnanand. Published by Paripurnanand Varma, Cawnpore. Pp. 190.

Philosophy is not a subject outside the range of practical life; on the contrary, it is of the greatest practical use possible. It is the philosophical outlook of a community which determines its social, political and economic organization. Starting with this idea of the supreme usefulness of philosophy, the author analyses the concepts of the true, the good and the beautiful—*satyam, sivism, sundaram*, roughly corresponding to *jnana, karma, bhakti*, to metaphysics, ethics and aesthetics.

The author, who put down his observations and comments into this book from a central prison, did not aim to give out his conclusions or the result of other people's investigations so much as to awaken the questioning spirit in his readers. He has been successful in that. The language is very simple.

P. R. SEN

TELUGU

NETI NATUDU VAGAIRA: By Koppuram Subba Rao. Printed at Laxmi Power Press, Tenali. Pp. 100. Price Re. 1 only.

The book contains three short plays. In the first, the author tries to show the difference between good acting and bad acting. The second is a satire on religious fanatics and the third is an opera satirizing present-day civilization.

Necessary directions are given by the author so that amateurs can easily enact the plays.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

KALI DARSHAN: By Muljibhai P. Shah. Published by the Jivan Sahitya Mandir, Baroda, 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 26. Price four annas.

This very small book was published at the time when the Sahitya Parishad met at Baroda in the Christmas of 1943. The writer has devoted to each of the fifteen well-known poets including one female poet—Miranbai,—old and new, one poem and published in a popular form the services they have rendered by their work to the development and growth of the literature of the Province. It is a good work.

K. M. J.

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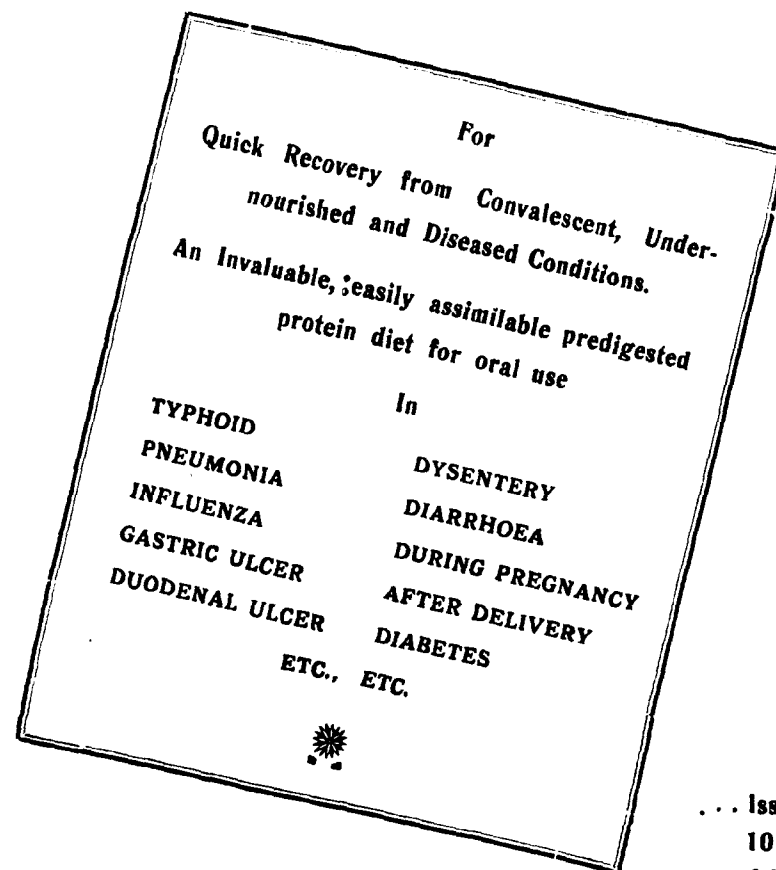
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INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Claim of the Upanishads

The verses of the Upanishads vibrate with contagious life and light. *Prabuddha Bharata* writes editorially :

The seers can speak out their conviction even before celestial beings who spy into the recesses of people's hearts :

Hear Ye all the sons of Immortality, Ye who dwell in celestial regions! (*Shv.*, II. 3).

I know that great Being whose appearance is like the effulgence of the sun and who is beyond darkness. By knowing Him alone can one get beyond death : There is no other way of approach (*ibid.*, III. 8).

The reader's attention is often quickened by remarks of astonishing insight, his comprehension is assisted by illuminating phrases, and his spirit elevated by passages of noble eloquence.

We now turn to the literary beauties of the Upanishads. But before we proceed further, we must make one thing clear—the Upanishads are not philosophical treatises, nor are they anthologies of disconnected poems, epigrams, or catechisms. They are written both in prose and poetry ; but the poetry is not laboured versification, nor is the prose mere philosophical disquisition bereft of all art. The poetry deliberately avoids philosophical stiffness and methodology, but aims more at inspiring the will and the emotion to reach a state beyond speech and thought through beautiful similes, imageries, figures of speech, rhythm, and change of perspectives, etc. And the prose through its simplicity, directness, and sincerity breathes poetry at every turn. The prose is resonant with poesy, and the poetry sparkles with direct touch and simple grandeur.

Let us look at the Upanishads more closely.

We are, to start with, struck with awe at the grandeur of conception and the wide sweep of imagination expressed in the simplest of language :

Fire is His head; the sun and moon His eyes; the quarters His ears; the Vedas His voice; the wind His breath; the universe His heart; and the earth His feet. Verily He is the indwelling Self of all (*Mu.*, II. i. 5).

For fear of Him the fire burns, for fear shines the Sun, for fear proceed Indra, Vayu, and Death the fifth (*Kat.*, II. iii. 4).

One example of simple and direct prose, throbbing with life and comparable to the highest poetry will suffice :

From evil lead me to good. From darkness lead me to light. From death lead me to immortality (*Br.*, I. iii. 28).

Mark how the feeling rises in cadence in the following paragraph from the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*.

It is not for the sake of the husband, my dear, that he is loved, but for one's own sake that he is loved. It is not for the sake of the wife, my dear, that she is loved, but for one's own sake that she is loved. It is not for the sake of the sons, my dear, that they are loved, but for one's own sake that they are loved. . . . It is not for the sake of the worlds, my dear, that they are loved, but for one's own sake that they are loved. It is not for the sake of all, my dear, that all is loved, but for one's own sake that all is loved. The Self, my dear Maitreyi,

should be realized—should be heard of, reflected on, and meditated upon (*II. iv. 5*).

The following quotation—this time from the *Kenopanishad*, which is in verse—can hardly fail to rivet the attention on the prime dynamic factor in life, mental and physical :

That which cannot be revealed by speech, but which reveals speech, know that to be Brahman and not this which is objectively worshipped.

That which the eyes cannot see, but that by which the eyes see, know that to be Brahman and not this which is worshipped objectively.

That which cannot be vitalized by life, but that by which life is enlivened, know that to be Brahman and not this which is worshipped objectively.

Can Indian Philosophy be Made Progressive ?

G. R. Malkani writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The ideal behind Indian Philosophy is the knowledge of That knowing which all else is known. It is knowledge that will cut at the root of all evil and all suffering. The Truth which we should seek in Philosophy is timeless and eternal, and our knowledge of it absolutely certain. There is no room for "may be," but only for "is." The certainty of truth is part of its very nature. There can be no higher truth than that. Has Indian Philosophy found this truth and shown a way to it ? If it has, all further philosophical progress is barred. There is no scope for it. We may give an exposition of it in language, adopting the conventions and the spiritual genius of that language,—but that will not be reorientation or re-interpretation. It will simply be speaking to everyone in the language he can understand. After all, this truth cannot be racial or communal. It is for all humanity. We must therefore communicate it in the language in which different sections of humanity can imbibe it and make it their own. In this sense alone can we say that Indian Philosophy can be written. Has it not a message for all mankind and must it not enter the cultural tempo of the lives of all ? But this is not philosophical progress. It is progress in the forms of its communication or expression, or, more generally, progress in its presentation, not in its content.

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Kalhana, the Poet-Historian of Kashmir

Rajatarangini, the famous saga of the Kings of Kashmir, was written 800 years ago by the poet-historian, Kalhana. Prof. S. N. Dhar writes in *The Indian Review*:

Little is known about the life of Kalhana beyond his own confessions in his history, which he wrote between the years 1148-49 A.D. He came from a celebrated family of Brahmins. His father, Campaka, was a minister. Untoward political circumstances determined an author's career for Kalhana. He cultivated a thorough-going acquaintance with all the past chronicles of Kashmir and knew at first hand the political and social developments of his time.

Kalhana's erudition is estimated from the fact that the story of Rajatarangini or "The River of Kings" covers thousands of years from earliest times down to his own day.

Kalhana is pre-eminently a Kavi, a seer poet. He looked upon himself as a poet first and chronicler afterwards.

His standpoint as the historian is that of an independent and dispassionate observer. Non-Kashmiris like Bengalis who did great things in Kashmir were warmly applauded by him. He extended the same tolerance to idol-breakers, iconoclasts and vandals that he meted out to temple and city-builders and great patrons of art and learning. He wrote history with the professed aim that it might help people to live and to understand life. He is no sycophantic court-poet who pays extravagant tribute to kings. He describes royal love-affairs, court intrigues and military campaigns with the same veracity with which he gives accounts of famines, floods and fires. He ascribes no dates to the kings of the pre-historic period of Kashmir. He gives dates after 813 A.D. when he is sure about their authenticity.

Kalhana ranks among the first-rank Indian Sanskrit historians of the Middle Ages.

He boldly expressed his sympathy with the down-trodden Kashmiri masses who lived the pitiable lives of serfs. He gives interesting descriptions of their hunger-strikes which formed the only political weapon that they could use against their feudal and autocratic oppressors.

Kalhana's saga portrays the ancient times of Kashmir, the clash and the consequent intermixture of various cultures. Kalhana acquaints us with many ancient superstitions, customs and traditions, some of which have persisted to the present day. He gives brilliant pen-portraits of great men like Surya the engineer, King Meghavahana the philosopher, Lalitaditya the conqueror.

As a man, Kalhana presents the curious combination of poet and historian on the one hand and a Brahman and rationalist on the other. He was a Brahman but he had Buddhist leanings though he lived in a time when Buddhism had been completely replaced by Hinduism. Perhaps his interest in Buddhism accounts for his determinism and didacticism. The cult of Saivism, then prevalent in Kashmir, influenced him strongly, so that each one of the eight cantos of his poem begins with a Saivistic quotation that emphasises the transitoriness of life and the triumph of Death over it. Thus the dominant "rasa" (sentiment) of his chronicle is "santarasa," the sentiment of resignation. Kalhana's numerous references to ancient Indian classical mythology reveal his broad learning. He was well informed in history, geography, literature, economics and prosody.

Disruptionism as a Determining Factor in the Indian Situation

K. M. Munshi writes in the Fourth Annual Number of *The Social Welfare*:

Right till the Partition of Bengal, the educated Hindus and Muslims were agreed in secularizing their group sentiment and pursuing the path of nationalism related to India as the Motherland. But the British presented separate electorates to the Muslims; the community was segregated; religious passion was made the measure of politics; and broadminded nationalist Muslims were suddenly made unrepresentative of their own community.

When the Congress broke with the British in 1939, Disruptionism which was no more than a bare idea was exploited by the British to create an obstacle, which now has assumed a sinister shape.

Mr. Jinnah has recently in his letters to Gandhiji given us an idea of what its latest phase means.

First, the Muslims of India are a separate Nation, and the Nation has an inherent right of self-determination.

Secondly, Sind, Baluchistan, N. W. F., Punjab and Bengal and Assam as they are now, are Muslim homelands, subject to minor territorial adjustments without any regard to the crores of Hindus who are residents of these provinces and irrespective of the fact whether as in Assam they are majority. This attitude logically implies that a dozen Musalmans in any corner of India are part of a Nation which sprawls across the whole continent; that these dozen, even if they be near Cape Comorin, have a right to determining what they should do with any part of the country even if it be predominantly Hindu; and that in determining whether any part of this country should be under Muslim control, the non-Muslim, inhabiting their territory, has no right even to be consulted.

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Thirdly, it makes a sweeping claim that the Muslims historically, ethnically or culturally have nothing in common with the Hindus of this country.

The fact that these claims are entirely fictitious makes no difference; that every territory occupied by Hindus is as much their homeland as the Muslims inhabiting equally has no appeal; that the doctrine of religious nationalism employed with the two-nation theory is anachronistic and unrealisable does not matter.

Disruptionism is for the moment the most serious impediment to the country's progress. It asks the Congress to give up its demand for independence; to forswear the demand for a federal centre and for a democratic constituent assembly; and to withdraw the August Resolution, "which is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India." (Jinnah's letter, 23rd September, 1944.)

The self-restraint which the Gandhian policy has imposed on the Congress Hindus, who form the majority of politically-minded Hindus in the country, is taken as weakness.

Germany's Synthetic Oil

Science and Culture writes:

Unlike the United Nations, Germany is quite diversely situated with regard to her supply of natural oils and has to depend largely on synthetic oils for the successful prosecution of the war. Speculation is rife as to the extent of the output of synthetic oil in Germany, and various figures have been quoted from time to time from more than one source. An article in a leading

Swiss paper, according to a report in *The Chemical Age*, recently discussed the synthetic oil situation in Germany and estimated her total output of synthetic oil at 10,000,000 tons per annum.

Oil is produced largely from lignite in which Germany abounds. Most of the larger lignite mining companies have established their own plants for the hydrogenation of coal on the right bank of the Rhine under the leadership of the Gelsenkirchner Mining Company. It is stated that about 30,000,000 tons of lignite mined in the neighbouring Geisel valley are being utilized for the production of synthetic oil. On an average, about five tons of lignite yields one ton of motor fuel. At the Saale Water Works near Leuna, about 800,000 cu.m of water are being daily used for the production of hydrogen required for the hydrogenation of coal. Leuna and the Gleiwitz Works in Upper Silesia are reported to be the most important centres for production of synthetic oil, each having an annual output of over a million tons.

Most of the plants are worked underground for reasons of safety against air raids and are further provided with smoke screen arrangements. The Blechhammer plants are completely underground and are reported to have survived several air attacks. With her growing difficulties of obtaining supplies of natural oil from Rumania, Poland, Hungary and Estonia, Germany will have to depend entirely on her synthetic oils, and her ability to continue the war will be derived from her ability to maintain the tempo of synthetic oil production on an upward curve despite the gloomy prospect of increased Allied air attacks.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Pearl Buck and Other Prominent Americans Join India League

Sept. 5, 1944

Pearl S. Buck, Nobel Prize winner, and a group of other prominent Americans have joined the India League of America to take action paralleling the effort now being made in India by Mahatma Gandhi and others to break the political deadlock, it was announced yesterday by Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the League.

Pearl S. Buck became an honorary president of the League along with Dr. Lin Yutang, Chinese philosopher. An English and an Indian honorary president will be announced shortly.

Other Americans whose support of the India League was announced yesterday are: Richard J. Walsh, editor of *Asia*, who was elected chairman of the executive committee of the League; Louis Fischer, author and correspondent, who was elected a vice-president.

Among new members of the League's national advisory board are the following: John L. Childs, Chairman, Liberal Party; Professor Albert Einstein; Henry R. Luce, publisher; Philip Murray, President, C.I.O.; James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union; Walter White, Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Pearl S. Buck, in accepting election as honorary president, made the following statement:

"I have joined the India League of America because I have been brought to the conviction, finally, after long, close and continuing experience with people and events in Asia, that India has become an immediate test case for world democracy. In the eyes of all the darker peoples, everywhere, it is a test case."

"Had it been possible for India to be regarded only as a single country, large, it is true, and with three times the population of the United States, but separate and out of the world—merely a colony in short—I would not be working for the Indian Freedom now. The people of India in that case, might have worked out their own relationship with the people of England."

"Or had there been another country which could have proved, in the eyes of the darker peoples, our determination for democracy, it might have been possible to by-pass India again. But the Philippines are not accessible to us, nor are the Netherlands East Indies, nor French Indo-China. At this present moment

Freedom can be declared only in India. And the moment is urgent.

"Millions of eyes in China, in South America, in North America, in the isles of the oceans, in Africa and even in Europe, are watching to see if democracy means what it says and if the Four Freedoms are true or false. By what we do about India, democracy will stand or fall. Today the watchers, in silence, in apparent immobility, are deciding the future for us all and for our children, and this decision waits upon our action, not our words, in India."

"Knowing this now, beyond a doubt, and because I am an American, I will work for freedom and democracy in India."

Mr. Singh, in making public Mrs. Buck's statement, added:

"The India League has been made up chiefly of Indians, with only a few noted Americans, but the League has now been transformed into a predominantly American body."

"It will continue to work for the independence of India, but not primarily from the point of view of Indian nationalism. Its purpose, rather, is to present India as 'the test case of Allied war aims', and to further the winning of the war in Europe as well as in Asia, by proving through the liberation of India, that the war is being fought for democracy and freedom for all peoples."

"We stress the urgency of this issue particularly in sustaining the morale of the Chinese armies and people, and also in securing wholehearted support of the war effort, not only from the people of India but also, as the

war progresses, from the people of Korea, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indo-China, the Netherlands East Indies, the Philippines and other Pacific Island groups."

"We stress also the stimulating effect which Indian freedom would have upon the peoples of the Balkan and other European areas, upon the American Negroes, and upon suppressed minorities everywhere."—*India League of America.*

Democracy in China and India

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has promised that within a year after the end of the war China will have a fully democratic regime based on the draft constitution proclaimed by the central government in 1936. In this connection, H. G. Quaritch Wales writes in *The Catholic World* in the article, entitled "Democracy in the Making in China":

A good reason for us to consider China's proposed constitution sympathetically, however unfamiliar some of its provisions may seem, is that attempts to transplant our Western democratic institutions to Eastern soil have in most cases not proved very successful. They failed generally in India, even where the Indians were ready to co-operate in working "provincial autonomy" which they did not through any conviction of the suitability of the system, but simply because it seemed to be a step toward freedom. Similar attempts failed none the less in independent Thailand, as I saw when residing in that country during the short-lived democratic regime. On the other hand, significantly enough, the popular self-rule adopted by the progressive Indian state of Mysore, and having much in common with the Chinese extended village system, has prospered.

The rock on which Western parliamentary methods have almost always foundered in the East is the fixed party system, foreign as it is to the Oriental belief in the reconcilability of interests. In Burma, notwithstanding that the people are racially and culturally remarkably homogeneous, government was reduced to a farce with the splitting of the Assembly into twenty or more irresponsible parties all primarily interested in attaining selfish ends. In India, thanks to the British mistake of establishing electorates on a communal basis, the rift between Moslems and Hindus was deepened, at least among the politically conscious of the cities. And the stress on "provincial autonomy" has tended to promote regional interests at the expense of the growth of a much to be desired Indian national outlook.

In India today not more than fifteen per cent of the

entire native population has any interest in national politics since it appears so remote from the people's lives. Hence in many provinces a trend toward oligarchy or dictatorship is not surprising. What can really be expected of an elaborate machinery designed to produce results the people do not want and which are not in accord with their tradition? Something far simpler and less mechanical will be needed if popular imagination is to be captured and a national ministry established with support of a strong and active public opinion.

The Indian leaders have insisted on their right to choose their own form of government in a free India. From the admiration which Jawaharlal Nehru has expressed for the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives it seems likely that he would be no less interested in China's village democracy. The basis for village democracy exists also in India, as it does in Burma, Thailand and other parts of Southeast Asia even if the persistence of feudalism did not favour its development to the same extent as in China. In India the *panchayats*, or elected village councils survive, cutting right across caste and creed. To regain their former importance they only need to have their prestige strengthened by heightened responsibility. And since now-a-days the radio and the spread of communications are rapidly increasing the peasant's awareness of the outer world, there should be little difficulty in extending the spirit of the village councils upward and outward to a fully elective national assembly.

Such a growth of democracy from below upward, rather than the attempt to impose an alien system, would appear to offer the best hope for the emergence of a united India. For the divisions that mar the harmony of the politically conscious in the cities have fortunately not yet reached India's vast rural population. Of them the distinguished Indian author K. M. Panikkar recently wrote: "The relations between Hindus and Moslems everywhere are exceptionally good. They live together as friendly neighbours." And Dr. J. Henry Carpenter on his recent visit to India was amazed to find, after all he had heard, Sikh, Moslem, and Hindu co-operatives contentedly working together.

This may suffice to give some idea of the wider horizons that a consideration of China's draft constitution opens up, and the tremendous bearing that it may have on future world peace. Ultimately it is probable that democracy in Asia will represent more of a synthesis of Western and Eastern elements than now appears practicable. The recognition of that probability, which China's readiness to consult us would appear to indicate, no less than her own bold experimentation, will qualify her for leadership in peace as certainly as her gallant struggle has made her an inspiration in time of war.



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Anti-U. S. Feeling in Argentina

Anti-U.S. feeling is strong enough among almost all Argentines to cause some gratification when the colonels' clique confiscates our business firms' holdings or professes to see in the American war attitude nothing of importance for the future of the world. It is a tragedy that, just when we officially stiffen up our relations with the Argentine government, we fail to enunciate impressive peace aims, fall into the old game of dividing Europe to satisfy rival ambitions, and give slight moral leadership to the Argentine anti-totalitarian forces. One strongly idealistic, firm, and hopeful stand for specific peace aims would confound the pro-Nazi groups, just as Churchill's laudation of Dictator Franco in Spain did more to harm democracy in Latin America than a hundred Axis propagandists.

A dangerous arms race is in the making. Up to now, virtually all the armament available for Latin American governments has been supplied by the United States, and we have sent one military mission after another to train these countries to the southward in their use. Now the Argentine government, after long and intense effort, has turned out a lot of modern and reportedly excellent war equipment, all in Argentine factories, and is going ahead with a self-sufficient program that will eventually arm the country to its molars. When the reactionary crowd now in power can do it, they will attempt to challenge Uncle Sam as the provider of "security" by armament, and will seek by selling arms to build up a great sphere of influence in South America.—*Worldover Press.*

Flax

In an article on "Flax Production in War and its Prospects in Peace," Earl De La Warr, Director, Home Flax Production, writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

Flax is the raw material of linen. It is probably the oldest vegetable textile in the world. Its origin has been lost in antiquity, but we hear of it first being produced in Egypt. I have with me to-day samples of mummy cloth manufactured in that country over 6,000 years ago. Although the decorticating, spinning and weaving machinery were of the most primitive kind, a careful examination of this cloth shows that the yarn is spun to a degree of fineness that cannot be equalled by modern machinery. When I tell you that the finest yarns that Northern Ireland is capable of producing are only half the fineness of the yarns comprised in this mummy cloth, you will realise how adept the old Egyptians were in the art of linen manufacture.

Flax is also the only vegetable fibre referred to in the Bible. Wool and silk were, of course, known, but for general purposes linen was the staple material used for clothing the biblical ancients, particularly the upper classes. Even the priestly garments, the ephods, were manufactured from the finest linen.

The cultivation of flax in Europe was introduced from Egypt. Greeks and Romans used it extensively both for under and outer garments—and it is probable that their conquests were responsible for the gradual spread of cultivation in Europe. It was late in arrival in this country and it was not until after the lapse of many centuries that we find it growing here. But up to the beginning of the nineteenth century it was still so essential for the sails of the Navy that a certain proportionate acreage was sown compulsorily on every farm. The sails of the Victory were grown in this country and spun by a Scottish firm still in existence. In certain areas of Scotland the marriage portion and trousseau of the farmer's daughter partly was of linen that was produced on the family farm. In 1864, 315,000 acres, or about double the present acreage, was grown in the United Kingdom.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH



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NOTES

American Exposure of British Propaganda

A revealing report of an interesting radio discussion by four persons arranged by the American Forum of the Air on "What's holding back India's Freedom?" has been received. How tendentious British propaganda fails before the arguments of knowing Americans can be seen in the course of the debate. Sir Frederick Puckle, Adviser on Indian Affairs to the British Embassy having to face the truth, got into temper on some occasions and was promptly rebuked. The Indian case was well presented by American Socialists. There were four speakers, Sir Frederick Puckle; Mr. Norman Thomas, a Socialist leader; Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York and Mr. S. M. Ahmad, Indian trade consultant and American correspondent of the Orient Press.

Sir Frederick, in a characteristic imperialist way, boiled down his question to this: "Who is going to take delivery of India's freedom from the British and under what arrangements? A problem in practical politics for Indians to solve."

Mr. Thomas followed him and said: "In the imagination of the world India long has been the crown and symbol of Empire. It is Imperialism which holds back not only the freedom of India but the peace of the world. Divided as India may seem to be, all parties are agreed in demanding freedom. The failure of the British Government to use Indian mercenaries in the invasion of Burma is further objective proof of its fear of the people."

The third man to speak was Mr. Ahmad. In the Muslim League propagandist style, he made the most unjustified flings at the Congress, Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru. Finally he said: "The Moslems, the orthodox Hindus, the princes, the untouchables, labour, farmers, socialists, communists and various other minorities have arranged themselves against the Gandhi-Nehru Congress party. I make this bold statement that Hindu Brahmins and upper castes with the help of the British are holding back freedom for all India."

Congressman Celler, the fourth speaker, made a direct hit. He said: "Yes, there are poverty and disease in India. Agriculture and industry have not reached the highest point of development. There are divisions of

class and caste. I point these out because these are the very arguments that are advanced for keeping India a subject nation. This is how India has fared, ruled from above and from outside. An absentee-landlord sends its overseers—who must somehow manage to keep their jobs—to attend to the needs not of the inhabitants but of the employer, exact tribute, divide the interest, keep the level of living low, but remember to tell them that it is for their own good. No unbridgable chasm exists in India to keep the people divided and render them unfit for self-government. There are more minorities, more unrelated languages spoken in the United States, more variance in custom and belief in the United States than there is in India and yet out of the amalgam a mighty nation was forged."

Churchill on India's Future

Following the statements, the debate opened, Sir Frederick Puckle and Mr. Ahmad were both put to tight corners. Quoting Churchill, Congressman Celler asked a straight question:

"I want to ask our distinguished visitor from British Embassy this question: You try to distinguish between the Cripps offer and the statement made by Mr. Churchill at Mansion House. I will give you another statement. Mr. Churchill said, 'Except as an ultimate visionary goal, dominion status for India would not then happen in any now foreseeable period. The loss of India would consummate the downfall of the Empire. If we lost India, two million bread-winners in Britain would be tramping the streets and queuing up at the Labour Exchange.'"

Sir Frederick Puckle: Will you give me the date and place of that last sentence?

Congressman Celler: 1935 and 1940.

Sir Frederick Puckle: No the last one about the two million people in the breadlines.

Congressman Celler: 1935, and the other one—

Sir Frederick Puckle: I have looked for it and I can't find it, and I don't believe it.

Congressman Celler: But Mr. Churchill still believes that India is the subject of Barracks Room Ballads, and that is why we have no faith whatever in the Cripps offer, just as we could have no faith whatever in the offer made by Lord Montagu

twenty-five years ago or in the offer made about ten years ago. They all have the same situation. It is always around the corner in India. Try to get it!

One of Mr. Ahmad's categorical statement, that the Moslems and other minority sects constituted together a majority of the population, was sternly challenged by Mr. Thomas to which Mr. Ahmad could not reply. He said: "I have not read anything anywhere to support Mr. Ahmad's figures, for instance, as to the size of the respective populations in India." He also pointed out that Mr. Ahmad had not been in India for twenty years and that "he has sources of information that no one else has."

Pakistan and Mercenary Troops

Replying to a question whether the demand of the Moslems for a separate State was the stumbling block to independence, Congressman Celler said: "There is no doubt it was a stumbling block, and that was in the Cripps offer. To my mind, the Cripps offer was naught but a gold brick. It was deliberately fashioned so as to receive a negative vote from all parties. Even your Moslem League rejected it. All parties in India rejected the Cripps offer. It was like a green apple that agreed with no one. The Cripps offer contained a provision for independence in future. Now we know offers of that sort have been made many times before. When the Indians want to grasp their independence, they always find it around the corner and they know the promises made by Imperialistic Britain are like pie cast, they break readily."

Addressing Sir Frederick, Mr. Thomas said: "It is precisely in this war that something big was needed to show you trust the Indian people, who are certainly not supporting the War. You don't use your mercenary troops on any large scale aggressively but only in defence." Sir Frederic said: "There is one thing I do want to take up at once. I can hardly sit here and hear Indian troops called mercenaries." Congressman Celler retorted: "General Stilwell said they were mercenaries." Mr. Thomas then continued: "That is what your *Hindustan Times* said. Mercenaries can be brave. The Swiss mercenaries were brave for the Bourbon kings. No one in India enlists out of patriotism. He enlists out of bitter poverty. Some say to get military training. I can quote you Indian papers that use the word 'mercenary.' There was a time when that was not considered so disgraceful and if they were not mercenaries, why was General Wavell, before he became Viceroy, so exceedingly opposed to even an attempt to invade Burma and why did General Stilwell while he was in this country say if the Indian question could be settled, Burma could be rapidly conquered?"

Sir Frederick could not reply.

Anti-Indian Propaganda among British Troops

The latest sample of anti-Indian propaganda carried on among British troops by specially selected army officers is furnished by the *Fighting Forces*, a British army journal. In its December issue just received in India is published *Lecture on India* by Lt.-Col. Crocker who writes what he lectures to troops on India.

The following gems from the lecture have been quoted by the *National Call*:

"Hindus are the most undemocratic people in the world and are directly opposed to the Muslims."

"Indians themselves are descended from alien races who invaded the country many centuries ago and have little more right to be there than the British."

"War has affected India in many ways and almost entirely for her good and her history tells us that she has never been able to defend herself against outside invasion until the arrival of the British."

"How will Indian government deal with internal strife without impartial British troops?"

Another question which he asks his audience is "How will they deal with inroads by wild Pathan tribes from the North-West Frontier who would regard the withdrawal of British as a direct invitation to repeat their national pastime of looting."

"I leave my audience with consideration of these problems to think over for themselves and I tell them once more that they personally will be responsible for the future of India."

More tell-tale quotations from this lecture could be reproduced showing what sort of propaganda is being carried on against India and her political future since the lecturer mentions the Cripps offer and why it was turned down. The lecture also details blessings of the British Raj and how it eradicated famine, poverty, disease and universal ignorance which were the natural order of things and nothing was done for the people.

When it is noted that this propaganda is being carried on among troops who are reminded that they are "the men who are thus ignorant of one of the greatest countries of the British Empire and are responsible for its well-being and govern it through men whom they sent to Parliament to represent them," its obvious purpose becomes clearer. Comments are needless.

Cost of Anti-Indian Propaganda in America

In our February number, an account of the nature of anti-Indian propaganda carried on in America has been given. In reply to a question put by Mr. Abdul Qaiyum the cost of such propaganda has been revealed. Mr. Qaiyum asked if it was a fact that Rs. 25 lakhs were being spent annually on propaganda there. Sir Olaf Caroe gave the figure as Rs. 4,51,245 for the current year. Mr. K. C. Neogy asked if in addition to such allowances, the Agent-General had an allotment for secret service funds at his disposal. Sir Olaf denied it. But the full value of such propaganda may not be ascertained from this interpellation. The share that the India Office bears has not yet been published.

Mahasabha and the League to Send Propagandist in America?

The foregoing summary of the debate conclusively shows that the Indian case has been very ably presented in the U.S.A. and responsible and leading Americans are coming forward to defend India's demand for freedom. Any communal propaganda done there will greatly harm India's cause and will only strengthen the losing case of the British Imperialists. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League have both decided to send propagandists across the Atlantic. Even this short summary of the debate shows that the League has no case

there, even the figures presented by the League champion were carefully scrutinised and challenged. The Americans themselves have voiced against the Pakistan idea. It will, therefore, not only be needless but positively harmful to India's cause if our communal bickerings are transferred on American soil. Sardar J. J. Singh, the devoted President of the India League of America who has achieved eminent success in presenting the true case for India on that hemisphere, has very strongly opposed the idea of sending Mahasabha and League publicists to America. We quote his opinion below and hope that the Mahasabha at least will have the wisdom to refrain from any such action. Mr. J. J. Singh, the President of the India League of America, told *Reuter* that the reported plan of the Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha representatives to come to the United States and present two viewpoints would be a 'Tragic Move'.

He said, "Such a move would harm the cause of freedom. It would be playing into the hands of British propagandists in this country. The propaganda line of British here is that it is differences between Hindus and Muslims that are in the way of India's freedom and not British Imperialism."

The presentation of communal views in America will weaken India's case and strengthen the British case.

My countrymen must realise that India is a pawn in the game of world politics. India's fate and future is being decided in conferences like Teheran and Yalta, and not in New Delhi.

India's case is very strong because India's right is the inherent right of men to be free. Let us not spoil it with narrow communal or party considerations."

Bertrand Russell Demands Release of Indian Leaders

Mr. Bertrand Russell, in an exclusive interview with the *United Press of America* correspondent, in answer to a question as to what the British Government should do now to solve the Indian deadlock, stated: "I should say that the British Government should state quite unequivocally in a declaration that India should be given independence, at a definite date—after the war against Japan was over—say, twelve months after that."

"Moreover, I say that all the people in prison should be let out now, if they don't hamper war effort. I have great affection for Nehru but I found him in the time of crisis always siding with Gandhi when he ought to take a definite stand. Additionally, negotiations should be reopened and kept open until a settlement was achieved."

Asked whether he is in favour of a new approach to India, whereby India's confidence in Britain could be won and which could destroy the 'notion' that the Cripps proposals were made because of the reverses in Malaya and Burma, Mr. Russell answered: "The Cripps proposals, with a plain clarification, must be made known unequivocally and emphatically and America should be invited to support such clarified proposals."

"Many people do not believe that the Cripps proposals are still open as they have not been reiterated very much more emphatically which would carry conviction. We can find some way out of it so that there will be no doubts of genuineness of the offer."

I sincerely feel and advocate for a 'new approach'."

Asked what friends of Indian independence in America and Britain could do and should do to bring about a settlement with India, Mr. Russell said that they should make a political agitation of the present facts to the people and explain India's case and educate public opinion.

He expressed the belief that a change in the Government of Britain would be necessary in order to achieve a settlement. People in India also hold the same view that so long as the present Cabinet remains in power in the U.K., no solution of the Indian problem is likely to be reached.

Congress-League Talks Again

With unabated zeal, the Congress pursues its erroneous policy of placating the Muslim League. The failure of C. R. propaganda and the Gandhi-Jinnah talks have not discouraged the Congress. In spite of occasional snubs, Mr. Desai continues to strive for appeasing the League, this time through its Secretary, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. In pursuing this policy of appeasement of the reactionary forces, the Congress has let the progressive Muslims badly down. A strong distrust of this one and only anti-Imperialist body is taking root among the progressive Muslims due to the faulty leadership of the Congress. The Muslim supporters of the Congress have been practically thrown to the wolves. The Congress may forgive the Muslim Leaguer, but it is certain that the League is not going to forgive their opponents just because of the fact that they are brothers-in-faith. It is now plain knowledge that the League maintains its power in Bengal and Assam through the political black-market in jobs and contracts. When normal conditions are restored and ration shops, the A.R.P., the Civil Supplies Department, war contracts and government purchases are no longer in existence, the League will soon begin to crumble. Victory in some bye-elections is no indication of popularity, it can be easily achieved by a party in power which has very large scope for the distribution of favours. The latest voting in the Bengal Assembly on the cloth famine adjournment motion shows that the Opposition still holds an almost 40 per cent strength which is no mean achievement in the midst of a deluge of jobs, favours and even hard-cash in the shape of contracts.

The Congress has made the initial blunder in their communal policy by not studying the conditions of the masses. The present-day communal rivalry and antagonism is not the whole truth, it is a mere passing phase of a dangerous policy played in the interests of British Imperialism. This antagonism is fomented and maintained with the help of the self-seeking henchmen of the Imperialist. An intensive and thorough study of the Hindu-Muslim relations during the past centuries would certainly have debarred the Congress from its policy of appeasement and surrender to the protagonists of the very power which it seeks to displace.

The Two-Nation Theory Exploded

Dr. Kalikinkar Dutt, in his *Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah* has given a good account of how the Hindu and the Muslim communities had lived side by side for centuries together and had borrowed each other's ideas and customs. Hinduism had patiently withstood the onrush of the militant forces of Islam without

losing its assimilative power and as soon as the storm had subsided, it cast its influence on the followers of Islam. Similarly, the influence of Islam also affected the Hindu society to some extent. With the gradual increase in the number of Hindu converts and with the disappearance of the feelings of bigotry from the minds of the masses, this process of assimilation and interchange of customs and thoughts drew the two communities closer. Dr. Dutt has cited some illustrations of this mutual assimilation of customs and thought even in the age of the great orthodox Emperor Aurangzeb. Alawal, a Muslim poet, translated into Bengali the Hindi poem *Padmavat* and wrote several poems on Radha and Krishna in the 17th century. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen writes in his *History of Bengali Language and Literature*: "The manuscripts of *Padmavat* hitherto obtained, all belong to the border lands of Aracan in the backwoods of Chittagong, copied in Persian characters and preserved by the rural Muhammadan folk of those localities." This certainly indicates how far the taste of the Muslims was imbued with Hindu culture. Dr. Sen tells us that this book with lengthy disquisitions on Hindu theology and Sanskrit rhetoric has been strangely preserved, ever since Aurangzeb's time, by Muslims who copied, read and admired this poem. In Kshemananda's *Manasamangala*, written towards the latter part of the 17th century, there is a passage which tells us that in the steel chamber prepared for Lakshinder, a copy of the holy Koran was kept along with other sacred charms to avert Manasa Devi's wrath. Dr. Dutt shows that this process of mutual assimilation had greatly advanced by the middle of the 18th century when the British came and began their attempt to establish political supremacy in Bengal. The *Holi* festival was enjoyed by Nawab Sirajuddowla and other princes. In the *Seir-ul-Mutakkarin* it has been recorded that on one occasion Nawab Mirjafar crossed the Ganges with all the gentry of the town and engaged himself in enjoying the *Holi*. Again, on his death-bed, Mirjafar drank a few drops of water poured in libation over the idol of Kiriteswari. The Muslims offered *puja* in Hindu temples, and the Hindus offered *sirni* at Mahommedan mosques and dargahs. Dr. Sen has pointed out that "in Chittagong this fusion of ideas and interchange of customs and usages seem to have reached its highest point. In a Bengali poem called the *Behula Sundari*, written by Hamidullah of Chittagong, we read that the Brahmins who had assembled to find out an auspicious day for the hero's journey abroad consulted the Koran for the purpose . . . Aptabuddin, another Muhammadan poet of Chittagong, who wrote a poem called *Jamil Dilaram* in 1750, writes that his hero, who was a Muhammadan, went to the nether worlds to seek a boon from Saptarsis or the seven sages of the Hindus." The numerous poems on *Satya Pira* illustrate how this interchange of ideas and customs had long ago led to the evolution of a common god.

This fusion of ideas and cultures continued undisturbed among the Hindu and Muslim masses even at the time when bitter relations prevailed in the Court circles. In the sphere of ordinary life, the two communities were living side by side in harmony and mutual attachment. This fusion continued not in Bengal alone, but it extended all over India. Prince Dara translated the Upanishads into Persian. This Persian translation of the Upanishads opened a new vista of Indian philosophy in Europe through an Italian translation. This Italian translation of the *Oupaneekhat* fell into the hands of the

celebrated German philosopher Schopenhauer whose writings since then were imbued with Indian philosophical ideas. Faizi, a poet in the Moghul Court, translated the *Mahabharata* into Persian. The *Bhagavad-gita* was also translated into Persian. Malik Muhammad Jaisi, a Muslim poet of the United Provinces, wrote an epic poem on the Rajput princess *Padmini*, in Hindi written in Persian characters. It was this poem which, as stated before, had been translated into Bengali by the Muslim poet Alawal.

This condition of mutual trust and confidence continued till the opening of the twentieth century. The masses had their differences in religion and sects no doubt, but that did not stand in the way of the enjoyment of a peaceful and friendly common life. They had the same language and the same script. Urduisation of the Bengali language in the name of the protection of Muslim culture is of a very recent growth, a development of the twentieth century Imperialist need. In the economic field, the masses, in spite of their apparent differences in religion, found that conditions for the earning of their livelihood were the same. Mutual assistance between the two communities in the pursuit of their vocations were necessary and did in fact prevail. An unbiassed and intensive study of the masses would, therefore, convince anybody with an open mind that the two-nation theory is a myth, a dangerous cancer imported from outside and injected into our body politic and social structure.

First Breach in the British Period

It was the British Imperialist policy of divide and rule that created the first effective breach between the two communities. Cow-slaughter and music before mosque came as the first slogans of division. When these two lost their force, they were replaced by two more—representation on public bodies and in the services. Although these slogans were raised in the name of Muslim interests, in reality they served the ends of the Muslim Leaguers alone. Since 1937, the Muslim League had nursed a party grievance which they were quick to turn into a communal grievance. The Congress Governments were the first targets, Congress provinces being largely Hindu in colour most of the appointments naturally went to the Hindus. Muslim members of the Congress got their share, but members of the Muslim League got little or nothing. This party grievance was quickly turned into a communal one. They did not say, "Why don't you give appointments to Muslim Leaguers?" but "why don't you appoint Muslims?"—a far more effective battle cry. Impartial political observers like Horace Alexander have seen through this political game of the League. In the Muslim majority provinces, this battle cry has now practically lost its force as the public bodies and services have already been surcharged with the supporters of the party in power, which just for the present happens to be the League. The last battle cry of despair had therefore to be raised, the cry of the Pakistan—an undefined mirage. The Muslim League, a creation of British Imperialism with Government support, continues to serve the ends of British Imperialism.

India a Vast Prison-house

Mr. Amery voiced Imperialist sentiments when he expressed disagreement with Mrs. Pandit's statement

that India was a vast prison-house and that religious differences did not substantially exist in India. The Imperialist idea of a paradise may not always be in keeping with the common people's view-point. The Andamans were once described by an astute Home Member of the Government of India as an "earthly paradise" when there were claims for the repatriation of political prisoners from that penal island. Mrs. Pandit was more than justified in describing India as a vast concentration camp. It was an English poet who wrote "Stone walls do not a prison make" and it needed an English Government to prove the bitter truth of this poetic statement. In a concentration camp, a prisoner has no freedom of person, no right of property and no liberty of communication. In India, all over the country to-day, freedom of person is completely non-existent,—anybody and everybody may be arrested and imprisoned at the sweet will of the authorities on the report of a police spy. Not even the semblance of a trial is needed to deprive a person of his liberty and nobody knows when he is going to be so deprived. Hundreds of innocent people are being trampled to death by special types of lorries and even the Indian Legislative Assembly is helpless to stop this slaughter. Freedom of movement, an essential corollary of the freedom of person, is now an impossibility owing to the acquisition of the means of transport by the agents of an absentee landlord. Right to property has been blown to pieces. Villages are asked to quit their ancestral homes on a few hours' notice. Thousands and lakhs of small traders like boat-men and fisher-men are deprived of the only means of their livelihood at the orders of a panicky Governor. Defence of India Rules prevent new entrants in trade and industry in most of the fields thus depriving the coming generation of their means of livelihood. Privacy of correspondence has been completely taken away. The concentration camp type of censorship has been imposed practically all over the country. The recent debate in the Central Assembly on the sale of Savings Certificates shows that concentration camp brand of torture is widely in application in many of the provinces. Just as in a concentration camp the prisoners' supplies are at the mercy of the official contractors, similarly people all over India are completely at the mercy of black marketeers thriving under the wings of the Government.

Mrs. Pandit's second assertion that no religious differences existed in India is also equally true. We have already shown that Hindu and Muslim masses lived side by side for centuries together in peace and unity. Neither the Hindu nor the Muslim Governments had ever imposed any political or educational disability on members of the different religion as England had done on her Catholic population. It required an Act of Parliament to emancipate the Catholics. No crusade of the Christian type has ever been fought in India. Hindus and Muslims differed from each other in religion but not as human beings dubbing each other as heretics.

Cloth Famine in Bengal

With the continuous expansion in the cost and establishment of the Civil Supplies Department of Bengal, miseries of the people continue to grow. Price of rice rules at a level four to five times higher than the normal, while thousands of tons of valuable foodstuff rot in Government godowns under the supervision of highly paid officials. Drug famine, coal famine and

cloth famine continue with unabated fury. Cloth and coal are not obtainable at the open counter. Black-marketeers continue to thrive under the protecting wings of the Government.

An adjournment motion brought in the Bengal Legislative Assembly to discuss the cloth famine has been defeated. The Opposition mustered by votes which shows that in the midst of the political black marketing there are at least five dozen honest men in the Bengal Legislature who had the honesty and courage to record their votes against a Ministry which thrives on jobbery, black-marketeering and corruption. The Civil Supplies Minister miserably failed to convince the House or the public outside that the famine was not due to their fault. The fact remains unchallenged that this Ministry failed to secure adequate quota for clothing in Bengal which falls far short of other provinces. It is certain that Bengal's case was not pressed home. Distribution through novices and a favoured class has proved an absolute curse. At every step of distribution of essential commodities, the present Ministry has interfered with the normal channels of trade and transport. Special types of distributors have been created only to prey upon the people of this no-man's land like so many special types of lorries crushing the Calcutta pedestrians to death. It is high time that these blood-sucking leeches on Bengal's body politic should be torn away.

The Bengal Budget

The Bengal Budget has been presented with a huge deficit. Rs. 13½ crores alone account for loss in food transactions. Rs. 5 crores have been budgeted for the construction of boats under two careerist Hungarian Jews who have had no experience or knowledge of boat construction or boat trade.

Had the boat constructions been made by the village carpenters with some financial aid from the Government, there would surely have been much less wastage and better work would certainly have been done.

Rs. 4 crores have been provided for the A.R.P. while the masters of the Ministry, the European Group, have expressed the belief that the blackout in Calcutta should immediately go.

Confusion of accounts in regard to Government transactions in foodstuff is apparent. Great pains have been taken to make them as vague as possible. In the original budget estimate for rice transactions we find an estimated surplus of Rs. 13 crores but in a Revised Estimate for the same year this surplus has been converted into a loss of more than Rs. 30 crores! Sale-proceeds of rice have not been clearly shown; a vague item 'other receipts' cover the receipt side. Such gross discrepancy between the original and the revised estimates indicates that either the persons in charge of preparing the estimates are completely unworthy of the job allotted to them or that there is reason for a grave suspicion of a cooking of accounts. The revelations recently made by the Auditor-General of India about the keeping of Accounts in Bengal under the direct superintendence of the Governor must give the public cause for suspicion. The tendency to evade original budgets by placing a supplementary at suitable moments is highly condemnable and thoroughly undemocratic.

The Finance Minister has waxed eloquent on rehabilitation expenditure but has remained completely silent about the detailing of any programme. Of a total of Rs. 169 lakhs for rehabilitation, Rs. 155 lakhs have

been left completely undefined under the head Famine. In the famine expenditure itself one finds that Rs. 90 lakhs have been provided towards meeting salaries and expenditures of the establishment which will distribute only Rs. 50 lakhs as gratuitous relief. One wonders what portion of Rs. 155 lakhs will go to the actual needy if it is spent on the same proportion, i.e., if 65 per cent of the total is reserved for salaries and establishments.

An impartial scrutiny of the budget taking into account its receipts and the normal heads of expenditure will convince any sensible man that this budget could be immensely improved only if the reins of Government are taken out from the present set of incapables—and worse—and handed over to a set of honest men with drive and imagination.

Yalta

As the war drags on to the end of its orbit, the veiled under-currents of Power Politics are slowly eddying on to the surface. The "Big Three" have met and held conclave beyond the range of the public's eye. As on previous occasions, this time too we have been told that the conclusions arrived at, were settled in mutual harmonious accord, and for all we know that may be the truth. For the ways of the Great, like that of an eagle in the air or a serpent on a rock, are beyond the ken of the average mind. Our own ancients advised us not to put any faith on the words of kings, and now it seems to kings we should add dictators and presidents. A poem, addressed "To the Leaders of the Allied Nations," by Edna St. Vincent Millay that has appeared in *The New York Times Magazine* of January 21, 1945, seems so cogent that we make no apologies to our readers for quoting it substantially in these columns:

Do you deceive us? Do you? Yes? No?
Speak. It is time to speak. You have talked enough.

This was a war for Freedom; so we thought it;
And so we fought it.
You knew this, all of you.
You promised us a new
World—a decent one this time, a world a man
might live in without shame.
How is it going forward, this great enterprise,
this plot
To outwit Evil?—Are the blueprints done?
And may we see them? No? Why not?

"The time is not yet ripe," you state.
We say: "The time is ripening fast."
We say: "Before the time is ripe, the time will
rot

At the core, too late
For harvesting, the proper moment passed."—

What do you plot
In camera, behind closed doors?—
Something that we,
Your loyal citizens and subjects, doing our
distasteful chores,
Not without, here and there, some bravery,
Would work, would die (for so you have con-
cluded) more contentedly

If we do not,
Than if we should know?

For I have heard soft footfalls here and there
Running along beside the deeds you do,

Of some most furtive thing.
What can this creature be?—
Expediency?
Steel? Iron? Oil-Wells?
Intrigue? Cartels?
Come, fetch us forth its name!
We have a mighty, nagging wish to know.

But you have said soft words, to put to sleep
The minds of people that were thinking deep
Of what great issues This War must decide
If it, in any way, be justified.
Have you some pattern, you,
Our private sacrifice, our love, to halt, or to
undo?—

We who at this war's end
Not only hope, but yes, by God, intend
To see our dreams come true!
Do you deceive us? Do you? If you do,
The more incautious you.
Come gentlemen, the plan!—
Produce it. Spread it out before us. Show,
Though it be intricate, its prime simplicity:
Namely, that men and nations, shall be free.

Out with it now. We have the right to know
What you are up to—we
Who placed you where you are, and pay your
salary;
Who, for your waste, your blunders—broken
crockery
By truck-loads carted off—do dearly pay;
And for vast ovens, in their size and number
every day increased,
Where sits and sulks a bread that does not rise,
for you forget the yeast.

Unfold it, spread it out, the plan:
We have the right to see,
To bend above in study, question, scan;
Yes, we the people; we, the undistinguished man;
The Demos in the word Democracy.

We say the poem is appropriate because we do believe that the sowing of the Dragon's teeth is being preceded with in silence, while brave words are being uttered by those in power to lull the suspicions of this war-weary world. Indeed the words do not sound so brave now, since some parts of the real blue-print have been exposed to the public eye for a fluttering moment. But the glance has sufficed us to appraise the plans for the future which these Autocrats have been formulating in disjointed and self-contradictory fashion. The Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, the U.N.R.R.A., these were real great plans and they brought comfort and hope and promise for the future in the hearts of hundreds of millions of the silently suffering. Bengal and Madras, and now France, Italy and Greece, have shown what the U.N.R.R.A. is worth and now with Yalta the scrapping of the Atlantic Charter is complete. As for the Four Freedoms, they seem to us to be in reality a huge, though rather cruel, joke. With the complete Balkanisation of the whole of the Continent of Europe between the borders of France and Russia and the virtual enslavement of all Asia, the only freedoms that the Nations of the Earth will possess would be to plot and to prepare for the Third World War, which by all signs would be due about 1960, by which time fresh harvests of cannon-fodder would have been garnered and fresh shibboleths formulated.

The Gandhian Plan

All Post-War plans have certain points of similarity specially in their conditions-precedent. It is self-evident that for a Post-War Plan to succeed, there must be a Post-War period, that is to say there must be a period of peace with no strife of any kind to divert the energies or the resources of a nation to war or the immediate possibilities of war. Even if the people concerned are not aggression-minded, that is even if they are inclined to observe the Ten Commandments where other nations and peoples are concerned, this favourable condition may not exist. For if they are surrounded or subjected to the action of predatory nations, then, with all their eagerness to keep their energies confined to their own work and their desires to their own possessions, they are more than likely to be obliged to divert their time, treasure and energies to the purposes of war—which means destruction—to a much more degree than to that of construction of a national life based on Peace. Even though there be no actual hostilities with arms, there might be economic warfare, which is equally destructive of a weaker nation's national economic structure as India has experienced to her bitter cost during a hundred and fifty years of British Rule.

To a war-weary world, bleeding at every pore through the results of the terrible strifes and stresses that this mechanized civilisation has caused, the Gandhian Plan gives real glimpses of Heaven, with peace, contentment and above all leisure. Leisure for contemplation and for enjoyment of the blessings of a life of easy self-sufficiency. The Plan as formulated is self-contradictory in places as the planner has had perforce to provide for certain incompatibles which happen to be indispensable in the event of war and strife. The planner does not seem to realise that those incompatibles—namely, mechanisation, key industries, etc.—are prone to induce conditions that lead to alteration of the economic structure to the whole gamut. Industrialisation to an extreme degree is the inevitable corollary to the establishment of Key Industries and large-scale Power-Projects, if they are to stand up to foreign and bounty-fed competition, and under such conditions it is difficult to visualize the success of a plan of decentralization on the basis of village economy. If such a compromise were possible, that would indeed be ideal, despite all that Economics Pandits might say about setting the Wheel of Time back. Indeed it is about time that such Pundits realize that their theories have proved to be the greatest failures of all time, and that the proof has been given in strife and suffering and in the destruction of all that is held as being of any value in Life. This latest plan contains really much that is of the essence, but all the same there is that atmosphere of Utopia about it, which will remain until it be proved that the incompatibles can be made into constructive—or at least not destructive—factors in the scheme. The crux of the problem therein is, can Ahimsa act as a shield against aggression, economic or war-like?

A Plea for More Astronomical Observatories

Immense possibilities exist in India for Astronomical Observatories. Virtually for nine months in the year the sky is clear and very suitable for telescopic observations and photography of heavenly bodies. But

unfortunately there are only two observatories worth-mentioning, viz., the Solar Observatory at Kodaikanal and the Nizamiah Observatory at Hyderabad. Great Britain has at least 17 observatories maintained by Government, Universities and private endowments. In the United States of America and in Russia the number of observatories is much larger. On the same scale as that of Great Britain, India should have at least 150 observatories.

Popular exposition of the functions of Astronomy on an extensive scale and wide publication of the results of Astronomy are two important problems which should be satisfactorily tackled in our scheme of post-war reconstruction on Education. In Britain, due partly to war conditions, a keen popular interest in Astronomy has been awakened recently. Mr. D. S. Evans writes in the *Observatory*, October, 1944: "The present time is most propitious for the consideration of plans for the popularisation of Astronomy. The black-out and military, air force, homeguard, observer corps and fire-watching duties have stimulated an extraordinary increase in popular interest in Astronomy. There is a considerable demand for good books on the subject. Over ninety per cent of the scientific questions sent in from the Forces to the B.B.C. are either definitely Astronomical or closely related to Astronomy and there are other evidences of a lively popular interest."

In Sargent's Report we have a comprehensive scheme for Post-War Reconstruction of Education in India. In any such scheme the need for the establishment and planning of a number of Observatories in India should also be considered. As mentioned before, we have at present only two Observatories worth the name. India is a vast country, and to begin with, we should have at least ten more Observatories at suitable places in this country. In Northern India there is no modern Astronomical Observatory as yet.

In Delhi, Allahabad, and Calcutta, valuable research work has been done in Astrophysics during the last few years, which has received recognition outside. But the research work and teaching in Astronomy have been purely theoretical, on account of lack of suitable observational material and equipment. So properly equipped Observatories attached to these Universities are very necessary. In these Universities, effective collaboration of observational astronomers, theoretical workers, and laboratory physicists would be possible.

A fairly well-equipped Observatory with research facilities will cost about 5 lakhs of rupees. Ten such observatories would cost about half a crore of rupees, which is a small fraction of the total amount proposed to be spent on items of education in the Post-War period.

A. C. B.

A Plea for Teaching Aerodynamics in Indian Universities

The knowledge of aerodynamics is essential for a proper appreciation of the fundamental principles of the Sciences of Aviation and Meteorology. A thorough grasp of these principles is a *sine qua non* for any original work in the theory and practice of these sciences. In post-war India aviation is bound to become one of the chief means of transport. For proper designs of machines and their handling a good grounding in Aerodynamics is necessary. It is an acknowledged fact that theory has helped a lot in finding out devices

for giving stability to the machines and overcoming the resistance of air while flying. In fact every step in the rapid development which has recently taken place in aviation has been the result of close collaboration between the theoretical and practical workers in the field.

In the domain of Meteorology, knowledge of weather conditions is very necessary for agriculture, aviation and shipping. Weather forecasting has been very helpful in minimising loss to life and property by giving timely warnings of impending storms, floods, etc. The United States Weather Bureau has done signal service by predicting times of occurrences of devastating floods in the Mississippi valley and the dreadful American tornadoes. The Indian Meteorological Department has also been very helpful in making timely forecasts of tropical cyclones. As the science of forecasting is still in its infancy there is much scope here for theoretical work in aerodynamics, to collate the observational data, to indicate the lines of further research and to make proper deductions.

It is expected that there will be considerable expansion of the Departments of Aviation and Meteorology in Post-War India. A band of fully-trained young men with special knowledge of Aerodynamics would be required by these Departments. So Aerodynamics should be introduced as a special subject in the Mathematics curriculum of our Universities which are evidently the proper places for imparting instruction to our young men in the theory of the subject.

A. C. B.

An Australian for the Taxila School of Archaeology

Mr. Dermont Casey, brother of the Governor of Bengal, has been appointed head of the Taxila School of Archaeology. At the time of his appointment Mr. Richard Casey is reported to have expressed the hope that more big posts should go to the Australians. So, one more big job goes not only to Australia but to the Casey family itself. We are opposed to the import of Australians in our administrative posts at least so long as Australia does not lift the ban on Indians for entry into their land. So far as the department of Archaeology is concerned, we disapprove the appointment of any foreigner on it who has not demonstrated his knowledge and love for the traditions and culture of this country as Cunningham or Sir John Marshall did. There is no dearth of archaeological talents in India, but they have not been encouraged. Indeed if the truth were to be stated the greatest names in Indology are predominantly Indian and so at least in this sphere there is no call whatsoever for imported talent, which at the best has been of doubtful quality of late.

Exactions by Provincial Officers

A censure motion has been passed in the Central Legislative Assembly which was initiated by a backbencher of the Muslim League concerning unfair and illegal exactions in the National Savings campaign spread over the United Provinces, Punjab, Bombay, Bihar and other provinces. The mover Mr. Abdul Ghani concentrated his charge against the officials of Bihar. But Mr. K. C. Neogy lifted the debate to an all-India level by fastening the responsibility on the Finance Member. He instanced cases in the U. P. and

suggested a "Mudie touch" behind them. From the Punjab Sardar Sant Singh gave his own personal experience. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Sir Cowasjee Jahangir spoke about exactions in Bombay. The Assembly refused to admit Sir Jeremy Raisman's claim that there had been no use of force. The Finance Member gave a lecture on benefits of anti-inflationary measures which, he suggested, were based on "high degree of perfection," to which the Assembly retorted with a cry "third degree methods." All sorts of third degree methods employed in the sale of Savings Certificates were instanced on the floor of the House. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League, brought home the truth to the Finance Member by mentioning the case of an orphanage in Delhi which was denied ration cards for three days in an effort to compel the manager to contribute. He declared that the allegations made in the motion were true throughout the country. The Home Member had given reasons why the scheme put forward by the Finance Department was not acceptable to the provinces. Sir Francis had said it would have been difficult for Provincial Governments to exercise supervision over Central Government agents if the latter started monkeying with the business. But in fact the main consideration that agitated those concerned amongst these provincial officers was that any *perquisites that might be there should go into their pockets and not in the pockets of central officers*. That was the reason for rejecting the central scheme.

The Nawabzada voiced the opinion of the country when he asserted that "75 per cent of the inflated money was with contractors, bribe-takers and black-marketers working under the protection of the Government of India." Those were the three sources which should have been tapped for getting money and only then could a large portion of inflated money have been got at.

War Allowance Claim by the I. C. S.

It took five long years for the I.C.S. to overcome their delicacy and to apply for a war allowance. The Chief Secretary of the Punjab Government had been to Delhi pleading for the proposals of his Government that the I.C.S. men should be given war allowances. The I.C.S. is the highest paid service in the world and if any reconsideration about its salary be made it ought to be the other way. The present high scale had been proposed first by Lord Clive in order to make the Civil Service bribeproof. His proposal was accepted but his hopes have not been quite fulfilled. The Congress had acted up to its claim, during its tenure in office, that the highest salary for administrative posts need not be more than Rs. 500. In a poor country of cheap living, this amount ought to be sufficient.

The present I.C.S. enjoys, besides salary, a number of allowances. During the depression of 1930 when there was a salary cut in all the services, the I.C.S. was spared from the cut. Now at the close of the war when prices are wavering towards a fall, their claim for war allowances should certainly be judged carefully. The I.C.S. men have not starved on account of the War. As an Indian contemporary puts it, their margin of expenditure on luxuries might have been reduced as it should be because in a war in which others have sacrificed their lives it is not a great sacrifice for the steel frame "to do without genuine Scotch."

Draft Hindu Code and Sacramental Marriage

Recluse, the writer of the Bandra Diary in the *Indian Social Reformer*, has very ably discussed the case for and against sacramental marriage. The Rau Committee has concluded its sittings in Bombay and is now in Calcutta. In view of the importance of the subject and the sanity of the argument, we quote his views at some length:

The part of Hindu Code relating to marriage reform bulked more largely in the Committee's proceedings than the part relating to intestate succession. This is natural as the latter is only of academic interest to the vast majority of the population. Monogamy and divorce were opposed by the representative of the All-India Varnashrama Swarajya Sangh, which is an Association standing for the autonomy of Hindu castes. *Mr. Jayakar whom the Committee co-opted for the Bombay province, asked the spokesman of the Caste Association whether he knew that hundreds of Hindu women, either young widows or those not happily married, changed their faith every year, and that depletion of the Hindus in that way amounted to about two per cent in ten years. A Hindu wife could obtain divorce by changing her religion. As a Hindu trying to consolidate Hinduism would not the witness rather prefer the woman to remain in the fold? Would he not provide for a straight and honest method of divorce rather than the circuitous method of conversion?*

The witness replied that he would certainly detest the idea of any Hindu woman leaving the fold, but he would not under any circumstances give up the high ideal of sacramental marriage referred to in Manu Smriti. A few women were likely to suffer in the process but it could not be helped.

The witness wants the sacramental character of the Hindu marriage to be preserved. But is it preserved when husband and wife are unable to get on together and when the wife in a desperate effort to free herself from the sacrament becomes a convert to Christianity or Islam without in the least believing in any religion? In a recent case which obtained much publicity, a Hindu woman had become a Muslim and back again a Hindu all within a few months. It is true that she could not have secured divorce even if the Hindu law provided for it. But there are genuine cases of hardship, cruel hardship, driving women to insanity and suicide and, surely, the sacramental marriage does not contemplate such a catastrophic state of things. This particular witness and others of his view are no doubt influenced by a fervent regard for the letter of the law. But they are honest in their fanaticism. Quite recently I came to know, to my intense surprise, of another reason which some opponents of the reform who by no stretch of language can be called orthodox, have in mind though they do not openly state it. It is that *they do not wish to marry under a law which gives their wives the right to claim divorce, while themselves retaining the freedom to marry a second wife in the lifetime of the first*. These men also profess to be anxious about the sacramental marriage though the word sacrament on their lips is a sacrilege. There are persons of the highest moral calibre who want marriage to be irrevocable but they want this not only of women but also of men. If the sacramentalists are honest they should strongly support the monogamous principle which the witness opposed on grounds which run counter

to commonsense. The representative of women's organisations supported the provisions both for monogamy and divorce in the draft code.

What is actually the case is that all idea of the sacrament has vanished except such as are detrimental to women. To that extent, there is no real sacrament. Polyandry is a criminal offence but polygamy is not. Those who believe in the sacramental marriage should make Hindu marriage monogamous to both men and women. The draft Code does this and nothing more.

The Rau Committee

The Hindu Law Committee popularly known as the Rau Committee has begun to take evidence in Calcutta. It is very unfortunate that the committee has not been provided with short-hand writers with the consequence that the very valuable oral evidence offered either in support or against the Code goes unrecorded. The members of the Committee are no doubt taking notes, but such notes can hardly replace the questions put to and answers elicited from the witnesses.

J. M. D.

Increment in Governors' Allowances

Soon after the I.C.S. men's claim for war allowances, Mr. Amery has pleaded in the House of Commons for a 25 per cent increase in Governors' allowances, all except three of whom are members of the I.C.S. This news did not have a savoury taste even in British members whose spokesman in Calcutta has voiced disagreement. In Bengal, the Governor's salary is Rs. 1,20,000 and his allowances this year have been budgeted for Rs. 8,43,100. His allowances actually spent in the famine year 1943-44 was Rs. 6,57,312. In the budget estimate for 1944-45 it was increased to Rs. 8,22,000 which again was reduced to Rs. 7,57,400 in the Revised Estimate for that year.

Expenses for gubernatorial austerity have always been considered in this country as unnecessarily high. Governors' salary and allowances are charged on the public revenues, not subject to the vote of the Legislature like the Civil List of the British King. Even a discussion in this head of public expenditure is forbidden under the Indian "constitution."

Mechanisation of Agriculture

Attention is now being directed to the dehumanising effect of the machine, especially on farm populations; the destruction of the soil by chemical fertilisers, power implements and commercialised methods, and the disappearance of folk art and a sound rural culture as the result of industrialisation. Among the unwholesome tendencies resulting from these trends are firstly over specialisation and monoculture. The one crop farmer is more at the mercy of weather and the market than the more diversified farmer. Monoculture has also a destructive effect upon the soil. Secondly, the farmer's foods are often processed at great distances from his farm to the detriment of his family's health. In the western countries with mechanised agriculture, the farmer sells his wheat on the open market and buys it back in the form of flour. He does not realise that on so doing he is paying the carriage charges to the granary or mill, paying the expenses of processing the wheat into flour, and then paying the carrying charges back

again. The quality of mill-made white flour cannot be equal to the whole meal flour he can have ground at home. In India, with our primitive agriculture, both the rice-eating and wheat-eating people retain food crops needed for their own consumption and have them processed at home. Thirdly, the problems of lessening soil fertility, of soil erosion and of diseases in plants and animals have greatly increased since the advent of farm industrialisation. Sir Albert Howard writes: "In 1937 the conditions and needs of the U.S.A. were appraised. No less than 25,30,00,000 acres or 61 per cent of the total area under crops, had either been completely destroyed or had lost most of its fertility. Only 16,10,00,000 acres or 39 per cent of the cultivated area could be safely farmed by the present methods. In less than a century the United States has therefore lost nearly three-fifths of its agricultural capital. The root of this soil erosion trouble is misuse of the land." Comparing the crop yields in wheat and corn in highly mechanised Russia for the years 1930-34, it has been shown to be lower than in any other European country. Holland with very little mechanisation had the highest yields. These experiences ought to be considered before mechanised agriculture in India is put forward as the only panacea. The possible evil consequences have to be guarded against first.

Restoration of Burma, Malay and Hongkong

The *New York Daily News* editorially demands "clarification of the extent of support to defeat Japan which America can expect from Russia and Britain." The paper says that the capture of the Philippines will wind up all the Pacific War that strictly concerns U.S.A. as a nation and which affects American national honour and pride.

The paper observes that the American factories are producing more synthetic rubber than its consumption during peace time. Therefore Malaya is not important to the United States. It writes: "If the British feel that that area must be restored to the British Empire, it is difficult to see why we should furnish all the blood and material which such a restoration of Malaya will cost. The time seems to be ripe to request the British to begin doing their share of work."

The same holds true in regard to the restoration of Burma to the Empire and Hongkong, adds the paper.

Asia will be the acid test of the Three Powers' declarations about freedom and democracy. With the end of the War drawing nearer the frequency of professions for human rights and liberties is lessening and the century-old Imperialist land-grabbing tactics is growing more and more pronounced.

Fifty Years of the Lee Memorial

The Lee Memorial Mission has completed in 1944 fifty years of its service to suffering humanity in India. The Mission was founded in 1894 by Dr. and Mrs. Lee of America. At a grave disaster in Darjeeling, they lost six of their lovely children, this terrible calamity became a stepping stone to nobler and more self-sacrificing

service. Work in Calcutta was opened with three Bengali girls, two of whom were destitutes. The work continued to grow and by 1899, there were over a hundred girls in the school founded by the Mission. The present buildings at the Wellington Square, Calcutta, were erected and the plant finally completed in 1909. The Lee Memorial has always been active in times of need and want. It has rendered sterling services during years of famine and pestilence. During the past five months almost one thousand children have been receiving a daily glass of milk. This has come from America, the powdered and canned types, provided by the American people for the poor of India. Over 100,000 M-Vitamin perles have gone to children through the Lee Memorial centres.

Banks for Human Spare Parts

The *Readers' Digest* has given an account of how banks for human spare parts are developing in the modern world. Inspired by the life-saving feats of the blood banks, medical science has begun developing banks in which to store other "spare parts" of the human body for surgical use in emergencies.

Thousands of persons—estimates run as high as 100,000—whose sight has been dimmed or lost through damage to the cornea, the clear, transparent membrane that covers the iris of the eye, have been waiting patiently for the promised operation that will enable them to see again. This operation is extremely delicate; there are perhaps 20 surgeons in the United States qualified to perform it. A clear piece of cornea taken from another eye is skilfully stitched in place of the damaged membrane.

The difficulty has been to obtain eyes. Rarely, an eye would be sacrificed by a living donor; occasionally some person would execute a will leaving his eyes to science. But there never have been enough eyes to supply the demand; surgeons could perform the operation only occasionally.

Now the hospitals of New York City have established the world's first eye bank. Nineteen hospitals have agreed to supply eyes. They deal with would-be donors, furnish the necessary legal papers to be signed (in New York State the consent of the next of kin must be obtained), and remove the eye from the donor's body immediately after death.

The American Red Cross Motor Corps rushes the eye to the New York Hospital where it is stored in the plasma bank at proper temperature until needed.

The eyes of stillborn babies can be used, but the chief source of supply is expected to be adult donors.

Similar banks have been developed for storing dehydrated nerves. Dr. R. M. Klemme and his associates of the St. Louis University School of Medicine have done outstanding pioneer work in nerve grafting to replace missing sections. The Russians have used preserved nerve fragments, removed from the bodies of their own battle casualties, for repair surgery. According to Russian reports, war-torn arms and legs are thus restored to complete usefulness.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

ON the Eastern front in Europe the battle for Germany is fast approaching its climax. After the blitz advance over the frozen fields and marshes the Soviets' spearheads were halted by a sudden thaw that overtook them when they were within forty miles of Berlin at one point. The enforced halt gave the Germans the first breathing space after nearly three weeks of strenuous but fruitless efforts at stopping the rapid advance of the Soviets' armour corps. Indeed the assault was of such momentum that the infantry divisions of the Soviets were left far behind as were the heavy artillery, while the mechanized divisions, and the brigades of self-propelled artillery barely kept up with fast-moving panzer spearheads that had torn gaps in the German defence lines and had thrust far into the rear of the enemy formations that had been bye-passed. The halt caused by the thaw held up the Russian advance approximately along the line of the Oder and the Lower Vistula. Several strong German fortifications had been bye-passed and very large groups of German defending forces were also left in the rear. During its rapid drive into the home-land of the Reich the Soviets' armour and mechanized formations had kept up their spearhead formations, the Fanning-out and the Cauldron manoeuvres being left for a later date when the thrust had travelled deep enough into the vitals of the German defenders. So when the check, due to climatic change, occurred the Germans were enabled to envelop the spearheads with large masses of anti-tank artillery supported by small groups of mechanized forces which were accompanied by hurriedly organized volunteer groups. This was followed by the moving up of Soviets' infantry divisions and heavy artillery but the German defenders in the rear started fighting their way back to the new battle-line too and in the meanwhile large reserves drawn from the central pool started moving into position to defend vulnerable sectors and a hurried re-arrangement of the defence-plan was started.

The Wehrmacht had been out-manoeuvred at the first assault. Its defences had been breached and extremely powerful thrusts delivered deep into the main territory which contained the central reservoirs of man-power and material. But evidently they were prepared for such eventualities, for directly the pace, weight and direction of the thrusts were ascertained a new structure of defence began to take shape all along the line from the Baltic to the Carpathians and into Hungary and the Balkans. The threat to the Baltic ports, to Berlin and to the great armament production centres of Upper Silesia were assessed and rapid counter-moves were started, firstly to show down the Soviets' penetrating moves, and secondly, to stabilize the defences along the line that provided the most favourable terrain for the defence. The first part of this manoeuvre was successful in the main, as the Soviets' advance lost its blitz character, and the Wehrmacht is now attempting to achieve the second part.

The Soviets' Supreme Command on its part, having been balked of its main objectives of its blitz assault, through the sudden change in the weather, has now

thrown in vast masses of infantry, artillery and air forces, and started a gigantic assault on a front extending from Libau to the Slovakian border. Over three hundred Soviets' divisions with colossal artillery formations in support are now battering at the newly organised German defence structure. That the change-over in the strategy has not been rapid enough to take advantage of the disorganisation subsequent on the blitz campaign is apparent. The Wehrmacht still moves rapidly and is quick at taking decisions and in carrying them out in detail. But the Soviets have a tremendous advantage in numbers and in the weight of armour and artillery, almost five to one. And so in the battle that is now raging in full fury the handicaps on the defenders are tremendous. The battles that are now in progress with extreme violence are rapidly approaching a climax and great decisions may be attained within the course of a few weeks, if not days, on which will depend the whole course of the War, not only in Europe but Asia as well.

If the German defence structure be disrupted within the next few weeks, then the war in Europe may indeed be over before the year has progressed beyond the summer. Germany cannot have much reserves to spare even now, though the quantity as it is seems to be far in excess of what Mr. Churchill estimated it to be, and these battles that are now assuming the form of a 400-mile long and miles deep blaze must be draining the life-blood of the German army fast. The Germans are staking all to prevent another wide break-through in great force, as occurred near Warsaw, and the vital centres threatened are many. If the break-through occurs in spite of all the efforts of the Wehrmacht then there would be little to stop the Russian tidal wave from engulfing the main regions of armament production and re-fitting. If that happens then the defence plan of Germany will crumble up in the East which will be rapidly followed by the break-up of all organised resistance inside Germany proper. Indeed the morale of the people may well crack up even before the Wehrmacht loses its grip on the Nazi War-machine and in that eventuality the end may come close. If, on the other hand, the new defence structure stands together till the Spring thaws have set in all over the front, even if instead of being shattered it is merely pushed back yard by yard by tremendous blows with great masses of men, guns and armour—as it is being now—then the position might well change towards a prolongation of the war. For it must not be forgotten that great as the German losses must be in the present campaign—though the recent Russian estimates are evidently shots with a long-bow—the Soviets' losses must be bigger still. And it must be remembered that in a Winter campaign of the present magnitude Russia must have scraped its man-power barrel to the wood and that in guns and armour it must be throwing in all it has for a quick decision. If that decision be not obtained before the Spring has progressed well into the marshes of East Prussia and in the riverine tracts of Eastern Germany, then Russia will have to take a long breath

before it can start a fresh campaign on different lines, in co-ordination with its allies.

On the Western Front the Siegfried Lines are still proving a barrier against the Allied progress. Major assaults have been delivered by the Canadians near Cleve and by the Americans from Aachen and near Luxembourg but the progress is as yet slow and halting, and the resistance shows no signs as yet of slackening. The latest developments on the American sectors are promising according to the news just received (24. 2. 45) but as yet there is no sign that anything in the nature of a decision can be quickly attained on this front. The Germans have evidently obtained some very valuable time, through Rundstedt's strategic move of December last, for further augmenting their defences at the weak points indicated by American thrusts in the latter part of last year's autumn. On the Italian Front the Germans seem to have temporarily stabilized their defence lines, though Spring may bring in a change with the coming of less inclement weather. For the present, therefore, the only prospect of a quick end of the War in Europe can be seen in the battles in the Eastern marches of the Reich. If the Soviets can obtain a quick and comprehensive decision on those battle-fronts where the struggle is rapidly mounting to a climax, then the war may be over by the summer in Europe.

In Asia Japan is now being hard-pressed. The American War-machine is gearing up for the uphill journey to decision. Japan has had much valuable time presented to her through the famous "Asia must wait" dictum of Winston Churchill. But Japan still needs some more time to complete her tooling up and to organise her transport system. It is all the more promising therefore to see that the U.S.A. has evidently come to a different conclusion regarding the needs of the Asiatic front. After stepping up the campaign in the Philippines the U.S.A. forces now have struck at the last barriers before the home-land of the Japanese. Indeed in a sense Iwojima is a part of the main defensive structure of the Japanese islands, and the fierceness of the fight that is raging day and night on that volcanic island of a few square miles is a good index of the issues at stake for the Japanese. The battle for the Philippines is not over by any means as yet, indeed there are indications to show that the major struggle there is still ahead. That the Pacific Command has decided to extend the scope of its action without waiting for the final break-up of the Japanese resistance in Philippines shows that the U.S.A. is now well-aware of the grave results that may come if Japan is allowed much more time.

Japan is a long way off from being beaten as yet, despite all over-optimistic opinions regarding the end of the War that are cabled to India every now and then. She is not yet ready to meet the Allies on even terms in the technical sphere. But she is not losing any time and has already made progress. The growing ferocity of Japanese defence shows that there is no chance of an early collapse of Japanese morale and it is also a clear indication of the magnitude of the task that lies ahead of the Allies on the Continent of China and on the home-soil of the Japanese. Japan is preparing as fast as she can to meet the threat of a landing in force on the South Coast of China by the U.S.A. forces, and she is not letting any grass grow under her feet in the attempt at completing the railway communications between Korea and the Malay peninsula—and

beyond. The re-opening of the Burma Road is the most promising event on the Asiatic mainland fronts, as there might be yet time to resuscitate the armies of Free China and to re-equip and refit the wonderful guerrilla organisations that have kept the Japanese at bay for years now even in the vast tracts of the occupied areas.

The campaigning season in North Burma has still over ten weeks ahead of it. But in Lower Burma and in the Arakans the time is getting short. But with Akyab in re-occupation and Ramree island well in the grip of the Allied forces the monsoons may cause only a temporary stoppage and not a total break in the campaign as happened in the previous years. Progress is slow in Burma and the Japanese defence plan still obscure. Of course, the difficulties in the way of transport and communications are great and are likely to remain so until some part of Lower Burma comes into the hands of the Allies. It is to be hoped that the "Asia must wait" theory has been scrapped for good. The possession of the Irrawaddy and the main line to Lashio would count a great deal in the campaign in China for once those channels are clear the "back-door to China" would be wide open in reality and the Japanese in China would then have to face assaults on two fronts. Otherwise the battle for China might be indeed long.

The sixth year of the War passes its meridian with the coming of March. Of the three "Have-not" nations that formed themselves into the "Axis" group two are still fighting though the odds against them are now as six to one in men, machines and arms. The two that are fighting are the two that have caused the greatest damage to their opponents, Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia. In European Russia the havoc caused by German arms is unparalleled in history, though the slaughter of the Chinese by the Japanese probably surpasses even that record in the destruction of human life. These two are still fighting with the same ruthlessness and with the same fury, Germany in the sixth year of the European War and Japan in the closing months of the Eighth year of the Asiatic War. In man-power and resources, Russia, France with colonies and Britain had at least a fourfold advantage over Germany and of these Russia alone had two and a half times the weight of armament and trained reserves as Germany. The potential of America and the British Empire against Japan was similarly nearly fourfold even if China be left out of the calculation. With all these odds in favour the United Nations have taken these long years to bring Germany at bay and to start the preliminaries against Japan. And even with all the tremendous potentialities of power, treasure and technical equipment of the United Nations utilized to the full this war-weary world does not know as yet when the end will come. Therefore, the entry of Turkey into the War is not likely to sway the balance to any appreciable extent. Turkey's entry into the War on the side of the United Nations might have been of great military consequence at the end of 1942. Even in 1943 it would have been of great assistance to the Russians. Now it is in reality merely a diplomatic event in Europe. In Asia it means the complete merger of the Saadabad Treaty group of Moslem States into the European power complex. The South American States are of even less consequence so far as the War is concerned.

A REVIVALIST

Our Debt To The Swami Shradananda*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

I received, the other day, a letter that had been written by a man I greatly esteem. The house in Lahore from which he sent it is in Rattigan Road.

The sight of that street's name awakened memories that were imprinted upon my mind when it had hardly been formed. "Ratee-geen," as I called the lawyer it honours, then was much mouthed by the youngsters of that day—say 55 years ago. One fellow, questioning the wisdom of another, would mockingly shout:

"Have you set yourself up as a Ratee-geen?"

This paragon of wisdom was an English barrister—Mr. (later Sir William) Rattigan. Briefs came to him unsought: they were, in some cases, actually thrust upon him. His was the most lucrative practice in the capital of the Punjab—or so, at least, it was reputed to be.

Whether he was supremely sagacious or not, I cannot say at this date. This much, however, is certain: he was worldly wise. Being such, he was in the good books of the provincial government. The Lieutenant-Governor (as the member of the Indian Civil Service who ran the administration without being burdened by any executive councillor or minister, was styled) had nominated him as the chairman of the council created to manage the Khalsa College. He was also appointed the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University. At some stage of his life that I cannot place with any precision he was knighted.

II

Three, or possibly only two years prior to the interment of the nineteenth century, my father said to me:

"You boys are constantly flinging 'Ratee-geen' at one another. A man is coming here tomorrow who, not long ago, defeated Mr. Rattigan. A smashing defeat it was. I should say."

"Who is this defeater of Ratee-geen, Father?" I asked. "To have won a victory against Ratee-geen he must have been far, far wiser."

"Whether he is far, far wiser, it is not for me to say," Father replied. "He is, as I told you, coming here. Would you like to have a *darshan* of him? Would you like to meet him?"

With these words he stopped talking. My curiosity, therefore, had the opportunity to over-work itself. Cutting a stone from the quarry of my fancy, I immediately started carving it with speed that no sculptor in any clime—in any age—has ever been able to approach, much less excel.

III

The hero in actual life failed, however, to bear any similitude to the demigod of my imagination. I had given him the sort of features and figure that I then deemed as intellectual—a massive head, "arched forehead" (Father's phrase), short-sighted eyes with

* Named in infancy, with due ceremony, Munshi Ram. This name he bore till, in his sixties, he entered the *vana*—forest—the Hindu way of ridding oneself of worldly cares and responsibilities to devote oneself wholly to the cultivation of the spirit. Thence onward he was known as Shradanand—the Swami (Master) Shradanand.

spectacles in front of them, a short, slight person with the stoop that I associated with scholarship.

He was, on the contrary, a mountain of a man. Tall and broad-shouldered, he stood erect like the *hauldar* (Punjabi for *havildar*—a corporal) who drilled me in the school ground. He strode along and talked loudly, even for a Punjabi.

He must be a Jut, I said to myself. In those days we of the Khatri (Kshatriya, martial) castes used that term for a yokel, whether he was a Jut by social subdivision or not. Women, men and boys went about shouting: *Jut ki janan longan da bha*—how can a Jut (clod of earth) know the rate at which cloves sell? I had no idea that I should live to see Juts spoken of as Jats; and the Jats in concert with Muslims, some descendants of Jat converts to that faith, would, in virtue of arrangements devised in London, be ruling the Punjab.

This man may, I thought, be a *pahawan* (wrestler). He certainly would give a good account of himself in a wrestling match.

He would, however, it seemed to my callow mind, cut a sorry figure in a joust of wits. Had father been joking when he told me that this friend of his had bested the man who was regarded, at least by us youngsters, as the wisest person in the Punjab?

IV

No. That account proved to be true enough. The most eminent lawyer in the town—Hoshiarpur—who was my confidant, confirmed it.

There had been a legal battle, Lala Sham Das, the Government Advocate, said. On one side was engaged Mr. Rattigan. On the other appeared Lala Munshi Ram (the giant whom I had just met). The two made their pleas. Munshi Ram won.

"Some day," the lawyer said to me, "you will be visiting Suket. It is not far from here. Just over there."

He pointed towards the Kangra Hills. Invisible, they were not so very far from where we were sitting, could we but wend our way like the bee conveying to the hive the nectar it has gathered.

It did not occur to me to ask if Lala Munshi Ram had had a better case than Ratee-geen. I jumped, instead, to the conclusion that, being more brilliant, he had won. Thereafter I made up my mind that a Jut's body may carry a head-piece in which a brilliant mind might function.

V

Within a few minutes after meeting Lala Munshi Ram I was to find that, in his ways, he was no Jut. His voice was loud but not raucous—certainly not unkind. He called me to his side as he sat near my father in a manner so gentle that I unhesitatingly went to him. A question or two and we were on friendly terms. Without the slightest shyness I was telling him that I meant to be a writer—that all my leisure even then was being devoted to mastering shorthand (Pitman's Phonography).

"A worthy ambition," he said, patting me on the back. "If you wish to succeed," he went on, "you must persevere and work hard."

1 This is a small state nestling in Himalya's Kangra range.

I loved him for encouraging me. Seeing that I had taken to him, father told me that though I had met the gentleman only then, he should not really be a stranger to me. I already knew his brother-in-law—the Raizada Bhagat Ram—a barrister in Jullundar, who came to Hoshiarpur (only 25 miles distant) every now and again to appear in cases considered too important to be trusted to the local lawyers. I called him, in fact, "Uncle."

"You see," explained father, "Lala Munshi Ram is married to Raizada Bhagat Ram's sister. You, therefore, should also call him 'Uncle'."

"So he is not Jut," I, knowing the Raizada's caste, commented. "He is, like ourselves, a Khatri."

"Certainly. Who told you he was a Jut?"

I then told father how at the sight of Lala Munshi Ram's giant frame, I had set him down in my mind as a yokel.

VI

Events that have been or were soon to be matters of comment and even heated discussion among the grown-ups amidst whom my life, more by choice than by accident, was cast, served to impress my new uncle upon my mind. He was represented as being a member of a band that was upsetting the social order.

They were credited with good intentions. They meant, to be sure, to put "spirit" into the Hindus—to make the Hindus stand up like men. More than this, they were desirous of opening up for them economic opportunities by addressing themselves to certain callings—weaving, for example—which were largely left to non-Hindus.

Their agitation, however, was of a disturbing nature. They caused contention. They brought Hindus much ill-will.

As if this were not enough, they engaged in debates and discussions that roused considerable acrimony. Christians and Muslims alike waxed wrath.

The officials detested the Aryas even more than did the Hindus. They regarded them as Satan's spawn. This because of the discord that their contention roused in a peaceful population. No *ji hazoors* ("yes-men") themselves, they stirred others to walk erect, with head held high in the air.

Much of this talk was not fully intelligible to me till later years, I fully understood, however, that no one was more actively engaged in furthering this social revolution than my new-found "uncle." Contention was the breath of his nostrils. One of his companions—Pandit Lekh Ram—had been done to death by some fanatic. That fact stood out above all talk.

VII

The more I saw of Uncle Munshi Ram, the better I liked him. Whenever he met me when I happened to go to Jullundar, where he then lived and practised, or when he came to Hoshiarpur, he would quietly ask me how I was getting on with my writing. Did my father frown upon my giving time to it instead of studying my school books? Did my masters (the word "teacher" was not used in the Punjab of that day) object?

On one occasion when he and I chanced to be by ourselves, he turned the pages of his own life-story backwards. "There was a time in my student days," he told me, in his forthright way, "when I did not study as hard as I should have. The result was that I failed to pass the examination. I disappointed my father. That pained me more than the humiliation I suffered in my own sight."

"Now, my boy, you see to it that you do not make the mistake that I did. It cost me dearly. Be sure that neglect of a similar nature does not cost you even dearer."

"After all, you have plenty of time ahead of you. After you get through with the school—and college—books, you can devote your whole self to writing. Then no one will—at least legitimately can—object. You can get ahead with writing as much as you please. All you please."

He had a way of repeating words and phrases. They emphasized what he said. At that point in my life's journey that method was to me of immense importance—of great value.

VIII

Either at this juncture or a short time later, Uncle Munshi Ram confided in me that in one respect he was something like me (just note the delicacy with which he paid this compliment!). He wished to do nothing so much as to write—as to speak. But—

But the law interfered. He had to study the cases (I had not yet learnt the word "brief") that he had to conduct. Files had to be examined in court, in addition to the papers his clients had entrusted him with. He had to appear before the judge, who, at times, sat with assessors. He had to ask searching questions—he had to plead.

How he disliked it all! There was so much in it that was dishonest. Crooked. Downright *crooked*. He wished to be rid of it all. He *would* get rid of it. He had already given up much of the work. He accepted only a few cases. Seldom did he appear in court. He longed for the time to come when he could give up the business altogether.

"And then, Uncle, what will you do?"

"I will write—write—preach—preach."

I saw that the conversation was veering towards the region that I had been told endangered the faith—Sikhism—in which I was being brought up.

"Talk all you wish with Uncle Munshi Ram," father had admonished me, "only do not let him make an Arya of you."

The way father said this implied that no worse disaster could befall me. With one exception. My being influenced by the Reverend Doctor Chatterjee.

That missioner lived in the Mission Compound, near the playground. To it I went every evening. While on my way thither or back I sometimes chanced upon him. Now and again I even contrived to meet him. He used to give me papers and magazines to read and encouraged me to write.

IX

Something that Uncle Munshi Ram had written in one of the papers he conducted must have upset father about this time. Or more likely the offending article had emanated from the pen of some lieutenant of his. Some of these worthies were Sikh in appearance. They² let their zeal in the Arya Samaj cause drag them into regions that made them, in father's sight, devils incarnate.

Or it may have been that his talks with me he had caused annoyance. Their trend cut across father's ambition for me.

I was to be sent to England and, if I could manage it, was to enter the Indian Civil Service. I was otherwise to be called to the bar.

Uncle Munshi Ram hated the idea of my entering

any service, however highly esteemed that service might be. He hated legal chicanery even more.

Whatever caused annoyance, father said to me one day: Munshi Ram is like the cat that, after devouring 99,000 mice, proceeded upon pilgrimage.

In view of all that had gone before, I was astonished at the taunt so wryly flung by him at one whom he had taught me to call—and to treat—as uncle. Knowing his ways, I kept silence. That silence encouraged him to pour out the vials of wrath that had accumulated in his system.

"To-day he is acclaimed a Mahasha (high-souled one)," father said, the acid of irony dripping from his accents. "What was he yesterday, though—and the day before?"

"I will tell you. He was a drunkard. Worse. He consorted with women of evil repute. As for eating meat, he, before he turned (an) Arya consumed so much that you would be lucky if you came within a hundred miles of the quantity, even if you live to be a thousand years of age."

"You see, he was ushered into the world by a police *daroga*. You know what that means. He himself was in the police³ service for some years. What need to say more!"

Father could—and did—dramatize events when his imagination was stirred. Divested of the twists and turns he gave, however, he was telling only the truth. What I learnt, from time to time, from Uncle Munshi Ram and from other sources, confirmed his statements.

X

A year or so prior to the outbreak of the Indian Sepoy Mutiny, Munshi Ram was born in 1856, at Talwan, in the Jullundar district. His father—Lala Nanak Chand—a Khatri of that small village near Jullundar, was, at the time, a *daroga* (Sub-Inspector of Police) in the Northwest Province (now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh). He bowed to the Lord-over-dissolution (Siva) as his god of gods and was credited with being honest. His wife was, if anything, even more devout in worshipping that deity and particularly in the adoration of his *shakti* (energy) now personified as Uma, the Himalyan *tapesvi* (anchorite), now as Durga, the white-faced, beneficent One, and now as Kali, black-visaged with blood-red, thick, long tongue lolling out of her gaping mouth and a garland of skulls depending from her neck.

Munshi Ram had begun his student career exceedingly well. Powerfully built, he assiduously cultivated his body by exercise that had not yet been displaced, to any large extent, by foreign importations. His intelligence, bright by nature, he polished with equal diligence.

Once, however, out of his mother's sight, upon entering the college at Benares (his father was then an inspector at Bareilly), he went to pieces. Riotous living played havoc with his body and mind alike. Failure in the First in Arts examination was inevitable. Without graduation, he entered public service. High officials pleased with his father made all arrangements for him to put his foot upon the first rung of the ladder (a Naib Tehsildarship). By that means he may have climbed to executive heights: but, through his own volition, that was not to be.

XI

Illumination had come to Munshi Ram. That prospect, so bright in his fellows' eyes, lost for him any

attraction it might ever had had. No. He would go back to his studies. He would secure from the University the title that, confirmed by the Chief Court,⁴ would enable him to engage in (what was then deemed to be) an independent, honourable profession.

This light had fallen upon his mind from a Hindu sage. Named as an infant Mulshankar, he was to become illustrious. That word meant the primal *shankar*: and *shankar* was an appellation given to the lord over all the agencies that make for disintegration.

Suitably named was Mulshankar till the night of nights in his life. He then realized that the deity of his adoration was only a "stock"—a "stone." It would vouchsafe him no solution of the problems that at the moment perplexed his votary.⁵

That realization directed his mind towards the Veda (literally knowledge) and particularly the oldest portion of it—the *Rik*⁶—and the *Upanishads* containing the essence of our ancient culture. With the wisdom derived from these studies, he prepared a work that he named the *Satyarth Prakash*—guide to the true path. According to him, this was the path that our forebears—the Aryans or Aryas (to use his term)—trod in the Golden Age.

With the scholar-teacher's *danda* (staff) in hand, he—now acclaimed as the Swami⁷ Dayanand Sarasvati⁸—travelled from town to town, province to province, everywhere preaching. Wherever he toured, he exhorted the people to come off from the tangent upon which they had flown in this degenerate age. They must get back on to the main track—the Aryan track.

His preaching threw into nervous convulsions priests who battened upon the men and (especially the) women caught in their toils. They sought to humiliate him by proving that his exposition of the writings held sacred was unwarranted. An erudite Sanskrit scholar, he, however, confounded the best of them, even at so important a religious centre as Benares—the Varanashi of the Buddha's day and Kashi of the Kassikas.

Dayananda wandered into Bareilly (now in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), in 1882. Munshi Ram's father was set by the authorities, in whose pay he was, to keep an eye over the meeting that the revivalist was to address. He took his son along, little dreaming that this was to be a red-letter day in the young man's calendar.

Of this meeting I had an account from Munshi Ram's own lips. The sight of the sage,⁹ he said, astonished him.

Tall and broad-shouldered, the Swami stood erect like a giant of the forest. His body was lithe as if each muscle—each tendon—was wrought of the finest steel and worked on ball-bearings. His voice, though strong and penetrating, was mellifluous. His chanting of the Vedic texts, with which his speech was interlarded, lifted the listeners from the shabby little town and deposited them in some primeval forest. There, in a

³ Then the highest tribunal in the Punjab. It has long since been raised to the status of a High Court of Judicature.

⁴ See my article on the Swami (Maharishi) Dayanand Sarasvati in the Dayanand Commemoration Volume, *Dayanand's Legacy to the Punjab*, p. 60. Edited by Har Bilas Sarda, M.A., Ajmer, 1933.

⁵ Also spelled as *Rig*.

⁶ Also the *rishi* (sage) and *Maharishi* (great sage).

⁷ Dedicated to Sarasvati—the goddess of learning—a title borne by persons learned in the ancient Sanskrit lore.

⁸ For a personal impression of the Swamiji, see my *Memoir of the Bhagat Lakshman Singh*, now in preparation.

² Not strictly accurate. See later.

clearing, the *rishi*, who had composed those words, was, mayhap, instructing the pupils who had entered the *guru's* (teacher's) *kula* (clan, sept).

The men who heard the Swami chant hymns were struck not only by the perfect intonation of the ancient words, but also by their appositeness to the theme that he was developing at the moment. They were even more impressed by the ease with which he pulverized the contentious questioner—he he Eastern or Western—Hindu, Muslim or Christian.

Moved to the depth of his soul, Munshi Ram sought and obtained the opportunity for heart to heart talks. They lifted him out of the slough in which he had been sinking.

He resolved to take the road re-discovered by the sage. His resolve shook the domestic circle. Despite the emotional storm he had raised, he stuck to his decision.

(To be concluded)

GANDHIJI'S CONCEPTION OF NON-VIOLENT SOCIETY

By SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL, M.A. (Cal.), M.A. (Alld.), F.R. ECON. S. (Lond.),

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THE last World War was fought with the sublime intention of making the world safe for Democracy and to establish enduring peace among the warring countries. It was fervently hoped that the League of Nations would pave the way for a World Federation on the firm foundations of Collective Security and international co-operation. But the Treaty of Versailles, instead of ushering in an era of peace and good-will, sowed the seeds of the present globe-shaking holocaust which is unparalleled in its callousness, ferocity and totalitarian destruction. The violent suppression of Germany gave birth to Hitler, and if Hitler is overwhelmed by force, a Super-Hitler is sure to be born in the wake of violent peace. "I know nothing more terrible than a victory except defeat," remarked the Duke of Wellington who earned the unique honour of crushing Napoleon. The United Nations cannot afford to forget these prophetic words of the Iron Duke in their determination to bring Hitler to his knees. One must confess that the prospects of winning a lasting peace even after this world-wide carnage do not appear to be any the brighter, and if history repeats itself in the form of another Treaty of Versailles, the world shall once again rush headlong into another catastrophe the disastrous consequences of which we shudder to visualise.

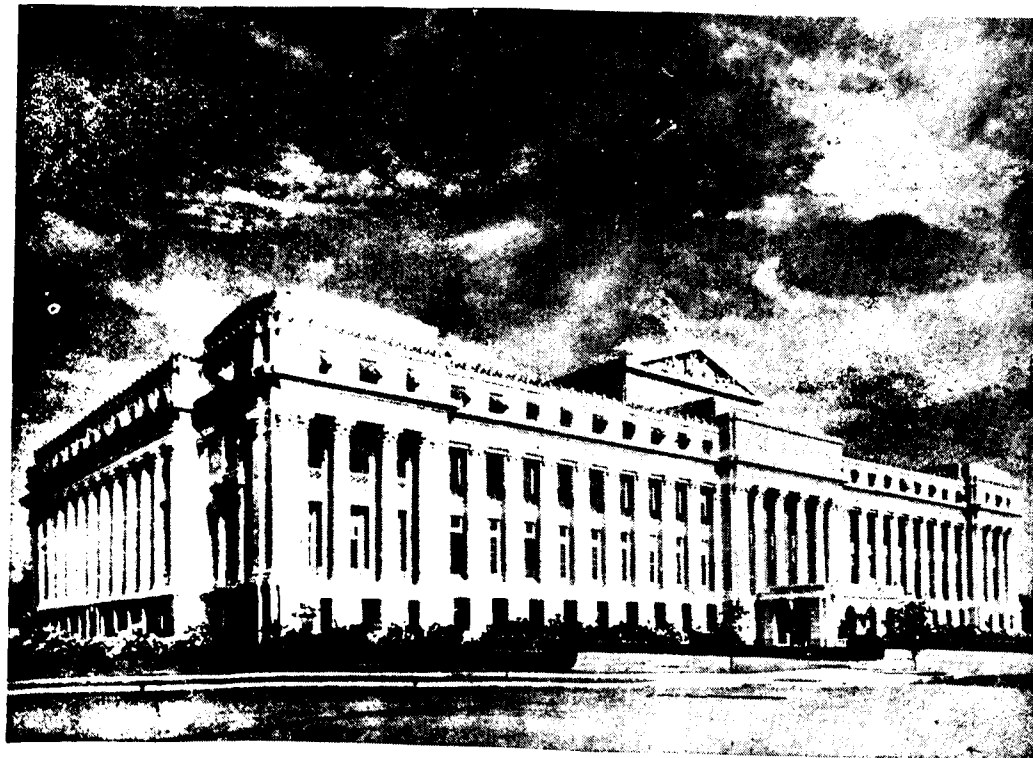
What is the root-cause of this violence and bloodshed? It was once thought that war is a biological necessity and the world must continue to be 'red in tooth and claw.' But that theory has long since been rejected as fallacious and mischievous. To say that war is psychologically inevitable because of the human instincts of pugnacity and self-preservation is again a perversion of truth. It is now admitted on all hands that the basic cause of all wars is the excessive and unfettered greed for economic gains through the inhuman spoliation of weaker nations. As Bernard Shaw puts it, "Capitalism has no conscience," and its God is nothing but Gold. It can afford to be gentle and suave so long as its supremacy is not challenged and threatened. But in face of imminent danger it does not fail to raise its fierce and ugly head in the shape of Fascism or Nazism. Vain and disgraceful attempts are made to drape Capitalism in the fashionable garb of democracy and freedom; but we all now know only too well that the velvet glove conceals the iron fist.

In view of these calamitous tendencies of the Capitalist economy, it was fervently hoped that Socialism will put an end to all our ills. The Soviet experiment was, consequently, hailed as the saviour of exploited and down-trodden humanity and as a great land-mark

in the history of economic reconstruction. It is true that the U.S.S.R. did succeed to a considerable extent in raising the standard of living of the masses by eliminating the Capitalist class with an iron hand. It was also believed that, with the spread of Socialism in other countries, international wars will cease. But the reaction has now set in, and the erstwhile supporters and admirers of Soviet Economy are feeling disillusioned, and sadly disappointed. The Socialist Society, which was, originally, meant to be classless, democratic and international, is now dominated by a new bureaucracy, and 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' instead of 'withering away' has culminated in the regimentation of the masses. The international ideal has also been thrown to the winds. With a return to Nationalism, it is almost impossible to resist the natural sequence—return to Imperialism, even though it be of the Socialist brand. With the progress of the present war, there are now ample facts to indicate that Soviet Russia is fast developing into a huge and haughty Socialist Empire, or, to use a sweeter and milder expression, 'Socialist Commonwealth.' The pivotal cause of this transformation is not far to seek. With centralized control and large-scale Planning, individual liberty is bound to be crushed under the iron heel of violence.

What, then, is the alternative? How to save the world from violence, blood-shed and totalitarian control? The solution lies in simplicity, decentralization and cottage industrialism. And it is from this point of view that Gandhian economic ideas have assumed unusual significance at a time when other economic theories and experiments have led us to a blind and dangerous alley. There was a time when Gandhiji's economics was scoffed at as chimerical, faddy and unpractical. But subsequent experience not only in this country but all over the world has compelled careful study of the economic implications and potentialities of Gandhian Village Communism based on decentralized socio-political system.

The fundamental principle underlying all Gandhian thought is non-violence. Gandhiji holds that violence, in any form, cannot succeed in establishing an economic and social order which will bring peace and happiness. True democracy and real growth of human personality are conceivable only in a non-violent society. Violence breeds greater violence and whatever is gained by force needs to be preserved by superior force. 'For all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.' Gandhiji will, therefore, have nothing to do with violence because in a planned society economic re-



The Legislative building at Manila, the capital city of the Philippines, stand as a massive symbol of the growing strength of the Philippine Islands



This is how the Escolta, main business street of Manila, looked before the war



With song and dance the Slovak girls welcome the spring



Helpa in Central Slovakia. The Slovak mountain villages hold firmly to their traditional architecture, costume and beliefs

'construction is only a Means and not an End. In order to preserve the purity of the End, the Means employed towards its attainment must be equally pure. That is why he maintains that even a Socialist society should be established through non-violence, and not by means of a bloody revolution.

Gandhian conception of a non-violent State or society is based on three important ideals. The first ideal is "simple living and high thinking." The Western civilization attaches supreme importance to material welfare and maintains that the goal of a progressive individual or nation should be the increasing accumulation of physical comforts and luxuries. To the western mind, the fullness of life necessarily implies the abundance of material goods. That is why all his economic planning is in terms of a rise in the "standard of living." But Gandhiji is fundamentally concerned with the "standard of life." "We notice" says he, "that the mind is a restless bird; the more it gets, the more it wants, and it will remain unsatisfied. The more we indulge our passions, the more unbridled they become. Our ancestors there set a limit to our indulgences. They saw that happiness was largely a mental condition." Like Capitalism, Russian Socialism is also based on the principle of material welfare; the ideology of both is essentially identical. But Gandhiji detests 'this mad desire to destroy the ends of the earth in search of their satisfaction.'

The second ideal is the dignity and sanctity of "bread labour," it naturally follows from the first ideal of simplicity. "It was not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that if we set our minds after such needs, we would become slaves and lose our moral fibre. They, therefore, after due consideration, decided that we should only do what we could with our hands and feet. They saw that our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet." Gandhiji thinks that our mental and moral development is dependent on our physical work. The Wardha Scheme of Basic Education adumbrated originally by him is based on this very principle of 'learning through doing.' The correlation of hand-culture and mind-culture has been now scientifically proved by modern psychologists and educationists. Apart from the moral and mental values of simple life, Gandhiji discourages, to use Plato's phrase, 'this reckless pursuit of wealth' through excessive mechanization and lopsided industrialism, because without maximum dependence by virtue of our manual labour we are liable to get inextricably involved in the chain of economic serfdom and exploitation. He contends that the aim of all our activities should be the natural development and unfoldment of our personality in an atmosphere of freedom and economic independence at least so far as the minimum necessities of life are concerned. The present industrialism exploits the 'surplus value' of human labour in a Capitalist society and results in the regimentation of the people in a Socialist society. It has its foundations in violence and rigid State Control. In his non-violent society, therefore, Gandhiji has no place for the modern industrial civilization. He is not against machinery as such, for, after all, this human body or the spinning wheel is also 'an exquisite piece of machinery.' But he has set his face against modern industrialism which concentrates wealth in the hands of a few and reduces human beings into cog-wheels and automata.

The third ideal is the recognition of human values. Orthodox economics has been laying undue emphasis on Money and Profits. To Gandhiji 'Man is the supreme consideration,' and 'Life is more than Money.' "Khaddar Economics is wholly different from the ordinary. The latter takes no note of the human factor. The former concerns itself with the human." The economic law that man must buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest is, in Gandhiji's opinion, 'the most inhuman among the maxims laid down by modern economists.' "True economics cannot be divorced from ethics; it means a complete renunciation of everything that is likely to harm our fellow creatures." From this principle of Humanism, Gandhiji derives his ideal of Swadeshi—the practice of buying from one's immediate neighbours rather than from distant markets. "It is sinful for me to wear the latest finery of Regent Street when I know that, if I had worn the things woven by the neighbouring spinners and weavers, that would have clothed me, and fed and clothed them."

A non-violent society based on these three deals of simplicity, dignity of labour, and human values will, necessarily, be a federal net-work of decentralized village communities which will be to a very great extent self-governing and self-sufficient. Like the ancient Gram Sanghas or the Greek City States, these village communities will have maximum political autonomy for their internal organisation. Real democracy based on adult suffrage will be possible in these small Republics because there will be intimate contact among the citizens who shall govern their colony with joint and co-operative effort. 'The only government which can fully satisfy all the exigencies of the social state is one in which the whole people participate,' wrote James Stuart Mill. The non-violent Republics of Gandhiji's conception will fulfil this test of true democracy. These village communities or Panchayats will, of course, be linked federally to the Taluka, District, Division, Province and the whole country for the purposes of common and co-ordinated policy. But, so far as their own internal administration and economy are concerned, they shall enjoy the largest measure of autonomy and independence. Economically, they will try their best to produce all the necessities of life through the manual labour of their citizens. They will export only their surplus produce, and import only those commodities which they cannot manufacture. There will, thus, be minimum internal trade between the different self-sufficient village units, and the need for the means of transport and communication will be reduced to a considerable extent. The farm crops will be for immediate consumption and not for distant markets. The present practice of raising money or commercial crops, will disappear. Cloth will be spun and woven in the villages for the villagers. The economic units would manufacture their own paper, oil, gur, soap, shoes and other necessities of life; they will grow their own vegetables, maintain a dairy for milk, butter and ghee, and run other village industries on a co-operative basis. For their recreation, these Republics will develop their own indigenous theatre and folk dance; they will celebrate their festivals artistically and establish 'bhajan mandals' for evolving their community-music. For eight hours, the able-bodied citizens will work hard for their living; their labour shall not be dull, monotonous and soul-killing as in modern factories; it will be joyful, pleasant and conducive to their mental and moral growth. The citizens of these non-violent village units

shall not exploit the labour of others; nor shall they allow others to exploit them. Their economic organization will strike at the very root of unholy spoliation which is the predominant characteristic of the capitalist order. They shall lead a quiet, peaceful and contented life instead of the hectic, crazy and nerve-racking life of the modern towns. To the citizens of these states, money shall be only a means, and not an end. Most of their transactions will be in kind and not in cash. The cash-nexus will be conspicuous by its absence. The people will be in a position to understand the implications and consequences of their economic activities; they shall not be the helpless spectators of a complicated financial system in which even the Governor of the Bank of England is forced to confess: 'I do not understand it.'

Internal trade in the non-violent state may be left to private individuals, of course, under State control. Gandhiji is not in favour of stifling private initiative and enterprise altogether. But its scope and margin of profit should be regulated by the State authorities. For purposes of International Trade, the National State and not private persons, should be the sole authority. The country should try to be as self-sufficient as possible; but international transactions need not be tabooed. A non-violent society will not hesitate to import those articles which are impossible to be produced inside the country; but these articles must be absolutely essential for the well-being of the nation. Luxury goods from outside will not be encouraged. The country could also export to other countries those commodities which are indispensably required by them and which could be spared by it. Thus, in a non-violent World State, international trade will satisfy the real and felt needs of

various countries with their mutual free consent, without being involved in the 'whirl-pool of Economic Imperialism.'

Gandhiji's State will run the least risk of foreign invasion and aggression because it will provide hardly any scope for economic exploitation which is the root of Imperialism. 'Simple homes from which there is nothing to take away require no policing.' If the citizens of the non-violent society refuse to be exploited by foreign nations by being self-sufficient in regard to their necessities of life, the motive for colonial conquest will largely disappear. If they firmly determine to use only hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, neither the internal nor foreign capitalists can compel them to wear fashionable mill-cloth which is a source of exploitation. Similarly with regard to other commodities. A society which is based on decentralized and cottage production can, thus, preserve its liberty and economic independence without any violence.

It is wrong to think that Gandhiji is medieval and antediluvian in his outlook and is trying to put the hands of the clock back. He is instinctively a realist, and has been successful in laying his finger on the pivotal cause of our economic and political malaise and disorder. I can invoke the testimony of many western thinkers in support of Gandhiji's ideals. But it will suffice here to say that Gandhiji is a man of vision, and his bold conception of a non-violent state may prove to be the harbinger of a new era of world peace and good-will. I am convinced that the Mahatma, instead of being medieval, is a century ahead of our times. We may not realise the intrinsic worth of his economic ideals at present; but time will recognise Gandhiji as the Prophet of future World Order.

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

The Two-nations Theory of Mr. Jinnah—II

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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Fifthly, Mr. Jinnah has referred to the "history and traditions" of the Muslims of India. The only comment I should like to make here is—although it may not be palatable to many—that, as by far the largest proportion of the Muslims of India today are, historically speaking, the descendants of converts—willing or forced—from Hinduism and other religions existing in this country before the Muslim invasion, and not the descendants of the Muslim invaders of India, their past history and traditions, whatever they might be, are the same as those of the Hindus and the followers of other pre-existing indigenous religions. If there is anything of glory or pride in that history, it is as much theirs as of the Hindus, etc., today. And if there is anything disgraceful in that history, the disgrace also is as much theirs as of those Hindus, etc. It is no use disowning one's ancestry. History does not permit this.

Sixthly, in connexion with the question of the "names and nomenclature" of the Muslims of India referred to by Mr. Jinnah, it may, for example, be pointed out that the "names and nomenclature" of the Hindus of Bengal, the Hindus of Northern or Central India, and of the Hindus of South India do in many respects differ. That does not mean that these different

groups of Hindus constitute different nations in India, and are, therefore, entitled to have separate, independent sovereign States of their own. Again, the names and nomenclature of the Muslims of India are in many respects identical with those of the Muslims of Arabia or of many other Islamic countries outside of India. That does not imply that all these Muslims constitute one nation and are, therefore, entitled to form a separate, sovereign State for themselves. Further, the names and nomenclature of Anglo-Indians in India, and even of many Indian Christians, are the same, in many cases, as those of Britishers in Great Britain. No one will, therefore, contend that these Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and Britishers constitute one nation, and must, therefore, have a separate, independent State for themselves. Lastly, the names and nomenclature of many Britishers in Great Britain—and even their language, literature, and religion—are the same as those of many Americans in the U.S.A. No one will, therefore, maintain that these Britishers and Americans constitute one nation and, therefore, must have a separate, sovereign independent State of their own.

On the other hand, the names and nomenclature—and also the religions—of the Germans, the French and

the Italians in Switzerland differ. Yet that has not prevented them from becoming a single nation, namely, the Swiss Nation. The names and nomenclature—and also the religions, languages and customs—of the French and the English in Canada differ. Still they constitute a single nation, namely, the Canadian Nation. The names and nomenclature of the members of the various nationalities in the U.S.A. differ. Yet that has not prevented these various nationalities from being welded into a single nation, namely, the American Nation. The question of names and nomenclature, therefore, does not establish anything.³³

Seventhly, Mr. Jinnah has stated that the Muslims of India have distinctive legal (*sic*) laws, customs, and moral codes of their own. Perhaps the expression "legal laws" is a misprint for "personal laws"; otherwise it becomes an uncouth tautology. My comment is that the personal laws,³⁴ customs, and even moral codes of the Hindus of Bengal differ in many respects, for instance, from those of the Hindus of South India. This does not mean that the Hindus of Bengal and the Hindus of South India are separate nations. Secondly, the personal laws of the Sunni Muslims of Northern India are essentially the same as the personal laws of the Sunni Muslims of Arabia and of Egypt. No one will, therefore, contend that all these Muslims constitute one nation and must, therefore, have one independent, sovereign State of their own. On the other hand, it is often a fact that the customs and moral ideas of the Hindus and the Muslims living in the same area, are, as a result of their long, intimate association and cultural affinities, more or less identical; whereas the Sunnis and the Shias differ in many respects in regard to their customs and personal laws. And I also find that, even after the enactment of what is known as the Shariat Act of 1937, Khojas and Cutchi Memons in the Bombay Presidency are, in the absence of any proof of special usage to the contrary, still governed, in matters of succession and inheritance, at least to some extent, not by the Mahomedan, but by the Hindu law.³⁵ Further, according to the Census of India,³⁶ 1931, there are groups of people in India "who have drawn on both Hindu and Muslim sources for their religious tenets;" or "who worship the Christian Trinity plus a Hindu-Muslim Trinity consisting of Allah the Creator, Parameshwar the Preserver, and Khuda the Destroyer;" or "who share in equal degree the Muslim and Hindu religious beliefs, worshipping Ganesh as well as Allah, using Hindu names and dress and observing Hindu festivals"; or, again, who "take Muslim names and even utilise the services of mullahs" in one area, but who "follow Hindu customs and use Hindu names" in another area. "There is thus a very real difficulty sometimes in deciding whether a particular body is Muslim or Hindu."³⁷ The question

of personal laws, etc., does not, therefore, establish anything.

Eighthly, the Hindus and the Muslims living in the same area often follow the same calendar; whereas the Hindus themselves in different parts of India do not follow the same calendar. And the same thing can be said also of the Muslims in different parts of India. Therefore, Mr. Jinnah's reference to the question of calendar in his statement does not also prove or establish anything.

Ninthly, in regard to the question of "aptitudes and ambitions" alluded to by Mr. Jinnah, it may be pointed out that these are purely personal matters, depending upon the mental and the physical constitution of individuals. They vary from person to person and also, sometimes, from one area to another. Much depends upon physical environment. There is nothing Hindu or Muslim in them.

Finally, with regard to the question of "outlook on life and of life" mentioned by Mr. Jinnah, it may, I believe, be enough to point out here that, although they differ in respect of their religion and some religious rites and ceremonies, yet the "outlook on life and of life" of, say, the Muslim peasantry and the Hindu peasantry in Bengal, or, for instance, of the Muslim labourers and Hindu labourers in an industry—and these peasantries and labourers, and not the parasitical classes who exploit them and their name, constitute the real backbone of the Indian people—is more or less identical because their interests and problems also are identical. And their "outlook on life and of life" is materially different from that of men who belong to the status and social position to which Mr. Jinnah himself belongs. As I have already stated, man is not merely a religious being. He has other interests, too, which no less vitally affect him than religion. Often these non-religious interests have a greater urgency and insistence than even religion itself. Any other view is sheer propaganda, and nothing else. It may be argued against this view why then Hindu-Muslim riots occur from time to time. As I have shown before³⁸ in another connexion, these riots are partly due to misrepresentations and misunderstandings, partly due to the machinations of designing men or communal fanatics on either side, and, often, largely due to the fact that law is not enforced, at their 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 Mr. Jinnah himself admitted, before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee, on 13th August,

the Muslims observe the Hindu period of ceremonial uncleanness (*asauch*) on the death of parents and at its conclusion shave the head and beard; the women wear the vermilion mark of Hindu wives and the worship of Durga is frequent . . . It is even reported that there the *navanna* ceremony is universal . . . whilst at Mahasabha Muslims as well as Hindus mark their iron safes with vermilion on the Dasara day and perform the Satyapir puja with offerings of *sinni* . . . In Pabna, Manasa or Blasahari is often worshipped by them (Muslims) and they contribute towards the Kali puja particularly in time of epidemics, whilst the worship of Sitala, the goddess of small-pox, is almost universal and professing specialists of the disease, calling themselves *Kasiraj*, though Muslim, will admit to taking fees for the express purpose of propitiating the goddess. Practices such as the use of turmeric (*goya halud*) at the marriage ceremony have also been borrowed from the Hindus."—See the Census of India, 1931, Vol. 5, Bengal and Sikkim, Part I, Report, p. 390; also see p. 383 thereof.

38 See *The Modern Review* of June, 1943, p. 460.

33 It may be noted here that "the use of combined Muslim and Hindu names is not unusual in more than one part of Bengal." See the Census of India, 1931, Volume V, Bengal and Sikkim, Part I, Report, p. 390.

34 Take, for instance, the question of the law of inheritance.

35 The position was far different before the enactment of the Shariat Act of 1937. See Mulla, *Principles of Mahomedan Law*, 11th Edition, pp. 17-18.

36 Vol. I, India, Part I, Report, 1933, pp. 380-81.

37 I also find in the Census of Bengal and Sikkim, 1931, . . .

"In many parts of the country the Muslim peasant . . . joins to some extent in Hindu worship . . . In Jessore, it is reported that the Muslims revere the tulsi plant and bet tree and observe the festivals of Jamal Sashidi and Bhadratriditiya. In Bogra, in some areas

1919, in reply to Question 3854 put to him by Mr. Bennet, a member of the Committee³⁹: "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, etc."

IV

I have analysed above the grounds on which Mr. Jinnah has based his two-nations theory. These grounds cannot, as I have shown, stand the scrutiny of reason. And I have also shown that Mr. Jinnah held a different view in 1919. I do not deny that there are some differences between the Hindus and the Muslims of India. But we should not unduly emphasize and exaggerate those differences when Providence has brought us together and when we have *volens volens* got to live together. That way does not lie the solution of the Indian problem. There are many differences, particularly in the religious sphere, between the English and the French in Canada; between the Germans, the French and the Italians in Switzerland; between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics in Germany; and among the diverse nationalities in the United States of America. Yet, in each one of these cases a nation has emerged, thanks to the growth of the modern spirit of religious toleration. I do not see any reason why it should be otherwise in India. As Dr. Hutton, Census Commissioner for India, 1931-33, has rightly observed, after a very careful survey of the position of different religious communities in this country, "Generally speaking, there would seem to be no insuperable reason why the Muslim and the Hindu should not dwell together in harmony."⁴⁰ It is, therefore, very painful to see some responsible leaders of public opinion in India advancing with zeal and warmth the specious argument of "homelands". If that argument is seriously put forward, then it may be legitimately asked, who have lived longer in those areas which are proposed to be included in the State of Pakistan—the Hindus and the other indigenous non-Muslims, or the Muslims? The former had lived in those areas long, long before Mohammedanism itself was founded, not to speak of the Muslims of India; and they have been living there ever since. Have they not, therefore, a greater right to claim those areas as their "homelands"? The question is one of principle and not of numerical strength. Some people, however, appear to lay stress on the question of number. But they forget that the number is a variable factor, variation being due, apart from the questions of emigration and immigration, to the presence or absence of such causes in a community as "the practices of polygamy, of widow remarriage and, on the whole, of later consummation of marriage,"⁴¹ etc. For instance, for every 10,000 of the total population of Bengal in 1881, the number of Hindus was 4882—the number might have been larger earlier—and that of the Muslims 4969. Thus the number of Hindus was practically equal to that of the Muslims. But, largely owing to the causes mentioned

above, the number of Hindus steadily declined from decade to decade and that of the Muslims gradually increased. As a result, the corresponding numbers for Hindus and Muslims were 4348 and 5444 in 1931.⁴² Even then, the number of adults (aged 20 and over) in 1931 was 52 per cent in the case of Muslims and 46 per cent in the case of Hindus, although the general percentages (all ages being considered) in that year were 55 in the case of Muslims and 43 in that of Hindus.⁴³ And in a democracy, the percentage of adults in a community is an important factor.

The only view, therefore, which can stand the scrutiny of logic, reason, and justice is that no part of India is the homeland of any particular community. India being the common motherland of all the communities that live within its boundary today, every part of it is the common homeland of all those communities. A contrary view is sure to lead to inter-communal bitterness and, ultimately, to a civil war in this country. A parrot-like repetition of an irrational view or slogan *ad nauseam* will not help anybody's cause, notwithstanding the philosophy of propaganda taught by Hitler and Goebbels. No one can befooled all the people all the time.

It may also be pointed out here to the Muslim separatists that insistence on the view that the Muslims of India constitute a separate nation distinct from the rest of the population of India will ultimately act as a boomerang to themselves. Either the Muslims of India form a part of the population of India—and, therefore, form a part of the Indian people—or they do not. If they insist that they do not so form a part, while living within the geographic boundary of India, then the rest of the people of India cannot be blamed if they begin to look upon the Muslims as foreigners and aliens in India—at best *domiciled aliens*, to use a term of International Law. And such a view on their part is sure to have far-reaching economic and political consequences. The question is not one of sentiment, but of logic and reason. These non-Muslim Indians have been fighting and suffering during the last sixty years for the ending of one alien rule, namely, the rule of the British people over them. The Muslim separatists would be in a dreamland if they thought now that these non-Muslims would ever agree or submit, having regard to the record of Muslim rule in the past in relation to their culture, religion, temples, deities, art, and architecture, etc., to the imposition over them of another alien rule, namely, the rule of the Muslims in the proposed State of Pakistan. It would be too much to expect it.

We have already in India many absurdities. We should not multiply them and make ourselves a laughing-stock of the whole civilized world, by creating a Hindu national State of India, a Muslim National State of India, a Sikh National State of India, etc.

In conclusion, I should like to say—although it may not be very palatable to many—that, not to speak of two or more nations in India today, there is as yet no nation in India today. The Indian nation is still in the making and Indian nationalism is passing through a period of travail. A community or group of people is not recognized by modern Political Science as a nation unless it has become politically organized, and unless it is free from foreign control. It is in this sense that

the British, the Americans (U.S.A.), the Swiss, and the Canadians, for instance, are each a nation. And a nation may comprize, if it is so lucky, only one nationality,⁴⁴ or, as is usually the case, more than one nationality. Unfortunately, in the past the two terms 'nation' and 'nationality' have often been used by many writers as synonyms, the reason being that they were both derived from the same root. This has naturally led to a confusion of thought and reasoning. But the term nation has since acquired, as I have indicated above, "both a scientific and a popular signification which is very different" from its etymological meaning. Professor J. Holland Rose,⁴⁵ for instance, has used the term nation to mean "a people which has attained to State organization", and the term nationality (in the concrete sense) to mean "a people which has not yet attained to it." No scientific writer today will apply the term nation to the different constituent elements, say, of the Swiss or of the American nation. The only term that can properly be applied to these elements is nationality⁴⁶ which is used nowadays to mean an ethnic, or a linguistic, or a religious, group of people who may

"cherish common historical traditions, and who constitute or think they constitute a distinct cultural society." No political signification is now attached to this term nationality. At best, although it is very doubtful, the different religious communities in India may be regarded as constituting different nationalities in this country in the same way as there are, for example, different nationalities in Great Britain, Switzerland, Canada, South Africa, and in the United States of America. Given mutual goodwill, charity, toleration, and forbearance, and with a deepening sense of the essential unity of Indian life and economy, I see no valid reason why these different religious communities in India cannot be welded into a free, powerful Indian Nation. If, in spite of the memories of Bannockburn, Flodden Field, and Culloden Moor, Scotsmen and Englishmen could form, together with Welshmen, a strong, united British nation, then why should not, notwithstanding what might have happened in the past, the great religious communities of India be able to form a strong, free, united Indian Nation? This ideal can certainly be realized only through the mechanism of a properly devised All-India Federation. Any division of India will inevitably lead to a civil war and chaos, and, ultimately, to the perpetuity of foreign rule in this country. We must, therefore, all banish from our minds counsels of unreason and ideas of power politics in the larger interests of our common Motherland.

⁴⁴ In the concrete sense. In the abstract sense the term nationality is used "to indicate citizenship."

⁴⁵ *Nationality in Modern History*, pp. viii-ix.

⁴⁶ In the concrete sense.

ALDOUS HUXLEY A Natural Historian of Humanity

By ALEXANDER HENDERSON*

ONCE a sceptic and materialist, but now a believer in principles derived from Indian religious philosophy, Aldous Huxley has, throughout his novels, essays and poems, displayed a subtle and complex personality, the conflicting tendencies of which are held in balance by a vigorous and speculative mind.

"If I had to define my position," he wrote 18 years ago in *Proper Studies* (1927), "I should say that I was a moderately extroverted intellectual . . . I understand the materialist interpretation of inward life."

But, in 1944, he stated as the basis of his belief: "That there is a Godhead, Ground, Brahman, Clear Light of the Void, which is the unmanifested principle of all manifestations. That the Ground is at once transcendent and immanent. That it is possible for human beings to love, know, and, from virtually, to become actually identical with the divine Ground. That to achieve this unitive knowledge of the Godhead is the final end and purpose of human existence."

Huxley has always been well aware of the contradictory strains in his own personality and, in the volume of essays entitled *Do What You Will* (1929), sketched out a philosophy of "life worship," of "balanced excess," which was based on the acceptance, as fundamental of the diversity within each individual.

Aldous Huxley's complex personality, the scientific cast of his mind and his clear and brilliant prose style,

may well be considered as examples of inherited characteristics and ability, for he counts among his forbears some of the best intellects of 19th century England.

He was born on July 26, 1894, the third son of Leonard Huxley and Julia Arnold. His father, born in 1860, was the son of Thomas Henry Huxley, the scientist who did perhaps more than anyone else to make Darwinism understood by the general public. Aldous Huxley's mother was the niece of Matthew Arnold, the author of *Sohrab and Rustum* and many other poems, of *Culture and Anarchy* and several fine volumes of literary criticism. She was, too, the granddaughter of Thomas Arnold, the clergyman and famous Headmaster of Rugby High School who, by his example, stimulated many changes in the English Public School system.

The environment in which Aldous Huxley grew up as a child was as cultivated and intellectual as were his ancestors. His father, appointed assistant Professor of Greek at St. Andrews University, Scotland, at the age of 23, subsequently became editor of *The Cornhill Magazine*, one of the most distinguished of English reviews—a post which he held for many years—and literary adviser to the publishing firm Smith, Elder and Co. His aunt, Mary Augusta Arnold, who, in 1872, married the critic and editor Thomas Humphry Ward, was the most eminent woman novelist of her time; her

³⁹ See the Minutes of Evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, Vol. II, 1919, p. 227; also Ambedkar, *Thoughts on Pakistan*, 1941, p. 317.

⁴⁰ See the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, India, Part I, Report, p. 391.

⁴¹ See the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, India, Part I, Report, p. 390.

⁴² See the Census of India, 1931, Vol. V, Part I, Report, p. 410.

⁴³ See the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, Report, p. 390.

*Author of *Aldous Huxley: An Interpretation*.

Robert Elsmere published in 1888, was famous throughout Europe and U.S.A.

With this rich inheritance of science from his father's and literature from his mother's family, it is not surprising that Aldous Huxley should have become a man of letters, nor that his writing should, in many ways, exhibit the scientific temper. As a boy, indeed, he wanted to make his career in science—like his elder brother Julian, the distinguished biologist—but an affection of the eyes (which almost deprived him of sight for three years) made scientific work impossible. Those three years gave him that detached outlook on life which is noticeable in much of his work.



Aldous Huxley

Aldous Huxley was educated at Eton and, like his father, at Balliol College, Oxford. He enjoyed both. "I have the kind of mind," he says, "to which an academic training is thoroughly acceptable. Congenitally an intellectual, with a taste for ideas and an aversion from practical activities, I was always quite at home among the academic shades." Oxford especially he appreciated because there he was left at liberty to work in his own way which, for him, meant omnivorous reading rather than note-taking at lectures. "I myself," he says, "never attended more than, at the outside, two lectures a week."

At home he was brought up to admire the poetry and philosophy of Wordsworth, the aesthetics of Ruskin. Huxley's early sardonic and farcical stories—*Limbo* (1920), *Mortal Coils* (1922), and his first novel *Chrome*

Yellow (1921), show how he reacted to the atmosphere of high moral seriousness in which he was brought up. As a young man he was intellectually cautious, sceptical, disinclined to moral enthusiasms. But underneath the ironic manner he has always retained an essential seriousness as grave as that of Matthew Arnold himself. "In my early stories," he told me once, "I am also reacting against the pedantic part of myself."

In the development of his early style the most important influences were the French writers of the latter part of the 19th century and the early 20th, especially Rimbaud, Laforgue and Anatole France. He was attracted, too, by the work of Remy de Gourmont chiefly on account of the latter's interest in natural history, an interest which Huxley has always shared and which manifests itself most strongly in *Point Counter Point* (1928).

At Oxford, Huxley wrote a good deal of poetry; of minor importance in comparison with his prose works, it is, none the less, interesting for the light it throws on his temperament. It reveals a romantic and idealistic sensibility, already preoccupied with the conflict between passion and reason, self-division's cause which he later developed in *Point Counter Point* and *Brave New World* (1932). The early poems show, too, a man shy of contact with other men and women, and glad to take refuge from the realities of the human struggle in the impalpable world of ideas.

His present investigations into mysticism and religious philosophy represent a return to this deep-rooted preference for the inner life which was for a time obscured, if we may judge by the sceptical works published during the decade of the 1920's—a period that, as it happened, was generally, in England, one of widespread cynicism and materialism.

For a few years one of the outstanding personal influences on Huxley's thought was that of the late D. H. Lawrence, the author of *Sons and Lovers* and many other striking novels. They first met in 1915, but did not see much of each other till the years from 1926 until Lawrence's death. "Lawrence," wrote Huxley in 1927, "is one of the few people I feel real respect and admiration for. Of most other eminent people I have met I feel that, at any rate, I belong to the same species as they do. But this man has something different and superior in kind, not degree."

In 1919, Huxley married Maria Nys, a Belgian; he has one son. A good deal of his life has been spent outside England; he has lived in France and Italy and travelled widely in India and Burma, of which he wrote a fascinating account in *Jesting Pilate* (1926), in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras and the West Indies (see *Beyond the Mexican Bay*, 1934). Since shortly before the war he has been living in the U.S.A., chiefly in California.

In appearance, Huxley is characteristically English; tall, grey-eyed, the thick hair brushed back from the forehead. He has great charm of manner. In his company one notices first of all his fine voice and long and supple hands; he is fond of clasping them round his knee as he sits and talks. Now and then his mouth softens into a quiet, ironic smile, but usually it has an expression of melancholy.

THE POISON OF CIVILIZATION

By AUSTIN COATES

Is civilization, or an age of great culture, in spite of being a blessing to mankind, also a poison to the posterity of that country in which it has thrived? It is one of the problems which confronts one most forcibly from the pages of history. Else how the extraordinary decay which follows in the wake of culture, corrupting the leaders, producing effeminacy and ineffectualness among the menfolk, and gradually breaking the political structure upon which the great days had been lived? Does civilization so sap a country that it is reduced to impotence for hundreds of years? What of the pathetic history of Greece since the Age of Pericles, or of the recent terrible fall which France suffered after her great centuries of enlightenment? What of many another land, Italy or Spain or others, where only recently we have seen a puny band of militarists beating on their chests and sounding the drum of an imaginary renaissance, while around them lay the white bones of a glorious civilization? If indeed these things are caused by culture itself, then it were better, so it would seem, to ensure that civilization in its highest sense should not arise among us, if we think that our way of living is in the least worthy of permanence.

After the glories of Marathon, Thermopylae and Salamis, when the Greek nation rose to its height as a military, political, and thus, in time, as an economic power (which is, after all, what a nation is—the rest is in the imagination of sentimentalists and builders of empires) there followed the age of Socrates, Plato, Aeschylus and Sophocles. As soon as the nation reached its highest point of power (what Aristotle would perhaps call its teleological conclusion) it entered into decline. All nations do this; at first the decline is hidden, inconspicuous, undreamed-of, and then it rears its head; when you see it for the first time it is obvious to you that it has been going on for years, gradually gathering momentum. Upon the triumph of the Greeks over the Persians—their establishment as a free nation—and from the fruit of the decay which set in immediately upon the day of their greatest glory, grew the flower of the Periclean age of tolerance and enlightenment. And after it, the deluge! Greece rapidly declined as a power, and was swallowed up by the Romans, and later by the Turks. The Acropolis at Athens is a memorial, but it is also a burial-stone.

And what of another great age of European culture, the Renaissance of the Italian cities, in the days when Christendom was the power uniting Europe, and the supreme master of this Christendom was the Pope, before whom great emperors stood barefoot in the snow and begged admission to the house of him who the Christians believed to be the Vicegerent and spokesman of God? Today it is difficult to imagine what it must have been like for a Christian when he heard the news that there had been an uprising in Rome because of the Pope's continual absence in the beautiful French city of Avignon, and that as a result of this there were now two Popes, one in Avignon, one in Rome. What an unutterable catastrophe to the organized Christian religion which had built up its power so carefully and cleverly throughout the centuries, perverting the teachings of Jesus to suit its own ends! The whole fabric of Christendom rested in the descendant of Saint Peter, the Vicegerent of God. And now there were two Vicegerents! Although it was many years before the

great Reformation, the fabric was decaying; dust was blowing off the stones of the great cathedrals of the West. And in the time of that decay, when the breath of freedom stirred again in Europe, there bloomed first of all, at the first puff of that sweet breath of decay, the primitive French art and music of Provence, with its centres at Avignon and Aix-en-Provence, and later the glory of Italy, the age of Botticelli, Michaelangelo, Giotto and Leonardo da Vinci, the cities of Verona, Firenze, Venice and Rome. With the summons to freedom of thought (which is what such great art always produces) the fabric of Christendom collapsed. Martin Luther finally shattered it, and since his day the organized Christian religion has dwindled until our time, when its power is solely economic—it owns land—and in some countries even this has been taken away from it.

The fall of France—and few great nations have had to suffer such a disaster as this was!—was the result of antiquated military leadership and the sapped morale of the people. France was the shadow of its former greatness, and over it, as over all countries of Europe, had fallen the strange reverence for the past—its teachers, artists and philosophers—which prevented the flowering of any future greatness, which damped the ardour of youth, and which made of great peoples nothing more than an idle mirror of the past. Still this feeling persists. It seems as if Western culture has created so much, in so many different forms, that the sheer weight of its past achievement has killed the creative spirit.

France arose as a nation from a collection of medieval states without any central unity, now that the power of Christendom was declining. And in the West, Christendom and the worship of God were replaced by Empire and the worship of a nation. No nation has ever been worshipped with more love and fervour than France. Joan of Arc awoke this spirit, and it fired apace, until the nation was consolidated by the strong hand of Richelieu and built into an international power. Mazarin added the finishing touches, and into this well-prepared throne stepped King Louis XIV, who by his strength of purpose, leadership and patronage of art raised France to its position as the cultural head of the Western world. Once again, as before in Greece and Italy, at the highest peak occurred a great epoch of culture which lasted unabated for two hundred years, while, through troubled times, the political power of France waned. When the twentieth century dawned it was apparent that the spirit was tired. Cultural thought had exhausted itself and resorted to inversion—as in the work of the surrealists and others. And then the deluge, withheld in 1918 by the mercy of God—till 1940, when the Germans for the second time marched down the Champs-Élysées.

Rome died without an age of culture; it died slowly and with no rebellion within itself. For hundreds of years before its fall, Rome contemplated oblivion. But in those countries which experience a great age of culture the fall is rapid and final. It would seem therefore that, although the attainment of a cultured civilization is not the cause of a nation's decline, it immeasurably quickens that downfall.

It is interesting to apply this interpretation to the empires of today. Judged simply by its culture, it is

gradually becoming obvious that Europe is drawing to the end of its political leadership of the world. Its art—and art is the clearest mirror of interpretation—is sterile, turned in upon itself; and even though it may produce another age of greatness, this will be a sunset age, and will but hasten what seems to be an inevitable downfall.

Each man reads into history the pattern of his own ambition, and this which I have written is only a personal interpretation of something which we all see differently. But to any who will concur with me, surely the present day is one of hope and inspiration. The old world with its outworn traditions, its tyrannies and blindness, is collapsing slowly before our eyes. We cannot believe in the permanence of our way of living.

THE SALT AGENCIES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE PRESENT REVIVAL

By PROF. JITENDRA KUMAR NAG, M.Sc., B.L.

THE Salt Industry of Bengal is still a problem for the people at large as well as the Government of the Presidency. The growth of this baby industry is stunted for two reasons, first, for the British rulers' apathy towards its development, and secondly, for the manufacturers' inadvertence. This industry could have been built successfully by this time on a commercial basis as the ban on the manufacture has long been raised. But unfortunately it has not yet got any foothold on account of the long prevailing pessimism about its success.

It is however gratifying to note that after a century of its ruination, Bengal has revived her cottage industry in salt along the coastal region on the bay, from Jaleswar to Cox Bazar due to the Central Government's relaxation under the memorable Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The villagers of Sunderbans, Contai, Noakhali and Chittagong now prepare salt in their homes by boiling concentrated brine, obtained from saliniferous earth, by a process of lixiviation. It will be shewn afterwards in this article, that the same method of filtering saline soil was followed by the 'molunghees' from time immemorial and also when special agencies were set up by Lord Clive or Warren Hastings in their monopoly trade in salt, during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Before describing the working of the Salt Agencies of the East India Company, I would like to write shortly about the present enterprise of the coastal people in reviving their cottage industry, which was once one of the main sources of the country's salt supply. In 1942, when acute dearth of common salt, as one of the important commodities of Bengal, was felt, the Local Government introduced, with the consent of the Central Government, several storehouses in salt producing areas, to collect this indigenous salt. Although the villagers are permitted to sell their home-made salt in the nearest market as a duty-free salt in small quantities, I have seen many of them carrying baskets of salt to a neighbouring warehouse.

There are now warehouses at Kakdwip, Chinnaguri Bazar—24-Parganas, Garchakrabaria—Tamluk, Dadanpatra, Rasulpur—Contai at Tekhali, Pampua, etc., and at several places in Chittagong. The latest figures for the recent collections are very satisfactory. They are,

We desire the law which decrees that only in the rise and fall of empires and peoples can the whole of mankind advance. We desire that civilization of tolerance and culture, when the artist and the philosopher are set above kings, firstly because it will be a good age, but secondly because of our belief that such epochs hasten the destruction of ancient tyrannies.

If such an age dawns tomorrow in Europe we shall live to see great consequences. The old nations of the West will die, and in their death—and in that alone—a new age of concord can arise.*

* This is a condensed version of an address delivered before the President and Members of the Jana-Tathya Anusandhitaa Parishat in Calcutta on 1st October, 1944.

according to the finding of the Salt Survey Subcommittee of Bengal's Industrial Planning Committee:

District	Area	Quantity in maunds
Midnapore	Contai & Tamluk	About 2,50,000
Chittagong	Along the coast	" 2,00,000
Khulna	Satkhira & Bagerhat	" 1,70,000
24-Parganas	Barasat & Sadar	" 1,50,000
Noakhali	Sadar	" 1,00,000
Total		" 8,70,000

Thus about 9 lakhs of maunds of salt were collected from these people last year (1943-44). Very small quantities were produced by the manufacturing companies of Bengal. The amount of production by the villagers is expected to increase this year, but authorities, establishing warehouses should see to it that adequate fuel supply is made to these people. And also they should be given some advance as *dadan* as had been done by the old Salt Agencies each year before the salt producing season began so that the ground work might be laid by the 'molunghees' in their salt farms.

Of the average dumping of 140 lakhs of maunds of salt every year into the ports of Bengal, Calcutta and Chittagong, Bengal's own requirement at present is 83 lakhs; 47 lakhs go to Assam and Behar. The huge quantity of 84 lakhs of maunds of salt is now coming from the west Indian ports, Karachi, Okha, Morvi, Porbander and Bombay and from Madras and Aden. Aden of course was dumping before the present war more than ninety per cent of our demand. Before this war we were also getting salt from Cheshire, Hamburg, Rumania, Mussowah, Port Said, etc.

As the manufacturing companies are lagging behind, we should see, that every endeavour is made to increase the production from the revived cottage industry and I am certain that, if all sorts of facilities are offered to the coastal people, they would be able to meet in future at least one-third of our requirement. The Salt Agencies of Bengal in the past were producing annually 35 to 38 lakhs of maunds, the entire demand of the province at that time.

India's total yearly requirement is about 20 lakh tons of salt, whereas, she produces 15 lakh tons from

her sea coasts and salt mines—the balance of 5 lakh tons is imported from the above-mentioned foreign countries. Most of this foreign export is dumped into Bengal. The earliest account of the working of these Salt Agencies can be found in Agent Hamilton's Report on the Tamluk Agency, 1852, and the Report on Manufacture and Sale of and Tax on Salt in British India by G. Plowden, 1856.

The Agencies were divided into several manufacturing districts—*Arungs*, which were as follows:

HIDGLEE—1 Beercool (Digha), 2 Bahireemootah, 3 Naranmootah, 4 Errinch, 5 Majuamootah, 6 Baghrai.

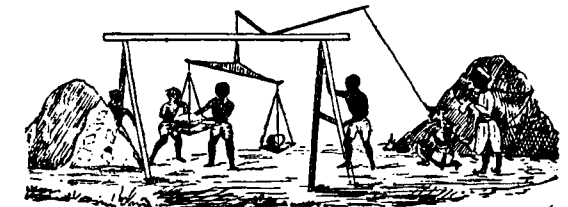
TAMLOOK—1 Tamlook, 2 Mahisadal, 3 Jellamootah, 4 Goomghur, 5 Aurungnagar.

24-PARGANAS—1 Desee, 2 Baheerbong, etc.

CHITTAGONG—1 Jooldeah, 2 Barchur, etc.

BALASORE—1 Ruttai, 2 Sartha, 3 Chenuna, 4 Dasmalang, 5 Panchmalang, 6 Ankura, 7 Churamoni, 8 Dhamara.

In a 'hoodah' there were several 'khalari's—fields, appropriated by a 'molunghee' or manufacturer of salt for his salt preparing purposes. A khalaria generally comprised one to three acres of land and it was divided like a paddy-field into several 'chatturs' or areas. To start with, the molunghees used to clear the khalari,



Salt is being weighed

after the rains, of every particle of jungle and grass and after weeding, used to remove the upper layer of the soil. Then he erected bund around and between chatturs, to confine in ebb-tide for several days the salt-water that entered the field. The land was ploughed and puddled by the coolies and finally levelled by a 'moye' or lump-crusher drawn by bullocks; and in the working season salt-water entering the chatturs repeatedly made the soil saliniferous.

The fields were left to the sun for 5/6 days, by which time the saline components of the earth used to rise on the surface and were easily visible to the practised eye of the molunghee in the shape of blisters—this was called to be the ripening of the crop.

Now-a-days the coastal villagers of Contai neither plough their salt farms, nor make the plot plain by a moye or ladder. They have not yet taken up the old practice for they do not know what procedure was followed by their forefathers.



The salt-producing centre of the Bengal Salt Company

At Jessore (Khulna) salt was manufactured in Raimangal, Sibpur, Rampur, Malai and Jamira. According to Pargitter, salt manufacture in Jessore appears to have been given up in 1826*

The capacity of the principal Bengal Agencies were in favourable seasons, as follows:

Hidglee	11 lacs of mds. of salt
Tamlook	9 " " "
Chittagong	9 " " "
24-Parganas	6 " " "
Noakhali	3 " " "
	38 " " "

The *Arungs* were also, for manufacturing convenience, subdivided into many 'Hoodahs' or independent jurisdictions. There were 83 Hoodahs in Hidglee, 37 in Tamluk, 8 in 24-Parganas and more than 50 in Chittagong.

An *Arung* was under the control of a Pokhtan or Manufacturing Darogah and a Hoodah was placed under the immediate charge of a Mohuri, who was assisted by a Zilladar, Anduldar, Barkandaj, peons and bearers. The Mohuris were nothing but Assistant Darogahs to look after the hoodahs. The number of the 'hoodahs' were 4 in Tamluk *arung*, 7 in Mahisadal, 9 in Jellamootah, 8 in Goomghar and 9 in Aurungnagar.

* Rai Sahab D. N. Mukherji's Report.

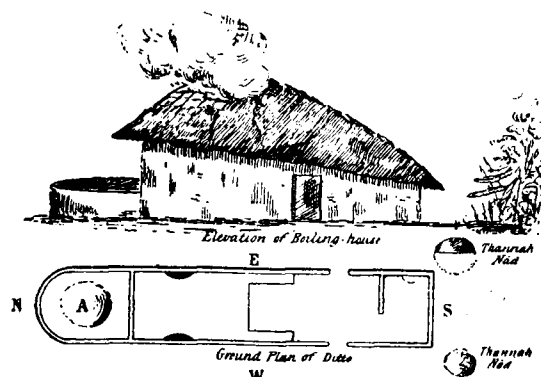


Maidah (a primitive filter)

The saliniferous surface earth of the soil thus prepared was scraped and charged in quantities on the nearing filter plant for lixiviation. The primitive filter was called 'maidah,' it was a bit different from the construction of the plant, now made at Contai, although the working principle is the same. The present name current in Contai, is 'dabari.' The 'maidah' was larger than a 'dabari' and was, according to Hamilton's description, composed of a circular mud wall 4½ cubits high, 7½ cubits broad at the top, 12½ cubits at its base; at its summit was a basin; in the centre of the basin was

pierced a hole from which passed a hollow reed or wall 6 cubits high so that the furnace may be built in bamboo to connect the basin with a receiving vessel. the Northern half of the building.

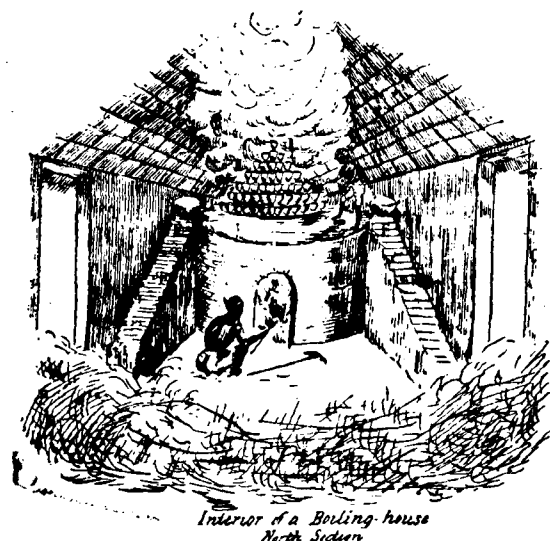
The modern filter measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits high, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad (diameter) and the same at its base. In the



bottom of this pit several channels are cut to drain off the percolated brine to a pipe hole at a point of the wall and the brine collects in a small pit, 1 cubit lower in level, but whose depth is 2 ft. or more. The frame-work of the filter is made of date palm leaves, palm leaves, bamboo chips or twigs.

Not very far from Calcutta, near the rivers Piyali or Matla, people lixiviate the saline earth, placing it on an earthen pot, at whose base a puncture is made and on that hole twigs and leaves are laid. The pot is kept on a vessel for receiving the brine that drops. In each of the cases, water is poured on the saline earth to dissolve the salt-stuff existing in that earth.

"After the saline earth is deprived of the saline matters, the molunghee takes it out in his hands and throws outside, around the 'maidah' and this refuse earth is used as manure afterwards and is scattered by



the molunghee over his 'chattur' to increase its fecundity as a salt producing field."

A boiling house or "bhoonree ghur" was generally situated close to the salt fields and was built North and South. It was usually $25/26$ cubits long, 7 to 9 cubits broad, the South wall being $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubits high and North

† Hamilton's Report 1832, 44th paragraph.

The panga salt, obtained by boiling the brine was to be kept in baskets, which were placed on the side of the choolah (just like what Cheshire manufacturers do in placing the salt on hurdles attached to the boiling pan on a side) to drive away the water remaining with the salt and to dry it.

The baskets were brought out of the boiling house and put on bamboo stands or frames about a cubit high and kept for the whole day in sun for final drying.

After sufficient quantity of salt had been made it was stored in the khutta golahs.

The process of preparing the panga salt, as summarised by the writer, from the description left by Mr. Hamilton, was practically the same everywhere, but Rai Bahadur D. N. Mukherji says in his



The land is levelled by a 'moye' or lump-crusher

report that kurkutch or solar salt was made in Chittagong. In 1827-28 an experimental manufacture of salt by solar heat for consumption in the districts of Chittagong and Bhoolooah, in lieu of Madras salt, was attempted in the Chittagong Agency. The experiment was continued for five years (until 1831-32), when it was abandoned as uneconomical. As regards the old practice of salt culture in the district of Noakhali, Mr. Duncan, according to the District Gazetteer, states in his report on Sandwip, that down to 1728, salt was manufactured there for the benefit of the Chaudhuris, by the local inhabitants; but it became, during Murshid Kuli's regime, a private monopoly of the Naib of Subah. In 1765, the E. I. Co. created a monopoly trade in this commodity along with betelnut and tobacco but three years later monopoly was withdrawn. From 1772 the salt-producing areas of Sandwip came under the agency system of the E. I. Co. It is found in records that from 1772 to 1776 over 1,30,000 mds. of salt were produced annually on the lands of Sandwip parganah. The Noakhali agency being the 5th agency of the E. I. Co. was then in charge of an agent living at Bhulua. In 1780 this agency was controlling salt manufacturing of the molunghees at Sandwip, Dakshin Sahabajpur, Hatia and

Bamni. "In the year 1819 Mr. Walters found the average annual production of salt to be a lakh of mds. in Hatia, rather more in Mankura, 20,000 mds. in Sandwip, 21,000 mds. in Mamni and 60,000 mds. in other islands of the Meghna. Altogether the production was over 3 lakhs of mds."—*District Gazetteer of Noakhali*.

All the Agencies worked up to about 1825, after which in 1826, the Jessore Agency stopped working and in 1848, the 24-Parganas Agency was closed for increase in expenses and falling in profit. The Chittagong agency was suspended in 1852. The other two agencies at Hidglee and Tamluk were abolished in 1863. Foreign salt first imposed in 1818 gradually ousted

the local product on account of its superior quality and cheapness; till about 1863, the national industry in salt (of Bengal) almost died. Queen Victoria's Government abandoned the monopoly trade in salt enjoyed by the E. I. Co. in 1863 and left manufacture free but subject to excise duty—which was hardly profitable as it could not compete with the imported Cheshire salt.

In 1897 local manufacture was prohibited altogether, the cost of production being higher than the selling price of the imported salt owing to the weakness of the brine supply, the lack of fuel and natural disadvantages.

THE ASTRONOMER-ROYAL AND GREENWICH OBSERVATORY

By ALAN HUNTER

GREAT Britain has had an Astronomer-Royal (and a Royal Observatory for him to work in) for the best part of 300 years—ever since, as a maritime nation, our sailors first felt an urgent need to find their exact position at sea.

One of the most important functions of the Astronomer-Royal is still what it was in the days of King Charles II—who, in the Charter he drew up in 1675, called upon the newly created official stargazer to "find the so-much desired longitude at sea, for the perfecting of the art of navigation."

And so the history of the Astronomer-Royal is nothing more nor less than the history of Britain's ever-expanding navigation of the world.

The theory of finding a ship's position by the moon and the stars had, of course, been well understood for thousands of years.

The trouble was that this theory could not be put to practical use because the position of what might be called the guiding lights of the firmament could not be accurately plotted.

It was to compile this "stellar time-table" that the first Astronomer-Royal was appointed.

The honour fell to a young scientist, the 28-year-old Rev. John Flamsteed, and his name is perpetuated in the name of the Astronomer-Royal's official residence near the Observatory—Flamsteed House, Greenwich.

Greenwich—now a crowded part of London—was in those days a Thames-side hamlet in the country that then surrounded the capital.

It was the great architect of St. Paul's Cathedral—Sir Christopher Wren himself—who recommended the King to build the Observatory at Greenwich. Otherwise, it might well have been put up in one of central London's great parks—Hyde Park.

It so happened that the Crown owned a small building on a hill at Greenwich—and it was in the course of a year, that here the Observatory grew up.

Down the Thames to Greenwich they transported wood from an old gate-house in the Tower of London, as well as iron and lead from Tilbury Fort. Part of the cost was defrayed by selling some gunpowder that had been spoilt.

When King Charles and his advisers built their observatory at Greenwich, they little realised that London would spread to this little village, and that modern industrial developments would hamper accurate astronomical observation. Although Greenwich will always be the home of modern astronomy, after the



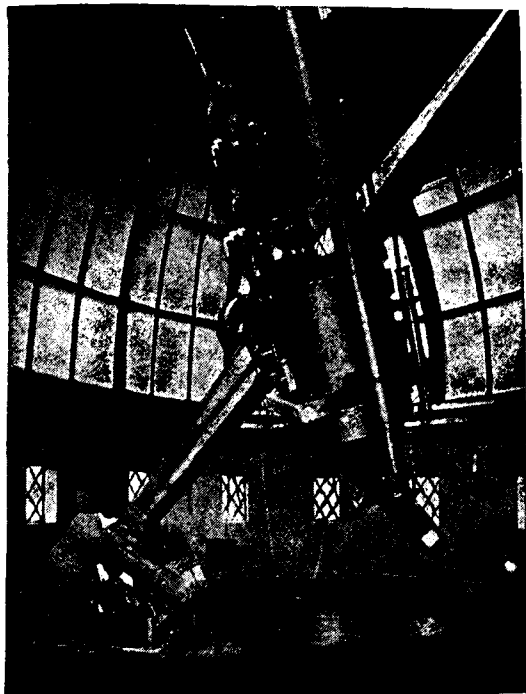
Greenwich Observatory, with the great dome which houses the astronomical telescopes, was founded in 1675 and completed in 1899

war the observatory is to be moved to a more suitable site outside London where the air is clearer and where the observatory's delicate instruments will not be affected by the electrical fields of London's modern industries.

The first Astronomer-Royal took up his work in the newly built Observatory in July, 1676—just a year after the foundation stone had been laid.

Flamsteed was the right man for the job. He knew

a great deal about astronomy, having already drawn up a catalogue of the stars, as well as having worked out tables of the motions of the moon and the planets.



The interior of the dome at Greenwich Observatory. An assistant is aligning the giant telescope for observations

It was fortunate, too, that Flamsteed was an expert mechanic. Although he was provided with an Observatory, he had himself to equip it with instruments—some of which he made himself.

In the next 12 years or so, Flamsteed painstakingly made no fewer than 20,000 observations—and alone revised the tables of the heavenly bodies then in use.

Flamsteed provided the great Sir Isaac Newton with much of the data that led to the discovery of the Law of Gravitation.

Flamsteed's successor, Halley, persuaded Newton to publish the famous "Principia", which might otherwise never have seen the light of day.

When Halley became the second Astronomer-Royal, in 1720, he had to re-equip the Observatory entirely. Flamsteed's widow had, quite within her rights, removed all the instruments.

Halley will always be most popularly remembered for what might be called "his" Comet. He predicted the return of the comet that has ever since been known as Halley's Comet—perhaps the best known comet in the firmament.

But Halley—of whom it was said when young: "If a star were displaced in the globe he would find it out"—was over 60 when he began a far greater work than the prediction of a comet's return.

This was nothing less than the observation of the moon through an entire 18-year period—or Saros, as the Ancient Chaldeans had called it.

Succeeding Astronomers-Royal gradually raised the standard of the Royal Observatory's work until the

fifth—Maskelyne—was able at long last to fulfil the terms of the original Charter, which was to perfect the art of navigation.

Maskelyne's greatest work was his Nautical Almanac. But almost as important was his decision to do the one thing those before him had been so reluctant to do as to publish regular lists of observations.

It was in Maskelyne's time that an Englishman named Harrison won an award of £20,000 for his Time Keeper, a chronometer that would keep perfect time at sea.

The Royal Observatory itself is, of course, the home of what's now known all over the world as Greenwich Mean Time.

Through Greenwich runs what, by international consent in 1883, is known as Longitude Nought—the fundamental line by which distances east and west are measured, just as distances north and south are measured from that other imaginary line, the Equator.

The modern world's system of time—zones of time, that is,—are all related to the fundamental or Mean Time of Greenwich.

In 1880, Greenwich Mean Time was first made legal time in Britain and in more recent years the B. B. C. has vastly extended the time service with its world-wide broadcasts of the six pips.

The mechanism that broadcasts these famous pips is directly connected with the clocks at Greenwich, where the present Astronomer-Royal, Sir Harold Spencer Jones, had done a great deal of work to improve the already high standard of accuracy.



The Astronomer-Royal, Doctor Harold Spencer Jones, F.R.S., who has held his office since 1933

Sir Harold is an astronomer with a formidable list of achievements. He has been Astronomer-Royal at Greenwich for ten years, coming from a similar post at the Royal Observatory, Cape of Good Hope. Among

his many contributions to the science of astronomy, he is responsible for the most precise determination yet obtained of the sun's distance from the earth, the fundamental unit of distances in astronomy, known as the Solar Parallax.

The sun, he found, was 93,005,000 miles from the earth, with what astronomers call a degree of uncertainty of some 10,000 miles.

It was for this work that our present Astronomer-Royal earned the coveted gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society.

This achievement serves to remind us that, throughout the long history of the Royal Observatory,

one of its main tasks has always been the accurate plotting of the position of the sun, the moon, the planets and the fixed stars.

It has been long, hard and—to ordinary people—perhaps unexciting work, but there is not a single ship that sails the seven seas today that does not owe something of its safety to the painstaking observations of Britain's long and illustrious line of Astronomers-Royal.

Charles II built better than he knew—and, as a King who always took a keen interest in science, gave the lie to the cruelly untrue saying: "He never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one."

POLITICAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BENGAL AND CHINA

(Translated from Chinese Records)

By PROF. SUJITKUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA AND PROF. HSIAO LING WU,

Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati

[In Chinese literature, we find many records of political intercourse between Bengal and China, which took place during 1408-38 A.D. In these records, we find descriptions of Bengal, of its social customs, its public life, its native productions—trade, wealth etc.

As those political officers who came from China, stayed only for a short time, and put up amongst high officials (who were Mohammedans), their descriptions of the social customs and public life of Bengal are not quite correct; nay, sometimes they are amusing; from these, however, we get glimpses of Bengal of the 15th century. Moreover, we find new materials for the history of Bengal.

A similar record was translated fifty years ago, by George Phillips, who published it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, pp. 529-33.]

Bengal is about 7,000 li (2333 1/3 miles) away from Nikobar and is situated north-west of it. It is also called Eastern India. It has got quite a large area.

If one starts from Sumatra, one has to go first towards "Cap-hill" (Pulo Weh) and Nikobar and then in a north-westerly direction. If the wind is favourable, then within twenty days, one arrives at Chittagong. From Chittagong, sailing in a small boat and after travelling 166 2/3 miles, one reaches Sonargaon. This port-town is surrounded with walls and fortified with ditches. It is a big town with streets and markets.

After passing twenty stations from this town, one reaches Pandua (in Malda), the Capital of Bengal. This city with its suburbs is grand and magnificent. The King has got a white-washed palace, large in size, and rectangular in shape. It is divided into nine sections and has got three gates. The pillars in the buildings are plated with brass and decorated with engravings of flowers and animals.

The crown and the dress of the king, as well as the caps and the clothes of the higher officials, are in Mohammedan style.

All are Muslims. Their marriage and funeral ceremonies are observed in accordance with the Mohammedan rites.

The people of Bengal are rich, honest and generous. They are well-acquainted with commerce. They shave their hair and put on a white turban on their heads. They wear a long gown with round collar, wrap the lower part of the body with a coloured cloth, and put on leather shoes. Women have a peg-like knot of platted hair on their head. They wear short garments on the upper part of the body and wrap the lower part with

coloured clothes, made of cotton or silk. They put golden earrings with precious stones in their ears and precious necklaces round their necks. They put golden bracelets and anklets on their hands and feet and rings on their fingers and toes.

The climate of Bengal is constantly hot. The Calendar current there is of twelve months without any intercalary month (*malamas*). There the highest punishment to an accused is only transportation. All officials have their despatch-seals. The commander of the army is called *Sipāsalar*.

There are physicians, astrologers, astronomers, and all kinds of artisans.

Everything is available in the market. The language of Bengal is Bengali. People are also well-versed in Persian. Musicians are called *ken hsiao* (so) *su lu nai* (.....*surā-nayaka*?). Early in the morning, in the houses of rich and high class people, they start music. One of them beats a small drum, the other beats a big one, while another plays on a flute. The time-beating begins slowly and afterwards becomes rapid. When it is finished, the musicians are given food and drink, as well as *tanka* (rupee) by the owner of the house.

Bengalees usually entertain guests with *pans*. During feasts, they engage music-girls to entertain the guests by singing and dancing. The dress of the music-girls, on the upper part of their body, is made of a light red coloured cloth with designs. Over the lower part they put on a coloured silk gown. Round the neck, they put on necklaces, made of precious stones, such as coral, amber, pearls, with various colours (lit. five colours). On the wrist, they put on bracelets, made of precious stones of red and green colour.

The Bengalees are accustomed to have tigers' play. The player pulls the tiger with an iron chain and walks. At the time of play, the chain is removed. The tiger squats and waits. The man undresses himself, in order to fight with the tiger. The tiger then roars and gets excited. Then they fight with each other. The man sometimes puts his arm into the mouth of the tiger. When the play is over, the tiger lies down on the ground. The family that enjoys the play, feeds the tiger with flesh and gives *tanka* to the player.

There are two kinds of exchanges in Bengal. One is a silver coin which is called *tanka*, the other is sea-shell which is known as *kari*. The weight of the silver coin, according to the standard weight, is three *fen*. Its diameter, according to the standard measurement, is one inch and two *fen*. The silver coin is decorated on

one side. The value of the sea-shell is counted by its weight.¹

The chief merchandise of Bengal is cotton and silk. The soil is suitable for all kinds (lit., five kinds) of corn. There are two crops during the year. The climate is favourable for keeping all (lit., six) kinds of domestic animals.

There are four kinds of wine in Bengal. One is made from coconut, the other from rice, another from *madhuka* (*Bassia Latifolia*) and the fourth one from palm trees.

There are six kinds of cloth in Bengal. The first one is called *peip'o* (baf?). It is two feet broad and fifty-six feet long. It is white, fine and evenly made. The second one is yellow (or red?) in colour. It is called *man cho ti* (*manjistha*). It is four feet broad and fifty feet long. It is closely woven and is very strong. The third one is a gauze-cloth, named *sha na pa fu* (*sahan-baf?*). It is five feet broad and thirty feet long. Its shape is similar to the Chinese "raw plain gauze" (*shen'g pu to*). The fourth one is a crape called *hsin pai ch'n ta li* (*panch tolia, ch'int?*). It is three feet broad and sixty feet long. The cloth for dressing the head (turban cloth) is similar to "three shuttles" (*san suo*). It is called *sha tar* (*jutar* or *ch'utar*). It is two and half feet broad and forty feet long. The Chinese *to lo mien* is called *mal mal* in Bengal. It is four feet broad and twenty feet long. On the reverse side of it there are naps which are half an inch long.

In Bengal there are pearls, corals, crystals, cornealians, king-fishers' feathers, plenty of bananas, pine-apples, pomegranates, tamarinds (?) (lit., sour-seeds), sugar-canes, plenty of curds (or butter), plenty of gourds, cucumbers, melons, onions, gingers, mustards, brinjals, garlies.

Camels are also to be found there. There are papers made from the bark of mulberry trees. There is a tree with slender branches and green leaves which spread themselves in the morning and close at night. It is like the Chinese "night-closing" trees. Its fruits are like plums. It is called *amla* (*amlaki*). It is used for curing constipation (or purging).

On the day when they received our emperor's mandate more than a thousand armed troops on horse were assembled. They were posted on the left and right sides of the long verandah. Gigantic figures with shining armours, holding double-edged swords and bow and arrows, were in attendance. Hundred umbrellas made of peacock-feathers were put over the terrace of the palace. There were troops of a hundred elephants in the audience hall. The king sat on a throne, decorated with all (lit., eight) kinds of precious stones. He had a sword on his lap. Two men holding silver staffs in their hands, were leading us. Every five steps, they shouted (a slogan). When we came to the central place, they stopped. Then two men holding golden staffs in their hands were to lead us. We proceeded just as before. The king solemnly and politely saluted (putting the hand on the forehead) and received the imperial mandate. When the ambassador read out the list of gifts, a carpet was spread on the audience hall, to entertain him with a feast. There were different dishes of goats' flesh and beef. Sweet drinks of different kinds, some mixed with rose juice and others with various kinds of perfumes, were served to the party.

The kings of Bengal do not send ambassadors — 1. Chinese measurement was of various kinds at various times. Now for international trade purposes it is fixed by the Treaty as follows:

Chin (Chinese pound) is equal to 1 1/3 lbs. Sixteen liang (Chinese ounce) make one chin; ten ch'ien (mace) make one liang; ten fen make one ch'ien.

A Chinese foot is equal to 14.1 inches (English). Ten fen make one inch (Chinese); ten inches (Chinese) make one foot (Chinese).

regularly to China. In 1408 A.D., in the sixth year of the emperor Yung-lo, the third emperor of the Ming dynasty, king Giasuddin (Ajam Sah) sent an ambassador to China. In the 9th year (i.e., after three years) of this emperor of China, the ambassador reached Tai Ts'ang (near Shanghai).² The emperor of China ordered the officer in the ministry of foreign affairs to receive (lit., to give a feast and a place for rest) him there warmly. In the twelfth year of the same Chinese emperor (in 1414 A.D.) King Giasuddin sent his minister *Pa yi chi* (Bayazid?) and some others with gifts (lit., revenue) of Ch'i-lin i.e., giraffe, and other things. Also in 1438 A.D., in the time of emperor Cheng T'ong, gifts were sent from Bengal. Thin gold-plates were used for the official letters and for the list of presentation. The gifts were horses, saddles of horses, silver and gold ornaments, unwrought gold, furnitures made of cat's-eye gems, white porcelain, with designs of blue flowers, *sh ha ta* (shawl), *ch fu* (*kapu?*), *he ta lai* (?), extremely white muslin—*malmal*, crystallized sugar, head of crane,³ horn of rhinoceros, peacock-feathers, parrots, frankincense, musk, manufactured incense, gray-incense, hemp, catechu, violet glue, gamboge, ebony wood, sapon wood, peppers.

Bengal is indeed a rich and generous country. Look at the gifts given to the Chinese ambassadors. A golden helmet, a golden belt with a pot and bottle in it all golden, were presented to the chief ambassador. A silver helmet, a silver belt with a pot and bottle in it all silver, were given to the assistant ambassador. The interpreter (who was also a Chinese) was given the gifts of a golden bell and a long robe made of fine silk. Soldiers were given silver coins.

If Bengal were not a rich and generous country, how could it do so?

2. There is something wrong here. Regarding the dates of political intercourse between these two countries (viz., Bengal and China), we have got very authentic records in the history of the Ming dynasty. We have translated such a record. We quote below a passage from it:—

In the sixth year of the emperor Yung-lo (i.e., 1408 A.D.) king Giasuddin of Bengal sent an ambassador to China with tributes of native products. The Chinese emperor entertained him with feasts and gave him presents of various things. In the 7th year of the same emperor (in 1409 A.D.) an ambassador of Bengal came again. He was accompanied by 230 officers. Just at that time, the emperor Yung-lo was eager to establish relations with foreign countries. He presented them with many things. From this time every year ambassadors from Bengal came to pay tributes. In the tenth year of this emperor (in 1412) before the ambassador of Bengal came (to the capital) the emperor sent officers to Chen Chiang (near Yang-Chow) to receive him with feasts etc. When all such arrangements were ready, the ambassador announced the death of their king (i.e., Giasuddin Ajam Sah). The emperor sent an officer to Bengal to offer the last offerings to the dead, as well as to coronate the prince Saifuddin. In the 12th year of Yung-lo (in 1414 A.D.) the second king (i.e., Saifuddin) sent an ambassador with an official letter, expressing his thanks, with tributes of Ch'i-lin i.e., giraffe, beautiful horses and some other native products.

The next year the emperor sent Hou Hsian, as an ambassador to Bengal with an official letter, as well as presents. The king, the queen, and the high officials all received presents. In the third year of the emperor Cheng T'ung (in 1438, i.e., when Samsuddin Ahmad Sah was the king of Bengal) Bengal again paid tributes of Ch'i-lin (Giraffe) to the Chinese emperor. The next year also, tributes came from Bengal, after that they came no more.

3. The fleshy knob of a kind of crane's head which is used as strong poison.

MENTAL HYGIENE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By BEJOYKETU BOSE, M.B., B.Sc.

THE movement of mental hygiene originated firstly in America. Its founder Mr. Clifford Beers has narrated the origin of the movement in a fascinating autobiography, *A Mind That Found Itself*. Mr. Beers, who was himself a victim of a severe type of mental sickness, vividly portrays his mental condition during the illness in this book and discloses the nature of treatment meted out to patients in mental hospitals at that time. Want of sympathy, which he felt so keenly as a patient in almost every person who came to take care of the mentally sick, moved him most. On his recovery, therefore, he was the most ardent and impatient worker to bring about a hygienic reform, from the mental standpoint, in the conditions of the American asylums and hospitals for mental patients. His efforts succeeded in founding the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene in New Haven on May 6, 1908. Mr. Adolph Meyers christened this young movement with the term Mental Hygiene. At the outset the movement had only two objectives:

(i) Improvement in the condition of patients in mental hospitals.
(ii) Improvement in the technique of treatment for the insane, epileptics and mentally defectives.

The mental hygiene movement gradually found worldwide encouragement. In its course of growth it developed into a great applied science and came to include a wide range of social and individual aspects of human life, viz.,

(a) Study of psychopathic criminals and prevention of crime.
(b) Study of the pathology of mental disorders and the prevention of mental disorders.
(c) Mental welfare clinics for (i) Child guidance, (ii) College students, (iii) Industrial workers, (iv) General public, and (v) Parents' guidance.
(d) Training of physicians, nurses, attendants, social workers and teachers.

This movement spread to India in about 20 years' time.

The Indian Association for Mental Hygiene was founded in Simla in August 23, 1928, mainly through the efforts of Captain H. Stedman, M.C. Lieut.-Colonel Owen Berkeley-Hill was its first President. The Association was affiliated with the National Council for Mental Hygiene, Great Britain. The objects of the Association, as stated in the Memorandum, were:

(a) To encourage the study of the mental health of the community with a view to (i) removing those factors which militate against good mental health, (ii) combating the prevailing ignorance regarding mental disorders, and (iii) improving the psychological environment of both children and adults.

(b) We propose to employ ourselves and what funds we raise in the following ways: (i) holding of meetings in order to afford an opportunity for the exchange of ideas, (ii) the reading of papers by members, or by experts in any branch of mental hygiene, (iii) propaganda work by urging the needs for the establishment of special clinics and the provision of facilities for remedial measures for children and adults of abnormal mentality, (iv) the gradual formation, as funds permit, of a central library of mental hygiene, the books of which may be distributed by post to members

wherever they are situated, (v) the arrangement, as circumstances permit, of popular lectures to the general public to be given under the auspices of the Association, either by members or by experts whose assistance can be obtained.

The pioneers of this movement in India were all Europeans although subsequently many Indians joined it. The Association had a short but very distinguished period of existence. Its progress towards the realization of its objects was fair and steady. Three months after its formation, it began publishing a quarterly Bulletin from Simla. Captain Stedman was its first editor. This Bulletin was richly contributed to by eminent workers in the field of psychiatry and social psychology in India.

In 1930 Lieut.-Colonel Berkeley-Hill took over the responsibilities of editing and publishing the bulletin from Captain Stedman. In March 1932 sub-committees under the Association existed in the following places: Delhi, Simla, Lahore, Calcutta, Southern India and Ceylon. The Calcutta Committee became an independent branch under the presidency of Sir George Rankin, the then Chief Justice of Bengal, in 1931. On the 1st May 1933 a psychiatric Clinic was opened at Carmichael Medical College Hospital, Belgachia, under the patronage of the Calcutta Sub-Committee and under the guidance of Dr. G. Bose.

So far the progress of the Association was really gratifying. Unfortunately from the beginning of 1933 we find the editor sounding warning notes. In the bulletin of 1st March 1933 he comments, "During 1932 no reports were received from any sub-committee throughout India. This is disappointing." In spite of the repeated appeals by the editor, the response from the different sub-committees and members did not improve. In July 1939 the editorship of the bulletin was taken over from Lt.-Col. Owen Berkeley-Hill by Dr. Banarsi Das, Superintendent, Mental Hospital, Agra. In October 1937, he writes, "The editor regrets to say he received practically no response to his appeal for the renewal of subscription (a sum of Rs. 2, only) of old members and for the enrolment of new members. It will be a real pity if it is allowed to die out from apathy just when the whole country is pulsating with a new surge of enthusiasm for progress in all directions."

The last appeal also fell flat. A vestige of this humanitarian movement however, still persists in the psychiatric clinic at Carmichael Medical College Hospital, Belgachia. This clinic in its humble way has been doing valuable work in the field of mental hygiene for the last 11 years. It opens on Tuesday and Thursday of every week from 8 to 10 a.m. Besides diagnosis and treatment the clinic also provides for the training of medical practitioners and clinical lectures for advanced medical students and post-graduate students of psychology are held regularly.

Although the general movement as started by Captain Stedman closed down, still there were other workers whose persistent efforts would not die out so easily. One of them, Mr. Girija Bhusan Mukherji, founder of the Bodhana Samity, is still carrying on his special task. On the 1st of July 1933 the Bodhana Niketan or the home for the feeble-minded was started. It began with 4 pupils; at the end of a year it had 8

pupils and the existing number in February 1944 was 14. There is, however, accommodation for about 50 pupils. It admits pupils of both sexes, irrespective of caste, creed or nationality. Enquiries for admission have come from different provinces of India. The site of this institution is Jhargram in the district of Midnapore. Raja Narsingh Deo Bahadur made a gift of about 80 acres of virgin land for establishing this home to the authorities of Bodhana Niketan.

There is another institution for feeble-minded children at Kurseong. European and Anglo-Indian children only are admitted. There is accommodation for about 20 pupils. It is managed by Miss Silvia de Laplace. It also receives Government aid.

The first mental indoor institution to be started in Bengal is the "Mental Hospital." It was started in 1931 in Calcutta. The male department of the hospital was shifted to Mankundu in Hooghly district in 1940, where Messrs Soorajmull Nagarmull made over to the Hospital authorities a spacious garden house with extensive compound as a gift. The hospital also has a female department and observation ward in Calcutta. It receives grants from both the Corporation of Calcutta and the Government of Bengal. The existing accommodation is for about 60 patients.

In the year 1940 Indian Psychoanalytical Society started under its auspices Lumbini Park Mental Hospital with only three beds. The institution has been very popular and at present it can accommodate 25 mental patients. It has an outdoor section also where patients receive advice free of charge. An important feature of this institution is that it aims at the training of technical personnel and the providing of facilities for research. Unfortunately it receives no support either from the Government of Bengal or from the Corporation of Calcutta by way of grants. It is registered under the Societies' Act of 1861 and aims at making, as many beds as possible, free as soon as funds permit. Up to now it has not received any donation big enough to enable it to have free beds for deserving patients. It practically depends entirely on the charges realised from the patients for its maintenance. Consequently the charges for treatment are high and beyond the reach of many. Mental diseases often require prolonged institutional treatment. So for even ordinary middle class people, not to speak of the poorer masses this form of treatment is beyond their means. Lumbini Hospital is fortunate however in one respect at least that its technical staff consists of many experts who render their services practically in honorary capacity. The reports of this hospital are regularly published in the International Journal of Psychoanalysis.

Besides these two hospitals Bengal has also at least two more mental hospitals run on Ayurvedic lines of treatment. There are also outdoor clinics for mental diseases at the Calcutta Medical College Hospital and Shambhunath Pandit Hospital maintained by Government. There is also an outdoor for mental patients in Madras. The Applied Section of the Department of Psychology, Calcutta University, also examines and gives free advice to persons presenting themselves for mental abnormalities. In the past, the Department of Psychology of Calcutta University used to organise educational stalls in the Health Exhibitions held annually at the Indian Museum building. This stall used to attract considerable interest from the public and contributed greatly towards arousing the mental health consciousness among the public. Bombay has got an

institution for training psychiatric social workers and a child guidance clinic managed by Sir Dorabjee Tata Foundation. In Bombay under the able guidance of Dr. K. R. Masani the Indian Council of Mental Hygiene has recently been started. Among its aims and objects it mentions the following:

(1) Conservation and promotion of mental health among the public.

(2) Prevention and treatment of mental and nervous diseases and the early and scientific treatment of these diseases as also of the less well-defined character and personality maladjustments.

The Bombay University is the only University in India that has a diploma course in Psychological Medicine. Calcutta University is also alert to the current trends. It is at present considering a scheme for instituting a D.P.M. course and it is expected that the scheme to train technical personnel in the fields of Psychiatry will soon be given effect to. The latter scheme proposes to train (i) Teachers for the mentally deficient, (ii) Psychiatric social workers, (iii) Industrial Psychologists.

Training will be conducted by the Applied Section of the Department of Psychology.

MENTAL HEALTH SURVEY

According to competent authorities, the incidence of mental diseases is comparable only to the total incidences of all the bodily diseases taken together. The actual number for India figures something like 1,500,000 for cases requiring institutional treatment alone. In contrast with this figure the total accommodation for mental patients existing in the whole of India numbers only 12,680 beds for Government institutions only. There are 16 mental hospitals in British India, excluding Burma, managed by the Government, distributed in the following way:

Province	Total accommodation
Assam	1
Bengal	Nil
Bihar and Orissa	2
Bombay and Sind	5
C.P.	1
Madras	3
Punjab	1
U.P.	3
	16
	12680

It will thus be seen that in Bengal, where the number of mental patients is the largest, the facilities for their institutional treatment are practically nil. In India the consciousness of the public of the necessity for mental sanitation is alarmingly poor. The misery and suffering consequent on this backwardness is appalling but part of this misery is preventable and curable. Unfortunately our general economic backwardness usually masks the importance of all specific problems but it would be dangerous to let that happen in the field of mental health, too, for an indefinite period. Some efforts at least have been made for mitigating our suffering from the diseases of our body in the different general hospitals for the treatment of medical and surgical affections. There are also special hospitals for tuberculosis, tropical diseases, obstetrical and gynaecological cases in Bengal but although the worst sufferer, Bengal has practically no provision for treatment of mental disorders. It is high time now that some national efforts

for the promotion of mental health were made. We know we are handicapped. Financial and legislative difficulties will stand on the way of our efforts apart from the resistance of an ignorant mass, still we can do much useful work and prepare the ground for our future social and individual happiness by starting expanded to meet our national needs adequately.

AGRICULTURAL PLANNING AND DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE TO THE CULTIVATORS

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THESE are the days of planning. Ever since the news of the bewildering success of Russian planning systems spread far and wide every country in the world has been speaking of long and short term plans. One such is the recently published plan for the improvement of agriculture in India by a special committee of the I.C.A.R., which aims at a Capital expenditure of Rs. 1,000 crores at pre-war rates and a recurring expenditure of Rs. 20 crores annually. Well and good! If all that money could be released for the improvement of agriculture, the however the money may be mis-spent, some substantial improvement is bound to follow.

Of this big sum, it is not known how much will fall to Bengal's lot, but as Bengal is one of the major provinces of India, it is not unreasonable to assume that a tenth part of this sum, i.e., 100 crores as Capital and 2 crores annually—will be spent for Bengal. In whatever form the expert committee may decide to spend this money—whether by making liberal grants to the University Professors for their 'fundamental' researches, or on 'Experts' at Regional or Provincial Research stations—for solution of special problems, there is no comment to offer. The object of the present article is, to lay stress upon the expenditure of a modest sum of 1 crore and 20 lacs recurring (i.e., 1/100th of Bengal's quota) for the following purpose, which in my opinion is the most urgent step required for the education of the cultivator in agricultural methods on scientific lines, without which there will hardly be any practical development of improvement of crop production.

It is well-known, and the special committee itself has recognised it that there are big gaps between scientific knowledge and its dissemination. This is particularly so with the cultivators in India, who are uneducated, unreceptive, conservative in mental outlook and extremely suspicious due to ignorance. Every province has its department of agriculture; however lazily the department may have spent their times, it is not untrue that they have made many improvements of various seeds, achieved much success in their district demonstration farms. But how much benefit has the cultivator derived out of these improvements? Very little. Why? Because, the method of dissemination of knowledge has been extremely faulty. Because, the method has not taken into consideration the peculiar psychology of the Indian, particularly Bengali, cultivator. Hitherto the method in Bengal has been somewhat like this:—

1. For the dissemination of knowledge in each district of Bengal there are on average about five agricultural demonstrators who are given charge of one Union Board farm and three demonstration centres

selected at random. The Union Board farm belongs to an ordinary cultivator but he is made to work under a cropping scheme laid down by the District Agricultural Officer and works like a seed multiplication centre. A demonstration centre has no such obligation of seed multiplications otherwise it works more or less like a Union Board farm according to a definite cropping scheme. The centre of demonstration in the village is kept fixed for three years but the cultivators are changed every year.

2. On paper the scheme is an excellent one but every one familiar with the condition of agriculture in Bengal knows that practically the scheme is a failure. Somehow the crop does not grow well, or the yield is not satisfactory, and the cultivator becomes shy and refuses to be persuaded next time. Not merely that; his fellow cultivators get the news of failure and as the proverbial bad coins gain in circulation so do the news of failure, and the conviction grows that the farm seeds are not so good or the methods suggested by the demonstrators are unsatisfactory. No improvement takes place, the cultivator sticks to his traditional method more firmly, and the money that is spent on the experimental farm is thereby wasted.

3. What are the causes of failures? They are chiefly three:—(i) the selection of seed, (ii) defective supervision of the demonstrator, (iii) conservatism on the part of the cultivator.

As regards (i), the seed is selected on the knowledge gained in the district experimental farm, the soil of which place can not be taken as a representative one; and as there are wide variations in the character of the soil within each district, it is hardly any wonder that the selected seed does not give proper response.

Regarding (ii), an ill-paid demonstrator, with little or no interest in the actual production of crops, can hardly be expected to work enthusiastically. Like the majority of paid officers he will surely do the minimum of work required for earning his pay. And as to (iii), the conservatism of illiterate cultivators is natural and can only be shaken off by giving him opportunities of seeing practical results of improved cultivation. The committee has suggested the training of workers by every village having a guide who will act as a "link between the technical experts and cultivators" . . . "The village guide will have to be in knowledge, status and equipment something more than the village chowkidar." Will the guide contemplated in the above recommendations be any better than the agricultural demonstrators? No. The guide will be a very weak link between the experts and cultivators and if the underlying causes of the present failures are not eradicated no real progress can be achieved. If it was possible to organise a scheme

by which responsible pseudo-experts themselves would go round and give frequent advice to the cultivators it would have been very good, but such a scheme would be financially unworkable. Hence my suggestion is that instead of having any ill-paid, irresponsible intermediary, why not evolve a scheme in which, by rotation, every big cultivator will master the technique directly under the guidance of the farm experts and also increase the number of farms by locating them after a soil survey so that the soils of these experimental farms are closely representative of the soil in the neighbourhood? By this arrangement the cultivators themselves will have opportunities of acquiring the technique of scientific agriculture, of seeing for himself the wonderful results of improved cultivation. During the course of training they may also be given some ideas of agricultural marketing. He may also be given a knowledge of the selection of right kind of seeds which will be suitable for his own lands for he will be made to work for a reasonable period of time sufficient to master the technique of scientific agriculture including ideas of rotation of crops in an experimental farm where the soil condition is similar to that of his own. The cumulative effect of such a training will practically remove all the defects including his natural conservatism and will go a great way in achieving solid progress. For this a five-year plan somewhat on these lines is (tentatively) suggested:—

In Bengal there are 28 districts having a total of about 100 subdivisions. Each subdivision has on an average 50 large villages where a post office is situated. If another 50 villages are included in each subdivision, practically all the important villages will be reckoned with. Start an experimental farm in each of these subdivisions after a soil survey. Let stipends be given to 20 cultivating owners one from each village, for one full year for work in each of these experimental farms and learn all the techniques of agricultural production, such as raising of better seeds, rotation of crops, raising of more crop in a land, manuring, etc. The stipend should be large enough

(i) to maintain himself in the farm free of all cost;
(ii) to compensate the loss which he has to suffer for leaving his cultivation;

(iii) to meet with the cost of his travelling. At the end of one year 20 villages in each subdivision will have an expert cultivator who will be an active agent for dissemination of the latest scientific knowledge to his fellow cultivators, who again by their success will stimulate others to adopt these latest methods by abandoning the traditional ones. In the 2nd year another batch of 20 cultivators from new villages will have to be recruited and in this way in course of five years every important village in Bengal will have one expert cultivator sufficiently trained to be the guide and preceptor of others not by verbal lessons but by practical demonstration of the possibilities of improvement by scientific agriculture.

The incidence of the scheme may be worked out as follows:

Capital cost on subdivisional experimental farms—	
(1) Land (100 acres @ 500/-)	50,000
(2) Building	40,000
(3) Equipment	10,000
	100,000

Total on 100 subdivisions=100×100,000=1 crore.
Recurring cost on maintenance of farms—

(1) One Asst. Supdt. in charge of the farm (average salary)	@ 150 = 1800
(2) One skilled assistant	@ 60 = 720
(3) Two servants	@ 50 = 600
(4) Contingency	@ 23 = 276
	3,396

Total on 100 subdivisions=100×3,400=3.4 lacs.

Recurring cost for the stipend of the 20 cultivators in each farm—

Cost of fooding, etc., in the farm mess @ 20 = 4,800	
Cost of family allowance @ 40 = 9,600	
Cost of travelling expenses of the cultivators 10 × 20	= 200
	14,600

Total cost on 100 farms=100×14,600=14.6 lacs.

Total recurring expenses=14.6+3.4=18 lacs.

Add supervision cost of 30 inspectors, one for each district at a salary of Rs. 250 (average)=90,000+T.A. 10,000=1 lac.

No provision need be made for the purchase of seeds or employment of hired labour (if required) and other expenses of the farm as those may be easily met from the proceeds of the sale of farm products leaving a profit which can be capitalised for the expansion of the scheme.

If the committee really want to maintain a link between the technical experts and the cultivators, the scheme outlined above will be more effective than training a village guide and employing him permanently for guiding others. Having no interest in the land itself, in the first place he will never learn the technique more than superficially and in the second place he will hardly be able to inspire any confidence in the mind of the cultivators in general and thirdly like the average ill paid service men will be far too lazy to be of any use to the cultivators.

It might be said, in criticism of the scheme here outlined that one year is too short a period for a farmer's training. But it must be noted that this scheme is suggested as only a part of a comprehensive agricultural planning which must, if it is to succeed, be also co-ordinated with India's Industrial planning. Agricultural planning must include apart from higher scientific training and research, a detailed soil survey irrigation, cattle breeding and rearing, agricultural finance, marketing of crops, involving problems of transport, storage warehouses, regulated markets, standardising and grading, etc. But this scheme, as a part of planning, lays stress only on the method of dissemination of knowledge about improved seed, quality of soil needed, the suitability of soils for different crops, the method of preparing the soil and also the rotation of crops suitable to his land; the kind of manure with which the different soils and crops should be treated, the method of tending cattle, remedies of some common diseases of cattle, the method of harvesting, processing and storing. Be it noted that a practical farmer of some experience is not entirely a novice in these matters. If carefully chosen, he will be found to possess already a fair degree of knowledge of the matters included in his course and ought to be able to finish his training in the course of a year.

Besides educating the cultivator in the use of improved methods of farming, these subdivisional experimental farms would be expected to provide improved varieties of seed, loan of implements, bullocks, etc., and be of general help to agriculturists.

POST-WAR AIR TRANSPORTATION IN INDIA

By K. K. ROY, M.Sc., A.E.R.Ae.S. (Lond.)

No one can doubt that the return of peace will bring a tremendous expansion in worldwide air-transportation. The airplane has been the most dynamic instrument of the war and will surely be the most dynamic instrument of peace. The technical strides that have been made under the stimulus of this life and death struggle will be reflected in commercial planes of to-morrow, carrying passengers and cargo to far-off places over land and water. All the nations are now planning for the expansion of their Civil Aviation, because the thoughtful citizens realise that not only for reasons of increased trade but for vital reasons of security, they must have commercial airlines. A "Mercantile Marine of the Air" is necessary to-day for the same reasons as a "Merchant Marine" was needed in the past.

India lags in all forms of transportation—rail, road or water. There is not enough of railways, road system or water-ways to cater to the needs of a vast country like India. If the country is to be industrialised even in a small but decent scale, we must discard the primitive cart, construct more and more road systems, build more railways and make a tremendous effort to modernise and enlarge the sea and river transportation system. Above all we must try to build the most modern transportation of all, the Airline.

India and China are the two backward countries of vast distances where the airplane will play a big role in the forward march of the two nations. The long and strenuous hours of journey that are required to-day to reach a remote place will be reduced to a few comfortable hours by airplane. In the near future, it will be possible to travel from one extreme point to another, the longest distance within India, in a maximum time of four hours, which would normally take days and days of hardship by the present available modes of transportation. The airplane will thus, by reducing the distances, bring the provinces closer socially, economically and culturally.

It is often argued that the Indian public is not wealthy enough to take to expensive air-travel. But, I believe, in the course of a few years, say 7 or 8 years after the declaration of peace, air-travel can be brought within the reach of the middle-class public. There were many factors which contributed to the high rates of air-transportation in India. The costs of planes before the war were very high and hence the heavy initial outlay. The operating costs were high too, because of high prices of aviation gasoline and excessive salary rates of foreign technicians and pilots. The performance of planes was also not good enough in pre-war days to make air-transportation more economical.

To have an effective air-transport system, all the important places and industrial towns within India should be inter-connected by a network of feeder lines, running frequent non-stop flights from station to station. The big cities such as Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Rangoon, Ceylon, etc., will be served by trunk lines. Feeder lines will radiate in all directions from a few centres conveniently located all over India. All the airline companies should get together to build landing grounds and most up-to-date radio facilities at all places served by airplane. Meteorological stations should also be set up either by the Government or by the airline companies jointly.

It would not be within the scope of this article to discuss the technical points of the types of airplanes

that can be used most economically on these routes. But, I believe, planes of the type of DC3, 21 seater for trunk lines and 6-10 seater planes with a fairly high cruising speed for feeder lines will be most suitable. Smaller types of planes on feeder lines will reduce the possibilities of running trips with partial loads. The volume of traffic between important stations, say Calcutta and Bombay, will be large, so a 21 seater will be the most economical size. Immediately after the war, the U.S.A. will probably be using 50-60 passenger De-luxe, 275 miles per hour liners of the DC4 and "Constellation" type in their overseas and on the long distance inland routes. In the post-war period, say after 10 years of peace, four-engined, 62½ ton, 100 passenger, 275 m.p.h. super-liners with a range of 3,000 to 3,500 miles and four-engined 35 ton, 275 m.p.h. with moderate range will be used. A 25-30 ton, four-engined type will probably be used as a "Flying Freight Car." The "Age of Flight" will see super-superliners with sleeping berths, private dressing rooms, toilet facilities, club room, cocktail-bar, ground to passenger telephone and television service and cooking facilities for long flights. But such grandiose plans and dreams will not be for us for a long time yet. The most effective and economical airplanes suitable to Indian conditions will be of the types mentioned above with higher cruising speeds and better overall performance that will definitely be available after the war.

To serve India efficiently, a fleet of about 150 planes, small and big, will be required. It will be to the advantage of Airline Companies to standardise their equipment so that the planes can be manufactured in England at a lower cost. The life of an airplane in service is about 15,000 hours, i.e., say 5 years. A life of 20,000 hours has been utilised by some companies by running their flights frequently according to rigid schedule. It is obvious that with the growth of airlines in India, there will be a constant demand for planes. As the field of operations increases the demand will increase too. Initially the Indian 'Airlines' will have, I am afraid, no other alternative but to place a standing order for planes and equipment in England or America, preferably in England as the costs will be lower. But, the wisest thing for the companies, in my opinion, would be to pool their resources to start an aircraft manufacturing concern of their own. It should be the object of this concern to design and build the 6-10 seater planes that will be needed for the feeder lines. The larger planes will not be so many as to justify production in India and will no doubt have to be purchased from abroad. This manufacturing concern can also be utilised to supply the needs of the Indian Air Force. This war has definitely proved that an airforce is an absolute necessity, the most important branch of the armed forces for the safety and protection of any country. The Robot planes in this war have shown the dangerous possibilities of the airplane. With further progress and development in the aeronautical science, one can visualise long range rocket-propelled pilotless planes and jet-propelled planes flying through the stratosphere with terrific velocity, and working havoc and destruction in distant parts of the world, in future wars. To protect our country against any such dangerous possibilities, a fairly good-sized and well-equipped airforce will have to be maintained at any costs, if the Government have the good of the people at heart. No nation can always sensibly

If the women scientists of our country get encouragement and proper facilities for researches from the hands of the Government and rich philanthropists in the form of special scholarships and fellowships they would not lag behind in competing with their sisters of the other parts of the globe. We appeal to the Government, the Universities and the rich of our country to unloose their purse strings for special endowments so that they can do valuable researches and enhance the prestige of our country.

"THE GANDHIAN PLAN"

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

We have lately been presented with different "Plans" emanating from different groups dealing with the problem of raising the standard of living of the masses and to develop India, industrially and otherwise, in such a way as to enable her to be ranked amongst the foremost powers of the world. The Bombay Plan (two instalments) and the Peoples Plan are complete so far as the public are concerned. The Government of India Plan is still in the stage of planning. All of these plans are based on the modern conception of what science, industry and even agriculture carried on with the help of the most up-to-date researches of science, mean in the scale of civilization and each of them involves thousands of crores of rupees for their execution. We regret that the Planning Committee of the Indian National Congress could not finish its labours for reasons that happen to be India's lot. And at such a time the 'Gandhian Plan' by Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal is welcome. It is more so because it tries to evolve a plan which has its foundation in ancient Indian traditions and ancient Indian economy. The attempt of Shri Agarwal is highly commendable because it gives in a nutshell the ideas of a man who is deemed to be of the greatest that the world has ever produced and who by his mode of living has conclusively proved that people, drunk with civilization, may, with much benefit, do away with many articles that go to form part of their being and still live in contentment. To people who have had the good fortune of going through the pages of *Young India* and Mahatma's other writings, the 'Plan' of Shri Agarwal will be something like re-told tales, but for that simple reason it has not lost its novelty of marshalling facts in a very attractive and presentable manner. In a short volume we get Gandhiji's views on machine, industry, distribution of wealth, exploitation and many other things related to future economic planning of India. For lay men a very lucid analysis of the Fascist and Soviet Plans, the 'New Deal' of America and England's 'planless economy' and the Beveridge Plan of the United Kingdom, is extremely helpful for understanding the modern trend of planning for a high standard of living which includes food, health, education, comforts, leisure, etc., for the people of their respective lands.

One feels inclined to agree with Shri Agarwal that 'economic values can no longer be divorced from human and cultural values of life, for man does not live by bread alone' and to be convinced by what he, on behalf of Mahatma, places before us in support of his case. He has also discussed, in the short compass of the book the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen; and the author's interpretation of "Nationalism" as schemes 'based on the indigenous culture and civilization of the nation' which should 'promote the welfare and happiness of the whole nation,' of "Democracy" as a system necessitating 'the least amount of state control and coercion' and "Livelihood" as the right of 'every citizen of a nation to earn his or her livelihood by just and honourable means', is highly interesting. The Gandhian

Plan advocates 'simplicity, decentralisation and cottage industrialism' and as a corollary it desires 'to build an ideal economy on four corner-stones of Simplicity, Non-violence, Sanctity of Labour and Human Values.'

To the ordinary Indian it seems to be an ideal plan and there are hundreds of thousands in other lands, great thinkers they, who completely agree with Mahatma's views on economic planning. But there is scope for disagreement. We know that Mahatma is against industrialism because in his view "the evils (of capitalism) are inherent in industrialism and no amount of socialism can eradicate them." Mahatma, we know, is not against all machinery, but his objection is directed to the 'craze for machinery' and 'its indiscriminate multiplication.' Today India cannot stand aloof from the rest of the world and willy-nilly has to gear up her resources, if not for anything else, to save herself from exploitation by powerful groups of foreigners. India had had her own industries the products of which reached the distant corners of the globe. But this was ruined by a well calculated plan supported by powerful arms. While every other nation tries to go ahead with further industrialisation, India cannot wait as a passive onlooker of the great march only to supply raw materials and cheap labour and to be content with village industrialism just to be flooded with imported articles. We have been told that "Gandhiji wants India to plan her national economy in terms of peace and self-sufficiency without entertaining any ambitions of world market for her manufactures." So far as it concerns India, under Mahatma's plan, it is understandable. But the point that raises its ugly head is that other nations won't respect our feelings and will go on with their object more merrily than hitherto. I am not without support from Gandhiji when he advises people not to neglect development of basic industries. The industries mentioned in the list (p. 79) require huge capital, great organisation with ample resources and the proper development of each of these industries will act as tonic to their promoters in expanding their activities further. The whole country will be as a result, led to industrialisation with all its baneful effects. It may be that to Mahatma and men of his way of thinking "the . . . trend of world economic thought is towards decentralisation and 'cottage communism'," but to say that it is the 'general trend' is inferring a great deal.

We all agree that "India must evolve a Plan of economic organisation which shall be congenial to her genius and culture" but Gandhiji does not preclude all considerations of change, a practical man that he is, when he says that the old plans "should be revived and revived, of course with necessary changes to suit modern conditions." And this partly means, we should adjust ourselves to the changed world conditions of a dynamic world.

* The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development of India by Shriman Narayan Agarwal, Padma Publications Ltd., pp. 115. Price Rs. 2-8.



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 HOUSE THAT JINNAH BUILT : By B. G. Kaushik. Published by Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 148.

The author, obviously a pucca nationalist, gives an account of the technique evolved by the communal-minded section of our Mussalman brethren of gradually extending its demand for a larger amount of political power culminating in the demand for Pakistan. While conceding that the Muslim League is justified in having as its objectives, the protection and promotion of the legitimate interests of the community it claims to represent, he deprecates the preference it has shown for political hatred as its principal weapon. He also maintains that the responsibility for the spread of Hindu-Muslim disunity and hatred lies with the leadership of the Muslim League.

Extensive quotations from the speeches of Mr. Jinnah and from the resolutions of the Muslim League are used to prove the viewpoint put forward. The position of the Congress is explained and sought to be justified and the hope expressed that "as education spreads wider and deeper and the middle class intelligentsia in the community grows in number and influence, the Muslims will refuse to be misled and will assert themselves." Contending that a very considerable proportion of members of the leftist parties in India are drawn from the best type of Muslim intellectuals as also that the Congress is "going left at a very fast pace," the author concludes that there is no reason to despair for the future of Indian nationalism for, with the disappearance of British imperialism which he regards as the main prop of communalism, communal organisations, whether Hindu or Muslim, will lose whatever appeal they have at present either for the classes or the masses.

In the last section except one of his book the author gives a tentative scheme of federation which he thinks should satisfy both the Congress and the Muslim League and that "without compromising the essence of their respective demands" still another proof, if proof is needed, of his genuine desire to see a rapprochement between these two political organisations.

Written in an attractive and brilliant style and with conclusions based on documentary evidence, there is present throughout the book an undercurrent of passionate love of our motherland. Even the most careless of readers must be impressed by the deep pain felt and expressed by the author at the disintegrating influence of communalism and how he would willingly pay almost any price to bring back harmony once he is convinced that it would mean the end of all differences instead of becoming the starting point for a fresh series of demands. It is altogether a most impressive

work though it is probable that it would have appealed more to members of the Muslim League if Mr. Jinnah and his activities had been described in less outspoken language.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

SELECTIONS FROM SWAMI VIVEKANANDA : Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Publication Department at 4, Wellington Lane, Calcutta, 1944. Price Rs. 6.

These selections from Swami Vivekananda's speeches and writings have an abiding place in the history of our thought, as Swamiji occupied an important, a most important place when he lived, and even now the inspired message he has left for us is full of vigour and significance. We cannot read his lines on the 4th of July, the day of American Independence, the day which was to be made memorable to all his readers by the event of his death—written in 1898—without being vividly reminded of their appositeness today, and joining in the prayer—

Move on, O Lord, in thy resistless path !
Till thy high noon o'erspreads the world,
Till every land reflects thy light,
Till men and women, with uplifted hand,
Behold their shackles broken, and

Know, in springing joy, their life renewed !
The bright future of India of which Swamiji had a vision—is still hidden from us. The conversations, the letters, the poems and the speeches strike responsive chords deep into the soul, and set the reader thinking. These selections have not dated and they will be prized by the reader of today, and they will offer him consolation in his distress and inspire him to soar higher and higher. The printing and the general get-up leave nothing to be desired, specially in these days of control on all fronts.

P. R. SEN

WHAT PRICE NEW ORDER ? : By N. J. Nanporia. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1943. Pages 218. Price Rs. 4-4.

At a time when the air is thick with an amazing variety of speculations regarding the future world order, the vision of a socialistic reconstruction of our chaotic and sorry world should but evoke little enthusiasm. This vision has already been blurred by the growing insistence on the imposition of a retributive peace on the vanquished and the emergence of what might be paradoxically termed National Bolshevism in Stalinist Russia. The vision of Socialist unity has receded far indeed, and although the prospects of lasting peace would seem to rest on the achievement of this unity and working-class solidarity throughout the world, the

depend on foreign supplies and equipment for the maintenance of its airforce and the armed forces in perfect trim. The army of fighting men must always have an army of scientific men behind them. Just as the ordnance factories are supplying the armed forces, the proposed aircraft factory will be in a position to supply the Indian Airforce. The technical personnel required for organising airlines as well as designing and manufacturing planes are available now amongst Indians. Of course, high class foreign experts in the line can be hired at the initial stages. Should our students feel that a big opportunity awaits them in the field of aeronautics, better and better brains will be forthcoming for training and can be very usefully utilised in the industry. The vast number of our youths that are now being trained in the war industries will also be available to the industry.

The major items of operating costs of an airline are fuel, oil, pay of flying crews, accidental damage to flight equipment, and insurance premiums. According to the statistics of American airlines, these items contribute to 28 per cent of the total costs. In India, due to the higher cost of aviation gasoline this expense will be about 40 per cent, even though the cost on flight crews be lower than American or British rates. Next to the above items will come ground operations expense, and flying equipment maintenance. The expense on flight crews, ground operators, service and maintenance crews, all with decent rates of pay according to our standard, will be far below that in America or Britain and can be kept low enough to reduce the total operating costs. But the costs of aviation gasoline will be a major obstacle in lowering the operations expenses substantially to enable a reduction of passenger or cargo rates.

Let us now examine the rates at which an airline can operate successfully. From personal investigations carried out, I believe, an average rate of 11 pice per mile is a reasonable figure at present. At this rate an airline can not only operate profitably but also bring the fares on feeder lines within the reach of the public who normally uses second class railway facilities. The actual fares on feeder lines will be between first and second class railway fares. On trunk routes the fares will be slightly higher than the railway first class but yet no dearer. Consider for example, the trip from Calcutta to Bombay. The first class rail fare is Rs. 150. Add to it the costs of food, etc. The total expense will work out to be Rs. 175 or so. A fare of Rs. 175 by air will be readily acceptable to the public because of the comforts and swiftness of air-travel. As regards feeder routes, let us examine a trip from Calcutta to Dacca. The air distance between the two stations is 150 miles. The fare at 11 pice per mile is Rs. 25-14. Even though this is slightly higher than the second class rail fare I am sure, the service will be popular to the (railway) second class travelling public.

The type of planes proposed to be used on feeder lines is a 6-10 seater, twin-engined, each of 400 H.P., with a cruising speed of 220 miles per hour at 12,000 ft. Let us assume that each trip of one hour covers a distance of 150 miles and includes one take-off and one landing. The cost for such a trip for the type of plane considered will be as follows:—

Fuel and oil	Rs. 72
Pay of flight crews, maintenance, depreciation and other operating costs	Rs. 52
Total (per trip of one hour)	Rs. 124

The details of this analysis have not been shown here. At the rate of 11 pice per mile, the fare available for such a trip is Rs. 25-14 $\times$ 6 i.e., Rs. 154-14 (a minimum of six passengers per trip is assumed). Assuming an yearly service of 2,000 hrs. instead of 3,000 as mentioned before each plane will show an annual profit of Rs. 61,600. Here, we see a big margin which will enable a substantial reduction in cost per mile after a few years of operations.

It has been mentioned before that for an efficient domestic service, 150 planes will be required. These planes will operate from five centres, Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Allahabad and Madras, carrying passengers, mail and perishable cargo such as fruits and vegetables. Should needs arise, some of these planes can be utilised as ambulance to bring patients needing expert medical aid to places where such facilities are available, as is being done in Russia and also to send relief to famine and flood stricken areas.

In order to reduce further the cost of air-travel to bring it within the means of the middle class people, the following steps should be taken:

1. Manufacture of aviation gasoline in India.

The minimum consumption of fuel by the 150 commercial planes will average twelve million gallons per year. This consumption alone, not considering the needs of the airforce, will amply justify opening up a new industry. Gasoline being available in India and the neighbouring countries, it will be possible for any Indian manufacturing concern to supply aviation gasoline at a cheaper rate than the imported stuff within a few years. Thus by reducing the cost of fuel, the major obstacle to cheaper air-travel will be removed.

2. Manufacture of aircraft in India.

The requirements of commercial airlines, not to mention the Airforce, will be large enough to support a manufacturing factory. At the initial stage, it will not be possible to produce planes at lower costs than the imported ones, but in course of a few years it will be possible to reduce the costs of planes considerably. The existing Aluminium industry will be able to supply the materials required for the manufacture of aircrafts. It will probably be desirable to start manufacture with the help of designs from "Blue Prints" purchased from abroad but at the same time the Indian designers should work on the development of a better and modern plane suitable to Indian conditions. As I have said before that aircraft designers are available to-day amongst Indians who will compare very favourably with the best of foreign experts, should they be given proper opportunities.

A second advantage, and a very important one too, to have a manufacturing concern is that spare parts for regular maintenance of commercial planes will be obtainable locally at cheaper costs.

3. With the technical progress that has been made under the stress of war, faster planes and better engines that will be available during the post-war period will enable planes to fly more hours and more mileage between periods of major overhaul. Better engines with lower fuel consumption will also be available. These factors will lower the maintenance and fuel costs.

4. All the Indian Airline Companies should jointly start a central school for the training of pilots and co-pilots, radio operators, service and maintenance crews under able and experienced teachers. Such a school will have to incorporate all the modern equipments and facilities to impart the best of training within India. All

Indian airlines should be manned entirely by Indian personnel and it will be the object of this school to produce and supply the best of flying and ground crews that will be needed by the industry for efficient operations.

Some mention should be made here of the safety record in air transportation. There is a strong fear in the mind of people that air-travel is very risky. It was. But, to-day, with the introduction of twin-engined commercial planes, the highly developed radio navigational facilities, instrument landing facilities and with modern airports with sufficient margins of safety, the chances of accidents have been considerably reduced. One example will suffice to convince. In the period of four years before the war, in U.S.A., there were 12 fatal accidents in 430 million miles flown. Of these 12, at least 6 could have been avoided if radio facilities and other safety methods were as advanced then as it is to-day. Two cases, which were due to pilot's error, could have been averted with a better *esprit de corps* between the pilot and co-pilot. Only in one case was there any structural failure involved.

It can be confidently asserted that, to-day with the high state of development of navigational and instrument flying facilities and their universal incorporation in modern airports with better and improved traffic control system, it is no more dangerous to travel by air than by car, rail or steamer.

The formulation of a sound national "Air Policy" will be the deciding factor in the promotion of the "Aviation Industry" in India. Today we hear a lot of talk about "Freedom of the Air." What does "Freedom of the Air" mean? It means internationalisation of all air-space by inter-national consent. It would in practice precisely mean that commercial planes of any nation can fly with impunity over land and water, harbour and airport installations of other countries. So long, the principle of the "Sovereignty of the Air" has been practised. Under this principle, planes of foreign nations were denied the right of passage over a nation's territory and also the use of its airports. Deviations from this policy have been made in the past for economic gain or in consideration of reciprocal air-service by unilateral or bilateral agreements. The abandonment of this policy in favour of the "Freedom of the Air" policy will not be detrimental to our interests provided certain stipulations are made to help our own industry. Commercial planes of foreign nations, en route to other ports

beyond India, will be allowed to land on Indian soil for overhaul and refuelling purposes only. They shall not be allowed to carry passengers or cargo originating in India, from one station to another within India. On routes from India to America, Great Britain, China, Russia or any other country, the passenger and cargo traffic originating from or bound for India should be shared on a fifty fifty basis, should there be any Indian concern operating to those places. The meteorological and radio facilities will also be available on a reciprocal basis. We must by all means at our command resist the formation of an "International Aviation Control Board." If such a board is formed, the attempts of the smaller and less industrialised nations to build their own Civil Aviation will be crushed by the powerful interests that will dominate such a body. The planning and control of domestic air routes should be left in the hands of the nations concerned. The inter-national routes can be arranged by common consent on a reciprocal basis. An International Aviation Board can function only as a consultative body on safety measures, equipment, navigation, meteorology, rates, etc.

On our domestic field, the Government of India should not find a "chosen instrument" of their own. The Government should

(i) give equal privileges and facilities in matters of mail, airports, etc., to all Indian Airlines;

(ii) resist the Imperialistic tendencies of any company;

(iii) resist cut-throat competition but encourage healthy ones so that India can have an efficient air-transportation system;

(iv) acquire all the airports built by foreign nations in India, and properly maintain them; build more airports with modern facilities all over India;

(v) set up a "Technical Board" for research and development of airports, traffic control, aeronautical equipments, and safety measures.

We are on the eve of a tremendous development of the aviation industry—both transport and manufacturing. This industry, I am confident, will flourish in our country. The airplane will give mankind greater benefits of travel and intercourse between peoples. Should this great future of the airplane be built on the solid foundation of safety and economy, air travel will no doubt become popular in India, and will also provide employment for thousands of our youths.

INDIAN WOMEN IN SCIENCE

By ROBINDRA MOHUN DATTA, M.Sc.

The Indian Science Congress held its Thirty-second sittings at Nagpur in the first week of January, 1945. Of the numerous papers submitted and read, the following papers which were contributed and read by the women scientists of our country, are given below:—

IN THE SECTION OF CHEMISTRY:

1. Condensation of Sulph-anilamide with Urea and some Dibasic Acids and other derivatives by P. C. Gupta and Miss R. J. Irani, Bangalore.

2. Active principles of *Skimmia Laureola*, Hook by P. K. Bose and Miss A. Mookerjee, Calcutta.

3. Chemical examination of *Datura fastuosa* L. by P. V. Nair and Miss P. Saradamma, Trivandrum.

IN THE SECTION OF BOTANY:

1. Ecological and morphological observations on

Salvadoraceae by Miss Ganga, Kalyanpur and B. N. Mulay, Karachi.

IN THE SECTION OF PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATIONAL SCIENCE:

1. Certain tendencies in the rating of personality traits, by Shanta Devi and H. P. Maity, Calcutta.

IN THE SECTION OF ZOOLOGY AND ENTOMOLOGY:

1. Corpus luteum in *Chilo-scyllium griseum* (Mull and Henle) by Miss M. Samuel, Madras.

IN THE SECTION OF MATHEMATICS AND STATISTICS:

1. Application of the "Generalised Distance" i.e., "D2-Statistic" on some varietal experiment of rice crop by Mrs. C. Bose, Calcutta.

2. Sampling error in the method of double sampling by Mrs. C. Bose, Calcutta.

stage is being set for the revival of old national rivalries and jealousies which lead inevitably to war. The author appeals to British labour to accept the leadership in achieving international socialist unity and pleads for a re-orientation of the socialist's attitude towards Soviet Russia. He argues that the fear of a Stalinist dictatorship being imposed upon post-war Europe is unreal, and that the Soviet Union should "shed her sphinx reserve, abandon her attitude of suspicious independence and realise that national socialist renovation within one's own border is never thoroughly possible in a hostile capitalist world; . . . that national planning is incompatible with world chaos." I hope this appeal will not go unheeded. The author has put forward a convincing plan for world reconstruction on the basis of a socialist revolution, and it remains to be seen whether, as anticipated by the author, the foreign policy of Stalinist Russia is so transformed in post-war years as to facilitate its early achievement.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

WAR AND IMMORALITY : By Sudhindra Lal Roy, M.A. Published by Kitab-Mahal, Allahabad. Pages 165. Price Rs. 4-8.

While this global war is still going on and the United Nations are preparing for post-war reconstruction all round, a book of this nature is of special interest to those who are much affected by war conditions. The last Great War (1914-18) taught us many lessons which we can remember with profit and utilise its experiences to the best advantage at the present hour. Although war brings out many hidden qualities and merits of mankind, its evil effects on human morals should not be lost sight of. Nobody now accepts that war is a biological necessity. Evil effects of war on human morals,—individual, social and national, are tremendous and no amount of State control can stop these. Some writers even go so far as to tag war, wine and women together. Whether one agrees with such extreme views or not, it must be admitted that war conditions give a good-bye to ordinary things in life and bring about such changes which ordinarily we shall look down upon as degrading and immoral. Success in the war becomes the only motive of the belligerents and open prostitution is allowed to thrive or rather encouraged as a means to final victory, by keeping up the morale of the soldiers. Civilian morality deteriorates and even children succumb to the evil effects which pollute national and international atmosphere. So, every attempt should be made to make war a thing of the past by all civilised nations, and as a matter of fact one of the war aims of the United Nations is to fight out the present war to a finish so as to end war altogether for the future.

The author in 14 chapters has described the evil effects of war from various points of view quoting profusely from military and medical authorities of the last Great War and also from prominent authors of Continental Europe. The book reads like a novel and is certainly a welcome addition to the present day war literature. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

A. B. DUTTA

COMMON SENSE ABOUT YOGA : By Swami Pavitrana. Published by Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. Pp. 107. Price Re. 1.

The author, a learned monk of the Ramakrishna Order, is the President of Advaita Ashrama, that beautiful

hermitage founded by Swami Vivekananda in the heart of the snow-clad Himalayas. In the book, under review, the Swami speaks about a subject for the study and practice of which he has dedicated his life. The six interesting chapters into which this nice little book is divided are, as he acknowledges in the preface, "the outcome of a form of thinking aloud on the subject of yoga." The Swami discusses herein yoga in a very simple and rational way and debunks some of the nonsense that are current about it. He rightly contends that yoga is not mystery-mongering as is generally believed. He takes one after another the four principal schools of yoga—Karmayoga, Bhaktiyoga, Rajayoga, Jnanayoga and clarifies the false notions that are said and believed on this science. He rightly warns the aspirants to beware of pseudo-yoga that strides in the religious world and quotes Aldous Huxley who says: "Orthodox Christianity has always tended to overvalue supernormal occurrences, to identify the unusual with the divine, to confound the mere psychic with the spiritual . . . They are concerned less with the 'Kingdom of Heaven within' than with external 'signs', less with knowledge of eternity than with power in space-time. Their religion, in a word, is not mystical but a kind of occultism." This is the case not only with Christianity but with all religions and particularly with yoga. Whatever therefore is misty and mysterious in yoga should be carefully discarded as it has a very weakening and enervating effect on the aspirants. True yoga is a spiritual science and has nothing to do with occultism. It eliminates the weaknesses of one who practises yoga and strengthens him in every way.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE MEDIEVAL BENGALI EPICS : By Asutosh Bhattacharya, M.A., Lecturer in the Department of Bengali, University of Dacca. Calcutta Book House, 1/1, College Square, Calcutta. Royal 8vo., pp. 1-60. Price Re. 1-8.

The book deals with the character and purport of the *mangalakavyas* which alone in the wide field of medieval Bengali literature fulfil, as the learned author thinks, the requirements of true epics. The *mangalakavyas* occupy a very important place in the history of Bengali literature. And an account of them will be highly welcome to all lovers of literature. To make it intelligible and interesting to readers outside Bengal, a detailed description of the important works should precede a treatment of their characteristic features. But unfortunately the present work seems to ignore this aspect of the matter. As a result, though the Bengali reader may have no difficulty in following the book, a little elaboration here and a little explanatory note there would have been highly helpful to one not familiar with Bengal. As regards the origin and primitive nature of the deities glorified in these works there is room for legitimate controversy. There is also scope for enough surmise about the religious and social condition represented in them. But there can be no two opinions about the present position of the deities and so one fails to understand what led the learned author to conclude that they are not worshipped by high class Hindus of the present day (p. 23).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A HAND BOOK OF TELUGU LITERATURE : By K. Sitaramaiah, M.A., Nizam College, Hyderabad (Dn.). Published by Hyderabad Telugu Academy. Pp. 151. Price Rs. 1-8.

The book under review gives in a nutshell a brief survey of the landmarks in the history of Telugu

Literature. It may be said that Telugu literature is mainly Sanskritic though of Dravidian origin. The period of Krishnadevaraya marks the golden age. Even though the literature has suffered a good deal since then it is encouraging to find that some of the present-day tendencies point towards a bright future.

This handbook in English serves its purpose admirably well and is eminently suited to people of other provinces.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

SANSKRIT

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, BARODA, VOL. I : Compiled by Raghavan Nambiyar Siromani, Nyaya-bhushana, Catalogue Assistant, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XCVII. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 9.

This contains short notices (consisting of titles, names of authors, indication of the extent and occasionally of the script, material and age—all arranged in a tabular form) of more than 6,000 Sanskrit manuscripts,—i.e., about half the collection of the Institute. Broadly speaking the manuscripts fall under four subjects—Veda, Dharmasastra, Darsana and Vyakarana. In the list they are arranged under 13 sections, some of which like *Vedalaksana* would appear to be rather unusual while a few like *Dharma* and *Smriti* a bit confusing. In his brief introduction Dr. B. Bhattacharya, the learned General Editor, has drawn attention to the absence of any standard, uniform system of classification, so that different types of classification are met with in different catalogues. He has therefore emphasised the need of what may be regarded as the National Scheme of Classification of MSS. This should be one of the functions of the central organisation for the study of MSS. as suggested elsewhere (*Modern Review*, Oct. 1941, p. 404) by the undersigned several years back.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

KRISHI-PRABANDHA : By Banerwar Sinha. Published by Lakshmiswar Sinha, 13, Lansdowne Terrace, Po. Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta. Demy Octavo. Pp. 16 + 275. Price paper bound Rs. 3-8 and cloth bound Rs. 5-8.

This valuable treatise on agriculture is the result of the author's painstaking study and research as well as his practical experience spreading over half a century. Bengal with her neighbouring districts is universally known as a very fertile country. Here in different seasons different sorts of crops grow. The author has given an account of most of them in this book in as many as fifteen chapters. While giving in detail accounts of crops needed for daily consumption he has not neglected the aesthetic side, and has devoted a separate chapter to the culture of flowers. He has given another chapter on the cultivation of wood, which is very useful for domestic purposes. The book will be of great use to those who will take up agriculture as a means of livelihood. If the contents of the book can be conveyed to our peasants, most of whom are innocent of general education, they will derive much benefit from it. In these days of "Grow More Food Campaign," the book should be highly appreciated by the Government. Printing is neat.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

BANGLA SAHITYER EK DIK (One Aspect of Bengali Literature) : By Sasi Bhushan Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. Sri Guru Library, 204, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.

In this book the learned author has made a survey of the Essay Literature in Bengali. Though a pioneer

work on the subject it is free from any sign of immaturity. The author has tried first to define what an 'essay' is and then traced its course of development in Bengali literature from the earliest attempts down to the works of Pramatha Chaudhuri and Abanindranath Tagore. The cautious eye of an historian and the aesthetic outlook of a literary critic have combined here to make it a remarkable treatise.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

AKASH KI KATHA : By Girdharilal Sharma 'Gang'. Pustaka Bhandar, Patna. Pp. 146.

This is a story of the heavens, written expressly for children. The writer's treatment of this rather abstruse scientific theme is both facile as well as facetious. The book is adequately illustrated. The study of the solar system, together with that of the phenomena associated with it and of the relative apparatus, has been presented with the sustained interest of a romantic story. *Akash Ki Katha* would be a valuable addition to every school library. The publishers are, indeed, to be congratulated on placing such a finely got-up publication in the hands of the little folks.

G. M.

DUNIYA KI SHASAN-PRNALIYAN (2 Vols) : By Ram Chandra Varma. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 187 + 219. Price Re. 1-8.

This cheap handy book is a free translation of the 'Political System of the World'—portion of G. D. H. Cole's famous work, "Modern Politics." The translation is quite good and particular care has been taken to make it up-to-date in view of the post-war contingencies. We commend this book to the Hindi readers.

M. S. SENGAR

TELUGU

PRAJA YUDDHAM : Adapted by P. Ramakotayya. Published by the Cultural Book Club, Perambur, Madras. Pp. 66. Price six annas.

Needless to say that Russia's heroic stand in the present war won the admiration of the world. For those who want an inside story this translation is indispensable.

SOVIET RUSSYALO : By K. Subbaramayya. Published by the Cultural Book Club, Perambur, Madras. Pp. 77. Price eight annas.

With the help of available statistics the writer has given a comprehensive account of some of the vital aspects of Soviet Russia. Chapters on Education, Foreign Policy and Unemployment are highly instructive.

Students of politics will find it useful and educative.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

DAYARAM RAS SUDHA : By Shankarprasad Chhuganlal Raval. Published by N. M. Tripalhi & Co., Princess Street, Bombay. Card Board. Illustrated. Pp. 64 + 189. Price Rs. 3. (1943).

Dayaram, one of the greatest poets of old Gujarat, has written many works on the lines of Krishna and the Gopis, on the Vaishnava philosophy, and cognate subjects. He is most popular in Gujarat, specially with women, for his Garbis (Lyrics). They all find a place in this compilation of Dayaram's poems, divided into several sections. It is preceded by an Introduction from the pen of Mr. Raval, in which he has summarised the value of Dayaram's poetic work ably and well.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

De Valera: Eire's Man of Destiny

What is the secret of de Valera's hold on his countrymen, which so often baffles the stranger and even puzzles many of his contemporaries in Ireland? R. M. Fox writes in *The Aryan Path* :

De Valera shares with Gandhi an air of calm self-confidence, a simplicity of manner, a single-mindedness of purpose, that is undeflected by good or ill fortune.

No one since Parnell has evoked such a degree of loyalty and affection. Like Parnell he is by no means a consistently great orator. His speeches can be dull. But he always conveys the impression of passionate sincerity. Often he seems to be examining his conscience in public. He subjects everything to a moral as well as an intellectual test and does not rely on mere cleverness alone. In a country where eloquent spellbinders are three a penny, the tone of aloof authority and moral purpose will dominate.

To hear this tall, black-coated, spectacled professor of mathematics talk of the national tradition is to get him in his right setting. For all his militant past he makes a conservative approach. Yet Eire is so undeveloped politically and economically that he is compelled to act as an innovator and a pioneer. He strives to bring about the inevitable changes in a way which will least disturb the detached mood of rural Ireland, always suspicious of the new and the strange.

De Valera joined the Irish Volunteers before the Easter Rising of 1916 and soon became a captain in that force. He commanded a rebel post at Bolands' Mill. One of his students described him at that time as "considerably over six feet in height, a very serious-looking young man in his early thirties, with a long nose and spectacles and a strangely foreign complexion."

As Republican Commandant of Bolands' Mill he escaped execution after the surrender only because of his American birth and he received a life sentence instead. When he came out—the following year, on a general amnesty—he was on the rising Republican wave. Nominated for Clare, he was elected as a standard-bearer for the Sinn Fein movement and was soon recognised as its natural leader.

In America, where de Valera went after escaping from Lincoln Gaol—a key had been smuggled in to him concealed in a cake—he had wordy tussles with the old Fenian leader, John Devoy and his equally powerful ally, Judge Cohalan of the New York Supreme Court.

This conflict culminated in a stormy meeting at the Park Avenue Hotel in New York, called by the Devoy-Cohalan faction to down de Valera. The Irish leader had been announced to speak in another city hundreds of miles away. But he heard of this meeting and was unexpectedly present. He so turned the tide that his enemies apologised abjectly.

Back in Ireland at the time of the London Treaty of 1921—out of which came Eire's independence—de Valera had sharp divisions with close colleagues. While de Valera concentrated on exact, literal and dialectical utterances the country drifted into civil war. His side was defeated and broken in the civil war and he himself was imprisoned for eleven months, being arrested by the military on an election platform in Ennis, County Clare, where he was standing as Republican candidate.

His steadfastness bore fruit when, in 1932, he led the side that had been defeated in battle to political victory; and he has held power in Eire ever since.

What India May Learn From Russia

Sir Jnan Chandra Ghosh writes in *The Indian Review* :

The example of Russia should give us confidence in our ability to do likewise in India; in fact it was not lost upon the Indian leaders. The Indian National Congress set up a Planning Committee in 1938 which secured the enthusiastic co-operation of some 300 experts and collected a large amount of material and information relevant for planning. But unfortunately the Committee became defunct when the Congress Ministries resigned office. Two members of the Committee however in association with six industrial and business magnates of wide experience issued six months ago a rough outline of a 15 years' plan for the economic development of the country.

The real and basic need of India is not so much to reconstruct as to construct. The average pre-war per capita income is Rs. 65 and even if the well-to-do class disappeared from the land, the average income would not have exceeded Rs. 70. "Here therefore," as Mr. J. R. D. Tata recently said, "we have to create enough wealth to go round before we can ensure that every one gets a fair share of it. To-day that share for most of our long-suffering people is a share of poverty and misery."

The National Planning Committee aimed at securing for our people certain bare requirements as human beings. This includes a balanced diet, which will provide 2800 calories per day and also the protective foods like milk, vegetables, etc., clothing at 30 yards per person per year, housing of 100 square feet per person, sanitary and public health measures at Rs. 5 per head and educational expenses at 24 rupees per head per year which will liquidate illiteracy in 15 years. The minimum per capita income which will be necessary for this purpose will be Rs. 80 at pre-war prices. If to that, we add Rs. 20 as savings, Rs. 10 as cost of amenities, and Rs. 20 as miscellaneous expenses such as social ceremonies, travels, taxation, defence charges, etc., the least

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per capita income that we should aim at is Rs. 130. Hence if the population were to remain stationary, we should aim at doubling the national income. If, however, the population increases as now at the rate of 1.2 per cent. per year, the national income will have to be trebled in 15 years, in order that per capita income may be doubled during that period. The authors believe that this can be done by well-planned investment of 1400 crores in the first five years, 2900 crores of rupees in the next five years, and 5,700 crores in the third period of five years—the grand total for the whole period being 10,000 crores of rupees.

This three-fold increase in the total national income will be realised according to Bombay Planning by increasing the income from Industries by 500 per cent., the income from agriculture by 130 per cent., and from services by 200 per cent.

It is intended to find 4,000 crores for saving, 3,500 crores by creating paper currency, and balance of Rs. 2,500 crores from existing and potential capital resources. The proposal to inflate currency by 3,500 crores, creates a good deal of uneasiness. It would be wiser to be more modest about the provisions of housing accommodation and bring down expenditure under that head from 2,200 crores to 1,200 crores; it would be also wise to demand an annual saving of 10 per cent as against the contemplated rate of 6 per cent, which would bring into the hands of the Planning Authority another Rs. 2,500 crores.

Amphibious Warfare

The New Review observes :

The repeated successes of the Allies in the Philippines culminating in the invasion of Luzon are ultimately due to the Allied truer intuition of a global war. The Nazi High Command visualised the war as mainly a land war; they fancied they could reduce Britain without invading her, and subsequently they were not given the opportunity to build up an invasion technique and an invading force. Japan herself, though an island, took her strategy from Berlin and overdeveloped her land power. Both were hypnotized by the fact that the last step to victory will necessarily be a land battle as long as men choose to live on *terra firma*; but they failed to see that a country situated across the sea cannot be beaten unless it is first invaded and that, if its coasts are defended, it cannot be successfully invaded except in the process of a battle. It is a battle of a special type, half on sea and half on land: the amphibious battle. All this looks obvious enough, but occasionally the obvious is overlooked by intelligent people. On the other hand, conditions, geographical and military, forced British and American strategists to contemplate and prepare amphibious warfare.

This is a tactical development of the present war. In the last war and in the early months of the present one (British landings in France during 1939 and 1940, Japanese landings in China, Malaya, Dutch East Indies), troops were taken across the sea as Spartan tourists, and supplies were carried as ordinary cargo; once landed, they were sorted out, conveyed to a base where they could be made ready for the front. The Normandy landing which had been prepared in commando rehearsals, and in the North Africa, Sicily and Italy operations, was an innovation in tactics which was still improved upon in Leyte and in Luzon.

Amphibious warfare implies beginning the land battle at sea, and its fundamental problem is to deploy in marching order close to the enemy sea-coast, to keep to battle-order when disembarking, and to articulate the supply land-base with the sea supply lines.

The problem was solved on the Allied side thanks to inventions suggested by the difficulties which were

expected. Our engineers built special landing craft which permitted the passage to be made in tactical order (scouts, motorised groups, infantry, artillery). Transshipment from transport to lighters or to the shore was the crux of the problem: vehicles for troops and administrative personnel were waterproofed so that they could, on their own power, span the gap between the landing-craft and the shore; finally the great innovation to solder sea and land supply lines (it was especially necessary on the Normandy coast and is said to be a Churchillian intuition), transportable harbours were prefabricated. In the Philippines the quay-craft was of smaller size and the innovation was rather the small-size motor-boat to land infantry squads. The Allies have mastered the art of amphibious warfare. Their inventiveness will stand them in good stead in this war, but it has also revolutionised sea warfare, and seriously diminished the defence value of all navies.

The Communal Problem in India

Good sense will, sooner or later, dawn upon us and we shall realise that, so long as ill-will and animosity pollute the atmosphere, nationalism cannot flourish. Sir Mirza Ismail observes in *The Indian Review* :

The Hindu-Muslim problem is our shameful trouble today. Judging from my own long experience, I do not regard it as by any means an insoluble problem, or one that need fill us with dismay, as, I confess, it is apt to do sometimes. Time and world-conditions are factors which will tell in the end and bring about a national and cultural fusion.

Let us not forget that the present times are vastly different from those of early British rule in India.



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NAGARJUN CHEMICAL WORKS
KALIGHAT CALCUTTA

Conditions have changed all over the world and men's ideas, too, have undergone a vast change. Adjustments are as inevitable as the change of seasons, and we have to make them, if we are to survive in such a world. English education had to come. The English language, which is fast becoming a world language, was bound to become the principal medium of communication between the educated classes.

We must see to it that the youth of the country receive the right kind of education that will make them worthy citizens of India, and which will make them think not in terms of their own community or religion, but of the country as their common motherland. Common schools, common hostels, common political ideals, common enterprises will bring the various groups of youth together.

I attach special importance to the association of members of different communities in common industrial enterprises. Nothing so surely brings people together and keeps them together as earning money together.

Religion need not be neglected, but it should not be allowed to dominate social and political life. Nationalism should do that.

It is a curious fact—but nothing strange in a land of inconsistencies and perplexities—that communalism and sectionalism should be rampant among the intelligentsia, the English educated classes, but not among the masses. It is the former who are trying to resurrect the dead past, and creating unnecessary trouble for themselves and others. The drum-beaters of the moment are only to be found in their ranks.

Hoshangabad Rock Paintings and Their Age

Rock paintings are found in a small hill near Adamgarh village about one and three-fourths of a mile to the south of Hoshangabad

town in the Central Provinces. Manohar Lal Misra writes in the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*:

The existence of red coloured paintings in the rock shelters near Hoshangabad was first recorded by Mitra (1920, 3, p. 187). Ghosh (1932, pp. 21-22) was the second worker who after a lapse of 12 years described these paintings in some details. In his opinion these rock paintings belong to the 9th or 10th century after Christ. In the year 1934, two years after the publication of Ghosh's work, D'Abreu, (1934, pp. 1-7) gave a detailed description of these paintings. He is of opinion that the paintings can be divided into two distinct sets—one set being separated by the other by thousands of years. According to him the first set, which consists of figures in monochromes or in outlines, belongs to the Palaeolithic period, while the head-dresses and the other accoutrements of the figures of the second set suggest that it is of more recent date i.e., about the 9th or 10th century A.D. Major Gordon in his article on 'Rock Paintings from Mahadeo hills,' published in 1936 made a casual reference to these paintings. But in his more recent articles published in 1939-40 he has made baseless accusations against some of the previous workers who have assigned an earlier date to such paintings and with whom, naturally, his views have not concurred. He assumes that it is their patriotic desire which has led them to assign an earlier date just to be "able to boast of paintings ranking in antiquity with the Palaeolithic paintings of western Europe." He further adds that such a desire "must not mar their work by theories which are the outcome of subjective predilection." It is indeed wrong to advance theories which are the outcome of subjective predilection but it is equally wrong to attempt to mar the work of others without advancing real scientific arguments. Under these circumstances, one is inclined to think that the above remarks made by

Gordon reflect his own mind as probably he finds himself in a position in which he is obliged to defend views which will deny the antiquity to a country. One of the two persons who have assigned an earlier date for these paintings under question is D'Abreu who is a European and who cannot be accused of basing his conclusions on 'Subjective Predilection' and 'Patriotic Desire' in the terms of Mr. Gordon.

The hill is composed of entirely ferruginous sand-stone of the Upper Vindhyan age and probably belongs to the Bhandar series.

The drawings are found all over the cliff forming surfaces of the hill and abound in the figures of men, women, horses, elephants, bisons, stags, fishes, monkeys, fighting and hunting scenes and warriors in costumes. All these are drawn on different surfaces some of which present, really well preserved panels. Most of these figures are done in red colours but at places they are done in white also. Besides these red coloured paintings, these rock shelters have also yielded some palaeolithic stone implements (1932, p. 22). The presence of these stone implements is enough proof of these rock shelters having been inhabited by human beings during the Palaeolithic days. Amongst the drawings there are figures—especially those of bisons which bear a very close resemblance to those drawn at Cogul in Spain and figured by Sollas (1924, p. 405) and which have been proved to be of the Upper Palaeolithic age. The fact that there is at least one set of paintings which is of the Palaeolithic age is supported not only by the resemblance of these figures with those at Cogul but also due to the fact of their being "boldly drawn in thick outlines or in monochromes" and also that these figures underlie the figures which have been drawn afterwards and which are definitely of later date. Amongst these

paintings there are also some elongated and depressed figures of certain animals. These figures form a separate set by themselves, and have no connection with those figures mentioned above. The elongated and depressed nature of the paintings of the animals is characteristic of some of the South Indian Neolithic paintings (1920, 3, p. 191). Thus judging from this characteristic feature it will not be too much to relegate such elongated and depressed figures, found depicted in the Hoshangabad rock paintings, to the Neolithic times. Then there are some figures of men and horses which have got head-dresses, weapons and riding equipments. Some of the men have sword-like weapons and the horses have gorgeous riding equipments. All these show the stage of advancement of knowledge of these men during the time these were drawn. These leave no doubt in assigning a more recent date to these paintings, i.e., the 9th or 10th century after Christ. This classification into different sets is further supported, at places, by the superposition of one set over the other. Thus the differences in the style of drawings, differences in the colours used, the varying nature of weapons, the head gears of men, the superposition of one set over the other and lastly the presence of palaeoliths in these rock shelters—all these—prove beyond any shadow of doubt that these rock shelters were resorted to by men at different periods, ranging from the Upper Palaeolithic to about 10th century after Christ—and more probably at three different periods, the Upper Palaeolithic, the Neolithic and the Historic. Therefore, the observations of the present author, except with a slight modification by the introduction of the Neolithic period, are in complete agreement with those of D'Abreu. Ghosh, without stating any reason, has assigned 9th or 10th century as the date for these entire paintings. D'Abreu, by his work, has questioned this dating and, on this issue, the present author fully supports D'Abreu.

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following the release of Mr. Gandhi from prison, Mrs. Labanya Prava Dutta, President of the Bengal Congress Committee, wrote to Mr. Gandhi as follows: "There is none in this world but your kind self to practise and preach, with undaunted moral courage, the religion of love and universal brotherhood for the spread of which the Lord Jesus lived, was crucified by unbelievers and still prayed for those very persecutors, 'Oh, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.'" The Secretary of Mr. Gandhi wrote in reply: "For himself he lives in the hope that He who has sent the Cross will also give the strength to bear it" (*The Hindu*, June 15, 1944). The Hindus are willing to confess that the ethical teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ is the highest embodiment of moral perfection and the best that they know. But when it comes to organised religion, it is a different story. They will have nothing to do with Christianity as a religion.

"Time Must Have a Stop"

The following extract is taken from the Book Reviews section of the *East-West* about the latest novel of Aldous Huxley bearing the title mentioned above:

Aldous Huxley's newest novel owes its title to an oracular passage in Shakespeare:

*But thought's the slave of life, and life's time's fool,
And time, that takes survey of all the world,
Must have a stop.*

Mr. Huxley illuminates these lines, as follows: "It is only by taking the fact of eternity into account that we can deliver thought from its slavery to life. And it is only by deliberately paying our attention and our primary allegiance to eternity that we can prevent time from turning our lives into a pointless or diabolic foolery. The divine Ground is a timeless reality. Seek it first, and all the rest—everything from an adequate interpretation of life to a release from compulsory self-destruction—will be added."

Mr. Huxley, whose undeniable gifts as a novelist serve to obscure his far greater powers as a philosopher, is well-acquainted with parts of India's vast religious

literature. Comparing it with Western conceptions, he writes: "The difference between metaphysics now and metaphysics in the past is the difference between word-spinning which makes no difference to anybody and a system of thought associated with a transforming discipline. 'Short of the Absolute, God cannot rest, and having reached that goal He is lost and religion with Him.' That is Bradley's view, the modern view. Sankara was as strenuously an Absolutist as Bradley—but with what an enormous difference! For him, there is not only discursive knowledge about the Absolute, but the possibility (and the final necessity) of a direct intellectual intuition, leading the liberated spirit to identification with the object of its knowledge. 'Among all means of liberation, Bhakti or devotion is supreme. To seek earnestly to know one's real nature—this is said to be devotion. In other words, devotion can be defined as the search for the reality of one's own Atman,' and the Atman, of course, is the spiritual principle in us, which is identical with the Absolute. The older metaphysicians did not lose religion; they found it in the highest and purest of all possible forms."

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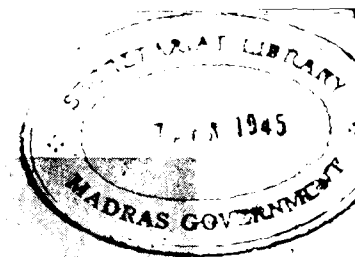
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The first convoy to China passes the ruins of a Buddha temple at Namkham, Burma



The first truck convoy over the Stilwell Road across the China border at Wanting on January 28, after three years of Japanese land blockade of China

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India in 1944

In a yearly survey of different countries of the world in the *International Review of Missions*, the Editor observes under the heading of India :

Yet another year has passed without the discovery of any fundamental solution of the political deadlock. Not the least serious consequence is that the long continuance of the stalemate produces political weariness and blunts the sharp edge of concern which has hitherto been manifest in both countries. Perhaps a straw in the wind may be seen in a recently formed Madras Provincial Students Union Society, the first aim of which is to discourage students from entering politics. A well-informed observer records this as 'significant of the disillusionment that has come to much youthful zeal since 1942'. If political apathy and despair are to settle upon a large part of Indian life in so critical a year as 1945 the outlook is indeed grave.

There have been flickerings of hope during the year just closed. Lord Wavell has won much personal respect. His prompt handling of the worst features of the famine situation, the wisdom of his long-term economic and industrial policy and the general tone of his public utterances all justifiably win favour. Mr. Gandhi's release, though on medical, not political, grounds, made possible a renewal of contacts which gave rise to fresh hope. Spokesmen of the British government have continued to reiterate the fact that Britain is irrevocably committed to the terms of the Cripps declaration by which a self-governing India may, if she chooses, contract out of the British Commonwealth of Nations; and Lord Wavell has renewed the Government of India's wish that political progress might be achieved without waiting for the end of the war.

Yet these rays of light have only played upon the surface of a situation which is persistently stagnant. Neither word nor deed of truly creative quality has found expression. Important and encouraging as is the attention being given to economic and industrial questions by the Government of India, Provincial and State Governments, and through the Birla-Tata group, it is doubtful if the political problem can be thus by-passed and necessary reforms achieved while constitutional progress tarries. Mr. Gandhi's release has not so far fulfilled any of the hopes to which it gave rise. His conversations with Mr. Jinnah, though closed with some slight promise of resumption, have mainly disclosed the abyss which divides the Muslim League's interpretation of Pakistan from any accommodating alternative. And upon ears wearied by fruitless controversy, British re-affirmations of the Cripps declaration fall without any convincing power.

The Agrarian Situation in India

Under the above caption, Prof. P. J. Thomas writes in the *International Labour Review* about the problems of the primary producer in India :

There is, perhaps, no class of workers, in the national economy of India or in the whole range of world economy, with a smaller share of the benefits resulting from modern world economic organisation than the "ryots", or cultivators, who are the primary

producers *par excellence* of India. The Indian ryot has supplied the country's needs in regard to food and raw materials and has also grown important primary products for other parts of the world. But while the trading classes of India and the trading nations of the world have grown wealthy on the exchange of commodities, he has failed to obtain a reasonable wage for his labour. The trader sometimes earns by a day's transactions in a commodity more than its producers can make after six months of hard toil in sun and rain. The middleman reaps what the ryot sows. Still the patient ryot, not knowing much of accounting, carries on. This is not merely a rhetorical statement. A noted statistician, the late Lord Stamp, expressed a simple truth when he wrote : "The world as a whole and over a given length of time has almost certainly been fed below cost price for the last hundred years, if one takes into account the proper elements of cost." While commerce and industry have steadily prospered, agriculturists and agricultural countries have remained poor. The Indian ryot is the prototype of this numerous class. Immersed in poverty and inextricably involved in debt and disease, he has been doing his work uncomplainingly, and even the verbal compliments sometimes heaped on him by the more benevolent of his patrons do not reach his ears, as he is unable to read and has no radio to listen to.

The nemesis came in 1929. The prolonged world depression which began in that year was in no small measure due to the reduction of purchasing power in the densely populated Asiatic countries and the consequent unemployment in the economically highly deve-

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loped countries of the West. Western Europe and North America could pile up goods by mass production, but it was necessary to find sufficiently large markets for the profitable disposal of those goods. The most populous countries of the world, China and India, which together account for half the world's population, lacked the purchasing power needed to acquire even ordinary consumption goods. This was the plight to which an unplanned economic system had led world economy. The result was prolonged unemployment and intense distress, from which even the wealthier industrialised countries and areas, which in the name of economic internationalism had taken to narrow specialisation, could not be spared.

The ultimate consequences of this process have been even more detrimental in the case of India. The present emergency has revealed the insufficiency of the local production of foodstuffs for the country's needs. In the province of Bengal, normally a surplus area, the scarcity of foodstuffs has been so acute as to result in the actual starvation of a large number of persons. Wide stretches of fertile territory are indeed to be found in that province as in other parts of the country, but a peasant economy operating under the existing land system could not bear the strain of the needs and uncertainties of a total war. The war has served to drive home the lesson that no economic or political progress is possible unless the lot of the ryot is improved.

Church in India

In the section of Foreign Periodicals in *The Catholic World*, the above-named article is partly extracted from the writing of Thomas Pothacamury, Bishop of Bangalore in *Studies* (Dublin), September, 1944, from which we quote the following extract :

Missions, proselytism and propaganda are foreign to the conception of Mr. Gandhi and of the average Hindu. He cannot think in the terms of exclusiveness. To his way of thinking, if Christianity is true it does not follow that Hinduism is false. They are both aspects of truth. Absolute truth, in the sense that it excludes what is opposed to it, does not occur to his mind. "Religion is not a way of life or a creed, but an atmosphere that pervades and enfolds the diverse elements of existence," said one well-versed in Hindu modes of thinking and feeling. His own religion is not aggressive, not being a consciously missionary religion like Christianity. Change of religion, therefore, seems unnecessary and intolerant for him. He does not distinguish between Christianity and Western culture and identifies them in these days of strong nationalism. He reacts against the impact of the West and what he calls the religion of the white man, which he believes is inextricably bound up with the western type of civilization and European imperialism. Mr. Gandhi wrote in his weekly journal, the *Harijan* : "I regard all the great religions of the world as true, at any rate for people professing them, as mine is true for me."

Further, the very organisation of Hinduism presents a formidable obstacle to the spread of Christianity. In the course of long centuries, Hinduism has welded together religious practices and social customs. Caste and Hinduism are synonymous. Caste has stood the shock of centuries and, in spite of internal disruption and external aggression, it has more or less preserved its integrity and has a tremendous hold on the minds of the masses and even the educated classes. If, whilst the mightiest empires known to history—the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Roman—have perished and completely disappeared, India has carefully preserved her ancient

civilization, it is because her social armature has successfully resisted all assaults from without. Even the Mohammedans, who dominated the country for five centuries, were unable to introduce a new way of life.

The very structure of Hinduism, both popular and philosophical, is a mighty citadel. It is the most perfectly systematised religion among the pagan religions. It has its theogony, its scriptures, its ritual, its mysticism, its monks and its saints. It has no official creed, approves all sects, accepts contradictory doctrines on one and the same subject and teaches the most puerile legends, unworthy of the Divine Being. Hinduism has no moral code and, as men are not generally led in their conduct by the principles of logic, it satisfies millions of souls, whose passions it in no way disturbs.

There is another cause which leads the Hindu to glorify his spiritual heritage and ancient culture. Pride in Hinduism has got into the patriotic consciousness of modern Hindus. Their philosophy and institutions have been eulogised by European scholars, who either abandoned Christianity or were agnostics. From Schopenhauer and Max Muller to Mr. H. G. Wells, comparisons have been made between Christianity and Hinduism—generally in favour of the latter. Anglican missionaries like the late C. F. Andrews and Dr. Verrier Elwin have opposed conversion work and have expressed their admiration for Hindu philosophy and teaching. The result is that the mental outlook of nationalist Hindus has been atrophied, and they do not believe in any genuine intellectual conversion to Christianity.

Despite hostility to conversion work, one of the most significant facts of modern India is the interest displayed by the educated Hindu in Christ. The interest has grown during the last three decades and has shown itself in much useful legislation for social reform. The Hindus read the New Testament, quote Christ and discuss Christian teachings and principles. Only recently,



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NOTES

Sir Jeremy Raisman's Last Budget

Sir Jeremy Raisman, in his Budget speech at the Central Legislative Assembly, has made important disclosures regarding decisions taken by him in respect of financial questions of vital importance to India. During his tenure of office he has functioned as a true representative of Imperialist Britain in India. He has manipulated Indian currency and Indian finances for the benefit of Britain. As a Britisher, he always placed British interest above everything else. During his tenure he has subordinated Indian interests and rendered valuable services to Britain at the cost of India. His accomplishments in these respects have been summed up by D.B.T. in the *Bharat Jyoti* as follows:

- (1) Inflation of Indian paper currency from Rs. 186 crores to Rs. 1,063 crores.
- (2) Increase in sterling balances from Rs. 56 crores to Rs. 1,400 crores which practically means a loan to Britain of Rs. 1,400 crores.
- (3) Loan to Britain at about 1 per cent interest per year of the said sum of Rs. 1,400 crores when India is paying 3 per cent interest on loans floated by him during wartime.
- (4) Hydari Mission:—An active step to sabotage Indian industry and to stimulate British exports to India at India's cost.
- (5) a. The agreement to pay Rs. 20 crores to British Government for military pensions and gratuities.
b. Agreement to pay £1,350,000 or over two crores of rupees per year for the war period for similar charges after setting off India's claims for some, on behalf of Indian Military personnel in British service.
- (6) Liability for distribution costs of petrol and aviation spirit was accepted on British dictation.
- (7) Agreed to pay compensation to all evacuees Indian or otherwise.
- (8) Agreed to pay Rs. 8 crores to U.N.R.R.A. for the benefit of Europe at India's cost.
- (9) Agreement in respect of allocation of defence expenditure in favour of Britain and further acceptance of the decision of the Commander-in-Chief regarding ceiling forces.
- (10) Agreement for dollar balances at 20 million dollars for India making a gift of the remaining India's balances to the British Government.
- (11) Policy of no post-war industrial development for two years after the war comes to an end.

Under his management, Indian currency has been inflated by more than 450 per cent, while the British currency has expanded only by 144 per cent over its 1939 level. This inflation has been caused to pay for Britain's credit purchases in India and it still continues to the detriment of India's internal economy. From the very start of the war, Sir Jeremy maintained a stranglehold on Indian industry and trade and always maintained a check on the production of consumer goods in India. Now as soon as British industries are in a position to manufacture consumer goods, he has sent the Hydari mission. In his budget speech, he has explained the purpose of this mission in these words: "Government are vigilantly reviewing the scope for reducing the load on India's resources, constituted by the war efforts of India and the Allies, and the possibility of adding to the available supplies of goods required for public consumption." The real meaning of this apparently innocent utterance is well known to exploited India. She knows fully well that this mission was sent to London as an active step to sabotage Indian industry and to stimulate British exports to India at India's cost. Soon after the departure of this mission, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the doyen of Indian Industry, warned that an avalanche of British consumer goods is coming. The result of this mission, according to Sir Akbar Hydari, has not been bad.

In addition to the big benefits earned for Britain, Sir Jeremy has also been quite lavish in his gifts as well. He says, "The system for financial assistance to evacuees and their families has been continued and extended. These measures cost little more than one crore." It is not disclosed whether the evacuees to whom relief is provided are Indians or non-Indians and whether such persons include Britishers, Burmans, and what is the amount that is disbursed for the benefit of such non-Indians. India's money cannot be disbursed for the benefit of Britishers in Burma and the Burmans.

without any tangible return of benefit to India in any manner whatsoever.

His gift to the U. N. R. R. A. has been far more lavish. He has contributed 8 crores of rupees to this organisation. The U.N.R.R.A. has been absolutely of no help to India and there is not the slightest justification for forcing us to make any contribution to it. Sir Jeremy is no fool, he certainly scented storm, and this agreement was made without the slightest knowledge of the Indian Legislature.

The Central Legislature has, however, maintained its dignity by throwing off the Finance Bill. The Budget will now have to be certified by the Governor-General, the head of a "Government" which does not resign even if it cannot see the budget through the Legislature.

India's National Government (!)

We have been told by no less an authority than Lord Wavell that India has her 'national government',— "a preponderantly Indian government which in spite of all the criticism and abuse heaped on it is doing an essential job of work for India, and is doing it on the whole extremely well." It is the Viceroy's tribute to His Excellency's Executive Council and it is a pity that the people do not share the sentiment of His Excellency. Their chosen representatives, in spite of many attempts to divide them in the Assembly Chamber, landed the broadside on the Government of India on February 9 and in the course of forty-eight days defeated the Government on twenty-one issues and caused a tie on another, only to be saved by the casting vote of the President. The Government were attacked from all sides, by all parties including the European and on every matter that affected the honour and interest of the people. On four items inclusive of a censure motion, the Government did not press for a division and suffered defeat silently. In seventeen tussles the popular side polled 935 against government's 757, i.e., a difference of 178 votes. Considering that there are forty nominated, official and non-official, members and eight Europeans who, barring a single occasion on March 13 when some of them were obliged under force of circumstances to support Mr. Tyson's motion, support the government on all issues, it is a remarkably poor performance to muster the highest number of 53 votes on March 9, to save the prestige of the Executive Council of India's National Government and that even to be defeated by not less than 8 votes.

The issues cover all fields and on the very first division on February 9, the Government was censured (i) "on their failure to adopt economic and other sanctions against South Africa. The next adjournment motion (ii) discussed "the use of force and illegal and unfair means on the public of Bihar by the agents of the Government for the purchase of National Savings Certificates." A cut motion (iii) expressed "disapproval of the plan by which railways proposed to take part financially in the running of road services." The inconvenience (iv) of third class passengers, (v) Indianization of the higher grades of railway services, (vi) low rate of dearness allowance to the railway employees, (vii) reduction in the hours of work on railways, (viii) a motion urging that inland waterways services either link up with railway systems or be acquired by the railways were matters where the non-official members had their own way. On March 9, the

demand (ix) under the head "Executive Council" was reduced to Re. 1 only. (All credit to the Hon'ble the Executive Councillors of the *National Government*). On the next day the (x) "Post-war Planning and Development" was allotted Re. 1 to carry on. The failure (xi) of controls, the permit system and the supply of consumer goods was discussed in one motion and the (xii) cloth and yarn position in the next. The food Department was censured (xiii) for lack of supervision and control of work in the provinces. The need for economy generally and for more stringent control of expenditure on civil departments in particular (xiv) gave a victory to the Europeans in the Assembly. Mrs. Renuka Roy urged (xv) for immediate reimposition of the ban on the employment of women underground in coal mines. The Assembly refused demands under the head Information and Broadcasting Department (xvi), under "Immigration-External" (xvii), and to crown all the Assembly threw out the Finance Bill (xviii) on March 26 by 58 to 50 votes and were in no mood (xix) to accommodate the recommended bill on the next day. On the twentieth turn the Government was censured for declaring that Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, the present holder of the office of India Representative with the Government of Burma may continue as a Member of the Assembly, and up to the time of going to the press, the Government suffered its twenty-first defeat, by 56 to 42 votes, when the demand—"Emigration-External" was rejected.

This a notable record of the Indian National Government where the Executive is irremovable under the Constitution in a country where lessons in democracy are being imparted by a Government who have been fighting the world over and over again to make it safe for democracy. One or two Indian Members of the Executive Council have more sense in them and we are glad to hear Sir Ardeshir Dalal say on January 25, at a Madras meeting that, "Today we have not got a National Government" on the face of the Viceroy's statement on December 14, 1944, at a meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta.

K. C. G.

Lord Wavell's London Visit

Much speculation has been aroused by the sudden departure of the Viceroy on a flying visit to London. Some, perhaps unduly optimistic, have seen in this the first signs of a change in heart of the powers-that-be in London. The formation of a Congress Cabinet in the Frontier Province and that of a Coalition Cabinet in Assam have been linked up with this visit and various signs seen in the release of Congressmen in the above two provinces and in the rumours of a general release of all Congressmen. News stories have spoken about the probability of Lord Wavell being given another post more to his liking and another incumbent being placed on the *Barat's gaddi* vacated by him. Mr. Amery, however, in his usual wooden manner has practically given the quietus to all these hopes. Indeed so long as Mr. Churchill is at the helm of the Empire with Mr. Amery as his obedient factotum at the India Office, one finds it hard to believe that any sane measure of statesmanship would be exercised in the case of India. What is more likely is that another attempt at "window-dressing" will be made, to impress the "gullible yankee", on the eve of the San Francisco Conference, just as it was made in the Cripps' adventure. The failure of that

attempt at uttering base coin is now a matter of history despite the perennial statements of Mr. Amery to the effect that that "offer" is "still open."

Greece and Poland have shown the world the bankruptcy of Mr. Churchill's Cabinet in statesmanship. Makeshift arrangements are the best that can be achieved by Britain's War-Cabinet, led by one who has been styled as "a mascot of toryism" by the *Daily Herald* of London, though now the apprehension seems to be general that though these arrangements may have the effect of surmounting immediate difficulties, their deferred reaction might vitally affect the future of the British Empire. If the story of the British Colonel who was acting as a secret *agent provocateur* under the guise of a U.N.R.R.A. official in Greece be even partially true, then one must say that the diplomatic stock of Britain has also sunk very low indeed in the hands of Churchill and Eden. Indeed the over-all picture of British statesmanship does not induce any optimism in us regarding a new orientation in the conservative view about the Empire. There the viewpoint is still Mid-Victorian and Beaconsfield's dictum that "The Key of India is London, the majesty of sovereignty, the spirit and vigour of your Parliament, the inexhaustible resources, the ingenuity and determination of your people—these are the keys of India", still obtains. It matters not that the Parliament has never shown any vigour and very little spirit—indeed on the contrary—and that the resources are all gone, it matters still less that without a willing and a prosperous India as a partner, the Empire is sure to be shipwrecked in the not-very-distant future. All that seems to matter is the illusion of an eternal Empire shaped along the fairy-tales of Kipling and others of his ilk.

Defeat of Bengal Ministry

The end of the Bengal Ministry has come as dramatically as it had managed to smuggle itself into power. It has thrived, with the support of the Europeans, on corruption, nepotism and bribery on a scale which has probably few parallels in human history.

During their tenure, Bengal had to pass through some of the worst famines on record, the food famine, the cloth famine, the coal famine, the mustard oil and kerosine oil famine and scarcity of commodities of daily necessity of almost every description. Inefficiency and dishonesty seem to have been rampant everywhere and the administration sank to the lowest possible level. The refusal of the Ministry to sit a few minutes longer than usual for the discussion of the supplementary Budget betrayed a moral weakness in their administration. Even their British masters had hard words for the Ministers. At last the end came.

The Speaker Syed Nausher Ali has adjourned the Bengal Assembly *sine die*. In his opinion, refusal by the House of supplies demanded by the Ministry for a major department, which makes the administration impossible, is an unmistakable censure. The Speaker, therefore, declined to allow the Ministry to function as such in the Legislative Assembly and held: "The Ministry is a creature of the House which can make and unmake the Ministry and the Governor is but the registering authority of the decision of the House. Any other course would strike at the very root of democracy."

A Calcutta daily which represents foreign interests in Bengal has found "it hard to understand by what authority he (Speaker) has acted thus," and says that the Speaker's action "looks remarkably like usurpation of the Governor's functions. Sec. 51 of the Government of India Act lays down that the Ministers shall hold office during the Governor's pleasure." The Speaker, however, has ample grounds for the action he has taken. Act VIII of the Instrument of Instructions issued to every Governor by His Majesty requires him to select his Ministers in consultation with the person who in his judgment is likely to command a stable majority in the Legislature and to appoint those persons who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the Legislature. In acting under Sec. 51, read with Act VIII of the Instrument of Instructions, the Governor is nothing more than the registering authority of the decision of the House.

With the prospective fall of the Ministry, cry for an All-party Ministry has again been raised. One must remember in this connection the fact that none but the present leader of Opposition, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, was more earnest in the formation of such a Ministry and in order to demonstrate his sincerity he had agreed to place his resignation letter in the hands of Sir John Herbert, which however had been treacherously misused for getting rid of a progressive coalition and bringing in a Ministry on whom the Imperialist vested interests could safely depend. Let not this apparently innocent cry delude the politicians of Bengal once again.

Mr. Casey has a hard task before him. Apprehensions are already there, supported by the significant comments of the Calcutta organ of Imperialism, that the Harbertian tactics may be repeated over again for maintaining the present servants of British vested rights in power. Mr. Casey's love for democracy is on test.

Congress in Power

The emergence of the Congress in power once again may lead towards altering the whole course of Indian politics. Dr. Khan Sahab's *coup* has routed the Muslim League in the Frontier Province, one of the most strategic provinces in India with a predominantly Muslim population. The League Premier Sardar Aurangzeb Khan gave in at the first onslaught and subsequently expressed his eagerness to co-operate with the Congress. With the going down of the Frontier League Ministry came the news of the League crash in Assam. The Saadullah Ministry has been reshuffled with the Congress as its supporter. On the two frontiers of India, two experiments have been made, in the North-West the Congress accepting office and in the North-East the Congress acting as a benevolent supporter of the party in power. The former finds Gandhiji as neutral, the latter receives his blessing. The vigour with which Dr. Khan Sahab's Ministry has started work may instil more confidence in the public mind than the Saadullah Ministry is likely to do. The vigorous step taken by Dr. Khan Sahab in releasing Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan and all other political prisoners immediately on their assumption of office has had repercussions all over the country, the reaction of which has shaken Assam as well. Dr. Khan Sahab has demonstrated that a strong provincial ministry can and does secure an immediate release of all political prisoners if it means business.

Direct acceptance of responsibility and support of old diehards in a new garb has a good deal of difference between them. In Assam, Sir Md. Saadullah and his colleagues are not universally trusted and it is difficult to expect that they will become entirely new men overnight. It is doubtful how far it will be possible for a Congress party, itself remaining out of office, to maintain a set of reactionaries on the path of progress. Acceptance of direct responsibilities by the Congress might have had much better possibilities. However as things stand, it would be an interesting and educative experiment.

The Cloth Famine

The cloth famine continues unabated while the Central and Bengal Governments go on quarrelling over the calculation of quota allotted to Bengal. A recent cloth drive has succeeded in unearthing 11,000 bales of cloth from the custody of the Marwari middlemen alone, the Muslim wholesalers seemingly being left out of the drive. This cloth famine, like the last food famine, is essentially a man-made one. It has come according to calculation and one can trace definite steps through which it has come. While the cloth market was upset after the Japanese war, Government allowed the pandemonium to continue for a fairly long time. The control came at last and the price of cloth was fixed five or six times higher its normal level in spite of the fact that cost of production had not gone proportionately high. The price was beyond the reach of the poor, and the Government soon had to come in to their help. The mills were compelled to produce Standard Cloth to the extent of about 60 per cent of their total production. It was done ostensibly for helping the poor but in reality all the Standard Cloth produced were taken over by the Government for distribution and they remained locked up in their godowns. The poor did not get it, the middle and the richer classes ran the risk of finding a short supply. Thanks to Mr. K. C. Neogy's sincere efforts for eliciting relevant informations, we now know that the Government went further; they forced a large quantity of cloth out of India in spite of the protest of men like Sir Shri Ram, Sir N. Wadia and some other leading millowners. The Government action in regulating cloth supply inevitably led to acute shortage of production. This was the condition by the Pujas last year. Many will no doubt remember that by the Pujas last year, mill cloth could hardly be seen but handloom cloth practically flooded the market. Immediately the Government developed a sympathy for the handloom cloth and came down upon the weaver with their yarn control measure. The result was just as one would expect, disaster for the weavers and a total stoppage of handloom cloth.

The ground was thus being prepared for the entry of Lancashire textiles into India. Nature abhors vacuum. It was only to be expected that if the present scarcity of cloth can be maintained, Government will certainly develop sympathy for the unclothed and Manchester and Lancashire goods will pour in. Sir Akbar Hydari's visit to England coincided with an important instruction issued by the Textile Commissioner of the Government of India to the cotton mills to stop production for some time due to coal shortage. The country will remain grateful to Mr. K. C. Neogy for eliciting this important information that a number

of mills in Ahmedabad, Indore and Bengal remained closed in January for want of coal and the total loss of production in January alone amounted to 2 crore 37 lakh yards. Pressed hard by Mr. Neogy Sir Azizul Huq admitted that no other mills, jute or otherwise, were asked by the Government to stop production for some days for want of coal. One must also remember in this connection that the coal mines have been already locked up by the British vested interests and discrimination in coal supply between British and Indian factories continues uninterrupted.

Thus with the creation of a complete vacuum in cloth supply comes the news that British textiles are on their way to India. Cloth rationing will and must come as the last step in the chain for overcoming the patriotic sentiment of the people against British textiles. Rationing will serve two ends—people will prefer any kind of cloth to nudity and at the ration counter one would have no choice as regards the quality or the make.

Police Zulum in C. P.

The following is an extract taken from the report of the Inquiry Committee appointed by the Kolhapur Praja Parishad to investigate into the Pangire case and published in the *Independent*, Nagpur, dated March 12 last :

Kashibai, her husband, her children and two other persons were taken by the police to the residence of the police patil of Chikbalval on the morning of October 19, 1944. They were produced before the Sub-Inspector of Police, Mr. Ingavale, who first asked Kashibai whether she was Mallu's wife or mother. Then he caught hold of her hair and dragged her to her feet and asked his man to strip her naked. Kashibai's sari was pulled off and she was then beaten with a leather strap. Water was thrown on her body, presumably with the object of hiding the marks of the straps. The members of the committee saw that Kashibai had smothered marks on her body.

On the evidence of four Sanadis (village sepoys enjoying Inami lands) who were present when the incident took place, the committee learnt that the Sub-Inspector threatened to insert chilly powder in the private parts of Kashibai, and the subsequent evidence given by another witness goes to show that this threat was carried out either by him or by his men. The beating and stripping were repeated on Friday morning, Kashibai's husband, her two sons and the other two men were also beaten by the police. One of them was pushed against the wall so violently that some of the bricks of the wall were dislocated by the impact. The members of the committee themselves saw this wall.

The beating was carried out in the house of the police patil and one of the witnesses stated that the cries of the victims were heard during this incident and at night when they were locked up in the place without food or water. The victims were allowed to leave the place after the police party had left the village.

It is not yet known what action, if any, has been taken against this police party. It has however been announced that the Governor of the Central Provinces, under whose direct rule the province is being governed at present, has been granted an extension of one year to his tenure of office which expires this year. Confidence in the Government is likely to be severely

undermined unless the truth of such allegations is tested without a single moment's delay and speedy action is taken against the offenders.

Members for San Francisco

The Government of India have chosen two members of the Viceroy's Executive Council to "represent" India at the San Francisco Conference. Giving reason for their selection, Sir Olaf Caroe is reported to have said that all those who are to attend it are of Ministerial level. But of what level are the two delegates selected by Sir Olaf Caroe's government? Viceroy's Executive Council is sought to be passed off as a duly constituted government under a constitution drawn up in Britain by the Britishers without the participation of Indians themselves. Under this constitution, the "Government of India" has no responsibility to the Legislature, and members of it are chosen and appointed by the Governor-General who is the representative of a foreign power in this country. They have no responsibility in the matter of having the budget passed, they can stand any number of cut motions and are not called upon to resign when the entire budget demands are thrown out. The representation of the foreign government certifies the expenditure of hundreds of crores of rupees and the members of his Council merrily carry on. Nobody would have had any objection if members of this Council were sent to San Francisco as representatives of the Foreign power in India. We object to their having been chosen as representatives of the people of this country.

Objection may not have been raised if the Legislative Assembly was called upon to elect two members for San Francisco. Non-official Indians attending a War Conference is nothing new. The Imperial War Conference of 1917 was attended by Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner. In many subsequent Imperial Conferences attended by the British and the Dominion Prime Ministers, India was represented by non-officials like Sir Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others.

The hollowness of Sir Olaf Caroe's statement has been demonstrated by Britain herself. It now appears that Britain's representatives to San Francisco will be composed mostly of Parliamentary Secretaries who are certainly below the Ministerial level. There is of course a level in India to which the demi-gods of New Delhi must conform, only it is not the ministerial but the safety level.

Death Duty

It is lamentable that some members of the Central legislature oppose the introduction of Death Duty on the ground that it should not be imposed unless we have National Government. Surely their idea is that while the poor man's salt can be taxed in present conditions, the rich man's wealth can not. All countries in Europe, several countries in America and most of the countries in Asia including Ceylon have got this measure of taxation. The Taxation Enquiry Committee of 1925 recommended it and but for the vested interests in the legislature the heavy burden of taxation on the poor might have been partially relieved during these 20 years. Since the beginning of British rule the system of taxation has been so devised that the poor masses have to bear the brunt and economists like Ramesh Chandra

Dutt pleaded for the reduction of taxes falling upon the poor as the remedy for checking progressive economic deterioration. With the introduction of the policy of protection of industries, obviously at the consumer's expense, the need for the revision of the policy was imperative but nothing was done with the result that India is now the capitalists' and rich men's paradise. The Excess Profits Tax here is the lowest in the empire and no step has been taken for limitation of dividends as in Australia, Sweden and other countries or of emoluments of higher staff in industries which may be better described as plunder. It should be remembered that the higher staff in British establishments is composed of Europeans and in Indian concerns largely of the do-nothing relatives of proprietors. The pre-war Japanese model of about Rs. 500 as the maximum salary in industry should have been followed at least in protected industries like cloth, steel, paper and sugar. The cotton mills have during this war made fabulous profits and one of the contributory causes of Bengal famine has been the drain from the countryside on account of cloth increased from 12 crores of rupees per annum to 60 crores. We were the first to protest against the inequity in these columns and it is a pity that Mahatma Gandhi before his imprisonment let off the capitalists with the light sentence that "the mills may not be relied on in these times."

The Finance Member was perfectly right when he said in presenting the budget last year that the war had given rise to great inequality of wealth and that Death Duty would reduce it. Before the war the average national income per capita was Rs. 65 and the average income of an agriculturist was Rs. 22. This disparity has been vastly accentuated by war profits earned secretly between dishonest officials and military contractors and suppliers and openly by industrialists already referred to. Accumulation of much wealth in a few hands is bound to corrode society and with the disappearance of large-scale charity as of old the young sons of self-centred millionaire parents are a menace to social purity in cities like Calcutta and Bombay. Rs. 5,000 as the lowest limit of taxation recommended by the Taxation Enquiry Committee should be adhered to and agricultural property exempted as proposed by the Finance Member last year. The tax should be graduated as in Britain where a maximum of 65 per cent is imposed on property exceeding two million pounds in value. Only the limit for maximum taxation should be fixed much lower here in proportion to the average national income per capita here as compared with its British equivalent. We are opposed to any State planning in India at present but unemployment relief should be immediately undertaken and for that money will be necessary. Death duty may be used to abolish the salt tax, too. Distribution of the proceeds of the duty to the provinces according to collection in each area will be unjust as, for example, the cotton mill-owners of Bombay make money out of all provinces. Any genuine charity (which has been well defined by the Indian Income Tax Act) done by the deceased should be treated as part payment made of Estate Duty duty.

S. C.

Asia—the Testing Ground

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, in a nationwide broadcast in America, asserted: "Asia will be the testing ground of all the theories advanced by the United

Nations but the continuation of colonial empires will be a constant danger to world peace and the progress of humanity."

Discussing the subject: 'Are colonial empires a threat to world peace?' Mrs. Pandit declared, 'the question of colonial empires is linked up with the whole question of civilisation and the fate of the world. There must be a new concept in which all people can share. In the post-war world there will be comparatively few opportunities for external aggression but the danger from movements of internal active resistance, which are growing in dependent countries as a result of denial of self-government, will be a very real one and will have to be dealt with. Military standards of security by themselves will not be a sufficient assurance of lasting peace. Political thought must change and outworn methods be discarded.'

Mr. Robert Boothley, a British Member of Parliament, who opposed Mrs. Pandit, in the discussion said that it was a fallacy to suppose that the creation of colonial empires in the past constituted a threat to world peace. His main line of arguments were as follows:

'If the British Empire had dissolved, Hitler would have imposed his own form of integration, first on Europe and then on the world. For after the fall of France, we in Britain could not have hoped to stand up to him alone. In the event, the British Empire managed by the skin of its teeth to save civilisation from destruction and humanity from another dark age. Let those who now seek to abolish it reflect on this.'

Argumentum ad absurdum is quite common in Imperialist parlance. Propagandists for Imperialism even these days are blissfully oblivious of the important historical role the U.S.A. has played in saving Britain from disaster in this Hitlerite war. The U.S.A. came to play a decisive role in favour of Britain probably because of the sole fact that she had severed herself from colonial domination and was free to build her own destiny. A free India would similarly have been the greatest powerful ally of Great Britain in the Asiatic Continent.

Lattimore's "Solution in Asia"

A former adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Owen Lattimore, in his new book *Solution in Asia* says no durable arrangement in the Far East will be achieved simply "by dividing or redistributing Asia and the Pacific."

According to a *United Press* of America message, he says the only way to give an adequate safeguard against war is to provide for inevitable Asiatic developments, and do it in such a way as to make future "power conflicts" unnecessary. Besides, America must carefully calculate her part by "freeing" former colonial areas, following the attitude of Allied colonial nations. The United States should keep her record clear by not being a party to placing freed territories back under domination of America's war Allies.

The Western Colonial Powers, he thinks, may fight not only to drive out the Japanese but restore their own rule. But the United States should take no part in any such unfortunate later chapter.

The prospects of America taking an independent stand for freedom and democracy in the world is gradually receding to the background. The danger of

the United States playing a second fiddle to British Imperialism is quietly gaining ground. The culmination of the Phillips episode in the resignation of the President's Personal Representative for India unmistakably points out to the triumph of British diplomacy even in American politics.

Not only ourselves, but thought-leaders of England like Harold Laski are also bewildered at the contradictions in American policies. He writes:

I, frankly, do not profess to understand why a liberal democrat like President Roosevelt uses men like Mr. Robert Murphy as vital links in the chain he is building. I do not understand why he should, now that he has entered upon his fourth term, show so tender a concern for the policies of the Vatican policies which go hand in hand with those of big business for the simple reason that they have the kindred aim of stopping the advance of the common man.

To many of us in Britain, America is almost a contradiction in terms. We were glad to see the emergence of the PAC. We think the America of Sidney Hillman and Hugo Black represents a resurgence of the forces which have made the United States, a legend in European countries. But we cannot easily reconcile that America with an America in which Jesse Jones and Donald Nelson, Leo Crowley and Henry Morgenthau remain important symbols.

European progressives have already begun to ask themselves what kind of America is going to emerge from this war.

Will America Go Imperialist?

Prof. Laski continues:

There seem to be three possibilities before the American people: a redistribution of its wealth, a long-term investment in the Middle and Far East, economic imperialism backed by the greatest military and naval power the world has so far known.

It looks as though it is the third possibility that America will choose. There is little point in attempting to conceal the fact that such a choice would mean within a generation a third world war. I cannot but emphasize my own unhappy surprise that a President like Mr. Roosevelt, who knows as no President has known since Abraham Lincoln the needs of the common people, should be prepared to abdicate the high function to which he has been called.

There is no disguising the fact that many of us who care deeply for America and owe to it a debt we can never hope to repay are alarmed and disturbed at the tendencies—economic and social—which are emerging among the class which directs its destiny.

The Americans in Paris, in Rome, in London speak and act as though the world was theirs for the taking.

I cannot avoid the conviction that Mr. Roosevelt might usefully leave the strategy to the generals and admirals and concentrate his attention upon the conflict of ideas which he can do more than any living person to resolve.

For if we lose his passion for justice in these critical months, we shall have made a holocaust of the youth of the world without a proportionate hope in the years to come.

Prof. Laski, the intellectual dynamo of the British Labour Party, writes in reply to two questions put by the U. S. magazine *PM*, *via.*, (1) What is progressive Britain's attitude to Churchill's European policy and

(2) Is there any tendency to ascribe this policy to a fear of U.S. predatory economic power? Laski has clearly expressed the impression that progressive Britishers are disturbed by Churchill's policy to save "Traditional Europe". They see in it strategic Imperialism to safeguard the Middle East and India against the growing prestige of Soviet Russia. The worst feature is that America is following Churchill closely and is heading for an economic imperialism backed by military power which would mean a third world war within a generation.

Progressive Britain suspects that what Mr. Churchill has in view is the relation of the new Palestine and the new Iraq, together with Egypt to India; that King George of the Hellenes is merely a facade behind which much vaster issues are being decided. By aiding the rightists in Greece Mr. Churchill probably hopes that the debt they will owe to Tory England will enable him to safeguard the Middle East against the rising prestige of Soviet Russia. At the back of Mr. Churchill's mind is the determination at all costs to maintain 'traditional' Europe and to set the four freedoms in this context. He has killed the Atlantic Charter with his own hand. He made up his mind that no reorganisation of Europe shall be carried on which endangers the kind of "democracy" to which he has been accustomed. It is not at all an exaggeration to say that Churchill has lowered British prestige to a point hardly less than the evil reputation it acquired at Munich. Mr. Churchill shows every day more clearly that he belongs to the world that is dying and not to the world that is struggling to be born. The greatest tragedy of the twentieth century is that Roosevelt, the people's man and the leader of the New World, is following the leader of an Imperialism which is fast disintegrating in spite of the latter's strenuous efforts to save it from disruption.

Bertrand Russell on Indian Freedom

Bertrand Russell recently addressed a group of Indian students at Cambridge. The meeting was organised by the Cambridge University India Majlis and Russell was invited to address the gathering because of his love for the oppressed. Expressing his hope that there will be new departure of British policy toward India in the near future, specially after the next general elections. Russell said:

We are all agreed that it is impossible to keep up our position in India. Even if it is possible it is neither justified nor desirable. As soon as we have got a Government of the people with liberal-mindedness, we can demand that we want a change for the better in India and set to work for that change. I know of the Cripps offer. I know it is still there. I know the offer of Dominion Status as soon as the war is over. But it is not what we want to do. The question is what Indians want. At any rate it is felt by a vast majority of Indians and by many other people, especially by the people of the United States, that our promise is not honest that we do not mean to keep up undertaking to Indians. Many people in the United States want an unequivocal, definite and unambiguous declaration for India. Therefore, if I were to take part in the Government, I should announce immediately at a certain date a day 12 months after the end of the Japanese war that we British shall wash our hands off India. I should announce that now, so that Indians may

have plenty of time to get together and see how best they can work together.

Continuing Russell said:

I do not think we should be too much hampered by differences in India. After all they are there, everywhere, as they are among our own people. But because we have differences nobody here wants foreigners to settle our own differences. That applies to India. It is for Indians themselves to settle their differences. It is not any of our business. I should, therefore, announce that 12 months after the Japanese war we shall abandon our responsibilities for India. I do not think we ought to insist on Dominion Status. The idea that India should become a dominion is futile and quite contrary to her geographical necessity. Other dominions had historical affinity with us, but India culturally has not and will not belong to us. Her affinity will be with Asiatic countries. Her history and culture are contrary to ours.

Summing up, Russell emphatically declared:

India belongs naturally to other Asiatic countries rather than western. Her ties with Britain are more artificial than her ties with China. The domination of the White Man over the rest of the world since the sixteenth century is coming to an end. It will not go on any more in Asia which is awake. I am convinced of that. Our domination came into being as a result partly of our voyages, partly by a skilful use of commerce and partly as a result of science. As India develops industrially she will also develop as a military power. The era of White domination will not last. It cannot be revived. White domination has made it impossible for a stable world. You cannot have peace in the world secured as long as some people want to keep themselves in power. There will be hundred and one injustices in the world as a result of this domination. The other side has a feeling of hatred and contempt for those who dominate. Until you get approximately an equal standard in East and West you cannot go on.

The British think that they can remain in India only by the application of brute force. Indians know that but they believe that subordination of 400 millions of human beings will be a physical impossibility as soon as the people of India will be determined, with or without the sympathies of the other peoples of the world, to make an end of her political subjugation.

Kashmir Leader Overcomes Communalism

A gigantic mass movement communal in the beginning but popular and nationalistic during the latter phase of its development has gained great momentum in Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah is her undisputed leader. It has revolutionised the entire outlook of the people and brought about a complete change in their social and political outlook. It has presented a new and progressive aspect of life and made people conscious of their rights and privileges. More than anything else the movement awakened the present masses of Kashmir to a new sense of right and wrong and has made them aware of their inherent strength and unity of interests.

A staunch Muslim himself, Sheikh Abdullah takes equal delight and pride in the religion and religious festivities of other communities. On all Hindu festivals, be it the birthday ceremony of Lord Krishna or any other important occasion, he attends the public gatherings convened on the occasion and delivers

learned discourses on the teachings of the Hindus. His is an unbiassed and robust nationalism and his love of human liberties and sentiments makes him a stout nationalist and a humanitarian.

Naturally Sheikh Abdullah became an eyesore to Mr. Jinnah. Several attempts were made to set up a communal organisation to destroy Abdullah's Kashmir National Conference, but none of them were successful. Abdullah's movement is not only a force in Kashmir, but it constitutes a great landmark in the progress of the Indian States Movement itself. Mr. Jinnah's latest move to start a Muslim communal organisation in Kashmir has also miserably failed.

After his reverses in the Punjab, Mr. Jinnah entered Kashmir as the self-appointed guardian of the political rights of the Muslims there and deceived himself by taking Sheikh Abdullah's hospitality and courtesy to mean his acceptance of the League position. His calculation proved wrong and he had in consequence to face a very ugly situation. Sheikh Abdullah told Mr. Jinnah that he was nobody in Kashmir politics and further reiterated the position of the Kashmir National Conference by stating that Kashmir politics had long ago evolved into a higher stage of progressive nationalism and had thus passed Mr. Jinnah's "milestone of to-day over five years ago."

He further accused Mr. Jinnah of trying to disrupt the progressive forces in Kashmir and charged him with attempting to attack the National Conference "with the same weapons with which he attacks the Indian National Congress," that is that the "National Congress is an Hindu attempt to cheat the Indian minorities and the Kashmir National Conference is a Muslim attempt to cheat the Kashmir minorities." The Kashmir masses, the faithful followers of Abdullah, expressed their indignation against Mr. Jinnah by making it impossible for him to address any meeting. From one meeting he had to retire under police escort. Mr. Jinnah has therefore beat a retreat from Kashmir politics and Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference has won a final victory over the forces of reaction and communalism.

Jinnah Gets a Price for Dropping Pakistan?

The genesis of the Desai-Liaquat formula of 40: 40: 20 for the centre and Mr. Jinnah's association with it, has been revealed by the *Bharat Jyoti*. Talking to pressmen in December last, and quoting some unnamed Muslim friends said to have good influence with Mr. Jinnah, Dr. G. S. Arundale had made the startling suggestion that the Muslim leader would abandon Pakistan in favour of 40 per cent representation at the centre. Dr. Arundale's formula wanted representation of 40 per cent for Hindus, 40 per cent for Muslims and 20 per cent for other minorities for the Central National Government. Dr. Arundale's solution for the Indian deadlock was "Hindus must sacrifice majority and Mr. Jinnah must sacrifice Pakistan."

The Muslim League Fund Finding Drive

The special correspondent of the *Leader* reports that in order to strengthen the financial position of the All-India Muslim League, a fund finding drive has been launched in every province under the auspices of the Provincial Muslim Leagues. The All-India Muslim

League hopes to build up substantial funds by the help of this fund finding drive. The correspondent adds that the League is anxious to give a fillip to its organisational activities and consolidating its hold on the Muslim masses, who, according to the League, are in the danger of being allured by the tactics of the All-India Muslim Majlis and the super-tactics of some powerful Muslim aristocrats subscribing to the Agha Khan School of politics.

The correspondent then continues:

Under the instructions of the All-India Muslim League council, Nawab Aizaz Rasul, general secretary, U. P. Muslim League, it is understood, has issued a circular letter to all district and city leagues of the United Provinces asking them to furnish information regarding the number of such Muslim residents as are financially in such a position that they can dispense with a portion of their income as charity (zakat). The number of such Muslims as are already giving in charity and of those who will be willing to place their contributions for zakat at the disposal of the Muslim League in case they can be given an assurance that their money will be spent in the manner they prescribe and the annual total estimate of these contributions have also been called for. Other provincial Leagues have also been asked to furnish similar information by the All-India Muslim League, which, it is added, is planning to make such use of this institution of zakat that the Indian Muslims can derive the maximum possible benefit from it.

Some time ago Mr. Jinnah had appealed for a five-crore fund but the actual amount of collections are not yet known. In Bengal, the leaders of the League are said to be much better off. The amounts of their zakats will be watched with interest.

Sir Norman Angell on Robot Bombs and Robot Minds

Writing in the *Free World*, Sir Norman Angell says that the most important development in recent years in the field of military technology is the robot bomb. Although it has not succeeded in altering the course of the present war, it gives a dark warning of what war might become. It gives a forecast of the prediction that ultimately the machines which man had made to serve him would turn round and destroy him. It has become literally so. Both sides can no doubt use the weapon which means that each could destroy the other, with immense margin of advantage to the side which gets its blow in first. Sir Norman says that in the form in which we know them, the robot bomb is, of course, a mere beginning. The London experience is just a foretaste of what the 10-ton, or 100-ton rocket shell of the future, travelling through the stratosphere, has in store. Add to this the possibility of explosives based on the release of atomic energy (which reputable physicists have declared to be perhaps round the corner) and one can see that the stratospheric robot bombing of a New York or a Chicago into so much bloody rubble is something more than a possibility of the future.

Of course, this development is going to affect the peace-making. Every one of these developments makes geography, regional considerations, of less and less importance. It is no longer a Wellsian fantasy to foresee the time when robot or rocket bombs, travelling through the stratosphere, can be launched from almost

any spot on the earth to any other spot, delivering free and equal partners in a common world order. loads of explosives which can destroy all life within a radius of several miles.

Sir Norman then goes on to explain his ideas about the methods of controlling the human mind. He says that the problem is not merely one of creating a central power; it is to see that this power is not abused, does not itself become the enemy of freedom; that its function is limited to the prevention of violence. He emphasises that before we learn to control the robot bomb we must learn to control the human mind, its fallacies, blind spots, the passions which arise out of nationalism and doctrinal fanaticism. He then says: "We speak commonly as though it sufficed to take power from the hands of Germans and Japanese and give it into the hands of the British, the Americans, Russians, French, Africans, Chinese, Irish, Indians, Arabs, Jews; that these latter could never disagree as to the use of power, never abuse it. Which means that we take over, holus-bolus the "superiority" doctrine of the Nazis, except that we become the superior people and they the inferior. All of which, of course, is nonsense. Biologically—in blood, glands, hormones, gray matter, muscular tissue—we are exactly like the Germans. The difference is in certain ideas which, for reasons we do not know much about, infected them more than their immediate neighbours. Education and "learning" did not protect them against the infection, for the Germans are among the most learned, the most scientific people in the world, having produced great philosophers, musicians, religious teachers, from Luther to Karl Marx; and very brave and efficient soldiers."

Failure of the United Nations to Control Criminal Violence

According to Sir Norman Angell, the supreme failure of the German people as a whole is the failure to control their own criminal minorities. To say that the German people as a whole have no responsibility for the crimes of the Nazis means that they did not know how to control their criminals. Such an excuse indicts the German people as incapable of the first function of civilised governments which is precisely to restrain criminal violence.

Discussing the corresponding responsibility of the United Nations, Sir Norman says:

"But if we bring this charge with justice, as we must against the German people, it is incumbent on us to face the fact that as nations we have been guilty, in our international relationship, of a similar failure, a similar incapacity to restrain criminal violence in international affairs.

"The power of Germany and Japan represented a quite small fraction of the civilized world. Had their victims—thirty-four (at present) United Nations—been capable of uniting for mutual defence, the aggressors would never have been tempted to commit aggression, and if they tried would have been promptly stopped. But the non-German, non-Japanese world did not have that capacity for unity. It had sufficient potential power to defend itself; it could not unite for the use of that power for common defence."

Next he asks: Will it be able to unite to make impossible the use of a perfected robot bomb? To banish its terrors from mankind? But we believe that no such unity is possible unless and until all the countries of the world meet on the same platform as

International criminal violence cannot be stopped so long as colonial exploitation and empire grubbing is allowed to continue.

World No Longer Dominated by European Powers

Mr. W. G. Mackay, a progressive British writer writes in an article that the Governments of Britain and America in resisting Nazi aggression, are trying to bolster up a European system which, if it worked during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, certainly does not work in the twentieth. He points out that the world is no longer dominated by European Powers. The people of Russia, China, India and America are going to play a much larger part in world politics in the twentieth century than they played in the eighteenth and nineteenth. Although the Nazis will be overthrown and the United Nations' victory will be secured, it will be a defeat both for France and for Britain, if one conceive those two countries in nineteenth century terms. Mr. Mackay clearly states that India must be granted independence; so also the colonial people of Africa. The following passage is quoted to illustrate the breadth of his thought:

The war of 1914-1918 was a defeat for the France of 1914. By 1918 she had become dependent on Britain, America and Russia for her independence and freedom, and she had lost so much in manpower and investments overseas that she was no longer the first-class Power she had been according to the standards and traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The British Empire will meet a similar fate at the end of this war. Mr. Churchill is trying to perpetuate a geographical and political entity which, however great it may have been (again according to the standards and traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth century and their conceptions of world politics), is bound to come to an end in the near future. India must have its independence; the colonial peoples of Africa must be given their freedom and a democratic government for Africa established; the other colonial peoples must be treated in the same way. This has to be made clear to the British and the French, and, for that matter, to the Belgians, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Spaniards.

Mr. Mackay believes, and so do we, that an attempt to perpetuate the nineteenth century set up of European domination of the world is to try to put a roof on a house which has lost its foundations and has not got any walls.

Indian Art Collections in Moscow Museum

There are several collections of Indian objects of art in the USSR, the biggest and most interesting being those of the museums of the Academy of Sciences and of the Hermitage in Leningrad. The collection of Indian art treasures brought from the "Indian Circle" in East Turkestan by the expedition of the late Academician Sergei Oldenburg and from the dead city of Khara-Khota by the famous Russian explorer Peter Kozlov are of world-wide significance. There is, however, also an Indian Art Collection in Moscow and it forms part of the State Museum of Oriental Culture.

One of the most valuable sections of the collection is the miniatures from the Persian manuscript version of Sultan Babur's Memoirs. There are about 70 of them and they are in an excellent state of preservation. They were painted at the end of the 16th century in the Emperor Akbar's palace, workshop and are typical examples of the Moghul school of Indian painting.

Another series of miniatures in this collection dates back to the 17th century and constitutes a whole gallery of representatives of the Moghul aristocracy. The museum possesses the famous 16th Century miniature, already published, signed by the artist Baljid (also read as Balchand) which shows an acrobatic wrestling scene.

Indian applied arts are very extensively represented. There is a series of sculptured details from the Car of Jagan-Nath (Juggernaut) of the 17th Century. There are also some beautifully decorated specimens of lacquer work—cases for mirrors and for reed pens. There is one pen case of the middle of the 17th Century which deserves deeper study. The artist depicts a number of Europeans in addition to the local people. Lastly there are some Indian silks embroidered with gold and silver threads.

Imperial Library Books Sent Out of Calcutta

In reply to a question, Mr. J. D. Tyson told Mr. K. C. Neogy that the most valuable publications of the Imperial Library, numbering about ten thousand were removed from Calcutta in February 1942 as a precautionary measure and deposited with the Aligarh Muslim University for safe custody. No proper inspection of the books seems to have been carried out by opening the boxes. If the boxes are not sufficiently airtight, there is a likelihood for the deterioration of the books. Now that the danger of bombing in Calcutta has passed off, the Imperial Library ought to bring the books back. The Calcutta University had brought back all their books sent outside for safe custody. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has also sent a number of books out of the city and it is high time they should be brought back as well.

Give Women 50-50 Share in Politics—G. B. S.

Writing in the British weekly *Leader*, Bernard Shaw pleads for giving women a 50-50 share in politics. He says, "I advocate human government by women and men in equal numbers because I want the enormous power at present exercised by women to be made public, responsible and continually under fire from public criticism. If public affairs could be managed by one sex alone, I should vote for leaving them to women. Having always had to feed and manage men they are trained to it until it has become an instinct with them, whereas men have never been able to manage women. Matriarchy is the law of nature; and now that it is no longer necessary for men to hunt and fight every day to feed and protect their squaws and piccaninnies the natural man is a pampered drone. I have been dependent on women all my life, and am quite conscious of it, and keenly aware of the fact that if I do nothing to make me worth their care, they may wake up to the situation like the bees and kill me when they have no further

use for me. The danger in an exclusively female Government is that women, who love power more than men do, would jealously disfranchise and droneify men at whatever cost of pampering, dressing-up and glorifying him."

To Shaw the need for human government and the dangers of sexually unilateral rule are plain enough. He believes that they are obscured merely less by male vanity than by men's subconscious dread of women leading them to a conviction that they must either enslave women or be themselves enslaved by them, which they very largely are.

Burning for Purification

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai told the Central Assembly that he had heard the B. B. C. announces saying that Berlin was burning for purification. If Berlin desired to purify herself for her sin in attempting to take away Britain's freedom, Britain in her turn would have to purify herself in respect of many other similar sins. The time had come for penitence to be expressed "in the form of action."

Dinabandhu Andrews

On the 5th of April next falls the fifth death anniversary of Dinabandhu Andrews. There was never a time when there was so little confidence and trust as between Indians and Britishers as now nor was ever there so much want of a man in whom both could trust. The passing of the Dinabandhu was a calamity for the British and Indians alike though only the Indians seem to be partially aware of it. There was never a British official in the history of British India who did one-tenth as much for Indians as did this true servant of the Lord. The Indian estimate of his worth could perhaps be best summed up by a translation of a part of a radio broadcast in Bengali by the late Ramananda Chatterjee, on the occasion of the first anniversary of his death, as given below:

... The name *Dinabandhu* given to Mr. Andrews was literally true. To the last moment of his life he had endeavoured to preach the Christ-ideal which he cherished in his heart, not by words but by his life.

We never thought that his death would come so soon. For I remember that up to only a few days before he came to Calcutta for medical treatment I used to see him coming to Santiniketan from Sriniketan on foot and go back walking—covering a distance of about four miles. But it is vain to grieve over what has happened.

He lived his noble life in such a manner as if he was atoning for the sins of his nation in relation to India. But we ought not to think of his life and services in that way. We should specially consider in how many ways and to what a great extent we are indebted to him. I am not now referring to my personal debt of gratitude to him. The arduous labours which he went through for India, particularly for the oppressed and humble Indians who live in the Colonies, no Indian ever went through;—only Mahatma Gandhi did similar and greater things for the Indians in South Africa, but he could not do so much for those in other colonies. He was so large-hearted and so liberal that among his intimate friends there were Hindus, there were Muslims, there were Jains, there were Buddhists, there

were Jews and there were Christians and Parsis. Persons belonging to all the various religious communities in Calcutta joined in his funeral service today and perhaps, if the public had received previous intimation, so many would have been eager to join that the gathering would have reached unmanageable proportions. He has now been blest with the peace which he longed for.

He has not been able to see that amity between independent India and independent Britain which was the desire of his life, established during his life-time. But whenever this friendship between a free India and a free British becomes a reality, then undoubtedly his soul in heaven will enjoy supreme bliss and peace ineffable.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE War in Europe has entered into its climax. At the time of writing the Allied assault on the Western front has mounted to its peak. According to all reports received (up till 29.3.45) the German defence in the West has crumpled up and General Eisenhower has gone further in stating that the Germans have no further chances of staging another defensive battle in the West. London reports go still further in claiming that the Wehrmacht has little hope for regrouping its forces for another stand. Regarding the Eastern front no definite break-through has been reported so far, though two new offensives are said to be in progress. In the U.S.A. people started celebrating the end of the War until they were stopped by official warnings that the war is not yet over. In general the picture that has been conveyed by the news-correspondents is that the dim shape of victory can already be seen to be looming through the smoke and fog of war, though it cannot be gauged as yet as to how near it has come.

Judging from the actual reports in so far as they convey definite news, which are scanty in the extreme due to news-blackouts, one can make out two facts. The first is that the Allies have been able to surmount the obstacles of positional warfare that were imposed upon them by the German defence plan and that now they are throwing in all their armour, artillery and man-power in the battle so as to deliver a knock-out to the German defending forces. Mobile warfare on a very large scale is, therefore, indicated, where the five-fold supremacy of the Allies in armament and man-power will be allowed to use its full weight for the first time since the landings on the coast of Normandy. The second is that the Germans now face for the second time in three months, a total disruption of their defence plans through the wholesale breach of their positional defences over a very wide area. The great arsenals of the Ruhr and the Saar are now threatened, as happened in the case of Silesia a few months back.

Judging again purely from the nature of fighting, the Allied advance has differed a great deal from the Russian break-through of a few months back. That was a spectacular assault and the break-through that followed was purely on the lines of the blitz-krieg methods followed by the Germans in their French and Russian campaigns at the outset of the war. In this Russian blitz too the armoured spear-heads raced ahead of the supporting infantry and artillery, changing direction as needed to avoid hedgehogs or to by-pass great con-

centrations of enemy forces, thus penetrating deep into the rear-communications and threatening to disrupt the whole defence organisation without giving the defenders the chance to regroup or to organise a concerted defence along a continuous line. It failed to achieve the final desired because the Germans had replied with the Russian answer to the blitz problem and could improve on it because of their immensely superior organisations of supply and communication. But all the same this Russian blitz had bitten deep into the vitals of the German defence, depleting their reserves and straining their resources to the extreme in supporting their forces that had been by-passed and isolated far behind the Russian spear-heads. It is doubtful indeed if the Allied successes on the Rhine would have been attained so early and at that cost, if the Russian blitz had not torn up the German defence plan in the East in that fashion. The Allied advance has been achieved mainly by the weight of arms and preponderance in numbers. It has delivered its assaults step by step and as the weight of arms and men told had widened the breaches and had thus pushed back the line until it broke in places due to the extreme tension. It is through these breaches that armour is pushing through now, and probably para-troops are also being employed to break up enemy resistance at strategic points. The problem that the Wehrmacht faces is the repair of these breaches and the replenishment of depleted fighting strength of the defence.

The question is whether Germany has any substantial reserves left with which to obtain a condition of liquid stability as was done on the Eastern front a month back. It is well-known that of the Axis forces actually in the field, by far the greater portion are in the East, engaged in an attempt at holding up the Russian armies. What reserves there are in Germany's central pool is unknown, but judging from General Eisenhower's statement, they are not expected to be very substantial. Of natural defences in the West, the most difficult have either been surmounted or are being subjected to assault at the present moment. The rest, according to news reports, do not seem to be of much account since London reports claim that "all Germany lies open" before the Allies. The picture, therefore, as presented by the news reports, is one of Germany on the immediate eve of collapse, with its defences shattered in the West, while in the East they are being rapidly reduced; with its fighting forces being over-

whelmed and torn up in the West while in the East the process of attrition is rapidly lowering its strength, and with its central pool of reserves being depleted to the vanishing point. The Wehrmacht is said to be at the end of its tether, which does not call for any stretch of imagination in view of the picture presented. All that is left to complete the picture is the chaotic condition of desertion by fighting forces and frantic fleeing of civilians out of the battle zones, clogging up the arteries of troop movements, and the closing down of the arsenals. The question now being asked is not so much as to when the end will come but as to how?

The answer to that question should be known to the world within the first fortnight of April, if the Allied estimates are correct. The Allied armies on the West and the Russian forces in the East are now working in full concert and both are now exerting the maximum pressure that they can deliver by the weight of arms and by the manifold superiority in numbers. The battles on the East have raged with unabated fury for some months now at the last defences before the very vitals of the Reich, and are now showing distinct signs of pulsating in intensity—which means prolonged warfare. In the West they have mounted to extreme violence, on a scale never hitherto attained on this front, and if there be a lull or lack of resistance from the Germans, it can only mean either total collapse or an attempt by the Wehrmacht to regroup all the forces at its command for a mobile battle on a gigantic scale to fight the Allied armies to a halt. If General Eisenhower succeeds in preventing this regrouping, then indeed the end is in sight. The turn of events within a few days—at most a very few weeks—will give the waiting world the answer.

In Asia the war is approaching the mainland of Japan in a steady progression and the fury of the battle is increasing with the approach. The latest reports are rather indefinite and confused but there can be no doubt now that Admiral Nimitz is pushing forward relentlessly with his schedule for the Pacific War. It is being progressively revealed that the Japanese navy is no longer in a position to challenge the American supremacy on the waters of the Pacific. But on the other hand the Japanese air-force is now definitely attempting a show-down as between land-based planes and carrier-borne craft. This new development will probably soon show the possibility—or otherwise—of a sea-borne invasion of Japan along the very thin island-route across the vast stretches of the Pacific. In any case the consolidation of the American hold on these islands of the Pacific is essential for the final assault, be that delivered straight across the waters of the Western Ocean or be that launched from the coast of China. The strategy of this island warfare across the Pacific is not yet fully revealed, that is to say it is not yet clear whether these stages are merely means to an end, or whether they are actual progressive steps of the final assault. There are many gaps left as yet in this most extraordinary chain of communication lines, and until the final wiping out of the Japanese resistance takes place on the Philippines, the Bonins and the islands further out, the channel for the vast flow of arms and armed forces, requisite for the final assault on Japan,

cannot be said to be quite clear. Until that stage is reached it would be futile to speculate on the master-plans of the Allied Supreme War-Council regarding the battle of Asia. Meanwhile the aerial assault on Japan is being intensified, but as yet it has merely assumed the preventive stage, that is to say it is now actively obstructing the Japanese attempt at stepping up the production of armaments. It is premature to say that the actual "softening" process is in action, as that would entail far more intensive raids on a vastly greater scale.

The question of a direct sea-borne invasion of Japan across the Pacific is a gigantic and extremely complicated problem in logistics. Japan seems to have come to the conclusion that it is impossible of solution, and that even with complete mastery over the Pacific, the American Pacific Command will not be able to mount a major offensive direct on to Japan without any considerable bases on the coast-line of China. The Japanese are no doubt apprehensive of major attempts on the part of the U.S.A. Pacific Command at landings in force on the mainland of Japan. But it seems to be certain that such attempts would be co-ordinated with operations on the south-coast of China which might precede or immediately follow such action. The latest Japanese drive from Hankow can have no meaning otherwise. This drive clearly shows that the Japanese are aware that the sands are running out fast and they have to consolidate their hold on the Peiping-Hankow railway soon or else it might be too late.

This Japanese bid for the consolidation on the great continental rail-artery is being pressed on with such force that it leaves no doubt that it is a vital part of Japan's defence plan. With a land-route to the raw-material sources firmly in their hand, Japan hopes to be able to carry on with a long war of attrition on the mainland of China. For even if the sea-lanes are cut by the U.S.A. Navy, sufficient supplies can be carried by the rail-route to enable Japan to carry on, the vast resources of the Allies being counter-balanced by the immense difficulties of their supply route. It is premature however to speculate on all that since it is not yet clear as to which of the three routes to Tokyo would be taken by the Allies. The fighting that is going on now in Burma has not up to date given any hopes of Burma being made into a major base for Allied operations against the Japanese. Indeed the problem of maintaining great armies fighting in China by means of air-borne and land-borne supplies seems to be unsurmountable for the present judging by the extreme difficulties of the aerial route across the "hump" and the tortuous and difficult intricacies of the Burma Road. Therefore, the sea-route to China has to be cleared up to Singapore and Saigon before the drive against Japan from this side of the world can carry much weight. This route, therefore, will take some good time, whereas the Burma-Kunming route is likely to remain constricted for all time so far as the present war is concerned. The third route is the Pacific route of which the possibilities are as yet not fully revealed. There has been some speculation on that point but that also has not been of a very convincing nature.

MY MOTHER Reminiscences*

By C. F. ANDREWS

[Five years ago Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews passed away on April 5th, 1940, but he will be missed by his innumerable friends and admirers for many a year to come. We reproduce here the compliments that were paid to him by Mahatma Gandhi and the Poet Tagore as forewords to a Hindi biography.]

"C. F. Andrews, who to me is dear Charlie, is a living embodiment of Christian principles. But by the singular purity of his life and his never-failing service to the poor and the lost, he has ceased to belong to any particular sect or nation; he has become one of the world."

"He is too near to me by bonds of co-operation and love to allow me to say anything about him in a detached spirit of criticism. Pandit Benarasi Das has worked with him closely for a number of years and it is quite appropriate that he should write a biography of Andrews. In these days of destructive class-struggle and of blatant nationalism his life has a special lesson for the world. May it not pass away unheeded!"

"Uttarayan"

Santiniketan, 29-3-34

Rabindranath Tagore

"It is not an easy thing for me to write a foreword to a life sketch of C. F. Andrews between whom and me there exists a tie closer than between blood brothers. But if I may say without presumption, I would like to note down my conviction that there does not exist in India a more truthful, more humble, and more devoted servant of hers than C. F. Andrews."

"May the lesson of his life prove to the youth of India an encouragement for greater devotion to the motherland."

Santiniketan, 17-9-20.

M. K. Gandhi]

THIS time that I have had in England, after so many years' absence, has brought back to me the memory of my mother as nothing else has ever done before. It was nearly twenty-five years ago since I left England for India on one bitterly cold morning in February 1904 with the snow coming down and the sky dark and threatening. I had just left my mother on the previous evening after I had knelt at her side in prayer as I used to do every morning and evening as a little child. My heart was chilled through and through at the thought of parting from her and I must confess that I looked back and repented for a brief moment that I had set out on such a distant voyage. She was failing in health and I wondered whether I should ever be able to see her again. It seemed cruel on my part to leave her. The whole scene of our parting came back to me while I was alone in the railway carriage, shivering with cold and trying to collect my thoughts. No journey in my life was sadder to me. Again and again in thought I turned back and wondered whether I had taken the right step.

Two things sustained me during that inner struggle. The former was that God's voice had been calling me and I could not disobey. The second was that my mother had always put 'duty' first in every thing she taught us and even when she had shed silent tears on the night before when we had said 'good-bye', she had never for a moment ceased to encourage me in what I was about to do. From the very first moment, when I had broken the news to her that I was going out in Christ's name to India, she had encouraged me to go. So great was her faith and so complete was her self-sacrifice of love!

It was not, after all, to be the last time that I should see her on this earth. That was to come in 1912 and I shall write about it later. But when the heart is very deeply touched with grief, fears often loom large and I confess that the hardest part of all in the determination which had come to me to go out to India as a Christian missionary was the anxiety, bordering on fear, that I shall never be able to see my mother again.

Let me go on a little with that story as I remember it vividly still. The snow-storm still descended while the train left Victoria Station in London. A small group of friends had collected to bid me farewell and then I was all alone. It was then at last that the pain came most, and it has always been possible for me to sympathise with the loneliness of home-sick Indian students on their way to England because of that personal experience of my own. If I had not suffered myself, I should not have been able to suffer with them.

The crossing of the English Channel was rough and the cold was still intense. Somehow the physical misery for a time was almost welcome, because it took my mind from the spiritual agony, which I was passing through. The night in the train, sitting up and cramped for room, was spent almost sleeplessly. Then at Basle, in Switzerland, the train stopped for nearly an hour in the very early morning, between 5 a.m. and 6 a.m. I was able to get a cup of steaming coffee, filled up with boiling milk and a Swiss roll of bread with butter. Somehow this revived me and made me cheerful again as nothing else could have done at such a time.

I must make another confession. On my way to Geneva from Marburg in Germany during the present tour I passed through Basle. Two German friends were with me and they wished to entertain me with a full meal. We had fasted all day. But when they asked me what I would have, I asked them to provide hot steaming coffee with boiling milk and a Swiss roll of bread with butter simply in order that I might be able to recapture that incident, which happened nearly twenty-five years ago, when I had left my mother for the first time in all my life to go abroad and was heart-sick and home-sick, beyond all words, on that early morning, in that same railway station of Basle and had found some comfort in hot coffee and milk and butter and a roll of bread!

II

It has been a very strange and deeply moving experience to me to visit one by one the places where I used to live as a little boy and bringing back to memory the days that are no more. In every place it has been the picture of my mother that has come back to me most vividly of all and that is why I have felt the desire to write about it.

I can realise now more clearly how very great the actual poverty must have been in which I was brought up. There were two different streets where my father took us to live in turn in Birmingham in two very small houses which could hardly contain his ever-increasing family. This happened after his removal from Newcastle. Both of these houses were so small that it is hard to realise how a family of thirteen children could have found room in them! In former of the two houses there was literally no garden at all and the street was our only play-ground. Certainly this was a great

* These reminiscences were contributed by Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews to the *Vishal-Bharat* in 1929 with instruction that they should be published in *The Modern Review* afterwards.—B. Das Chaturvedi.

deprivation, which I shared with millions of other town children. It was very good for me to have this experience of complete poverty, but at the same time it had a rather stunting effect on some of the finer instincts in me, which were ready to blossom forth if a congenial soil had been provided.

I can be fairly certain of this, because I can remember still today the almost mad joy which used to come to me as a child when my father took me into the country. My mother rarely came, because her household duties were overwhelming and she could not neglect them for a single moment. She was so self-sacrificing that she never even thought of herself or her own pleasure.

Up to this day I can remember with a vividness that is almost photographic in its clearness of detail two incidents connected with my mother, which seem to show what kind of child I was.

The first of these was when a fowl was being killed on the opposite side of the road near the open street. I did not see anything of the dying agonies of the fowl. It was only the sound that I heard. At first I did not know what it was. Then one of my playmates told me I heard the sound die down and the horror of the cruelty of it all forced itself upon my young imagination. When I went into the house, I sat in misery by my mother's side and told her all about it. Then I tried to bury my thought in a story-book, but that cry of the fowl's dying pain would never leave my imagination. For days and days it haunted me! Since then I have forgotten thousands of other things. But when I went to see that street, where we used to live, again once more the strange thing was this that the one memory which came back to me was that fowl's cry of pain and how I could not bear it but ran into the house to my mother and then tried to bury my horror in my story-book. The very place where I heard the cry was known to me as I stood once more in the street. All sorts of changes had gone on. The house we lived in has been turned into a workshop. But just that one turn of the street had remained unchanged amid all other alterations and as I stood at that point in the road, the memory of what happened more than fifty years ago came back with a vivid flash to my mind.

The last house into which we moved was bigger than the former I have mentioned. It had one inestimable advantage for us in our childhood. It had a back-garden in which we could play all day long when we were not at school. What games we had! The favourite game, into which I used to coax my younger sisters to take a part, was 'Swiss Family Robinson'. This story book used to live with me as my one dearest possession. It was illustrated. We used to act every part of it in that garden. It was not very easy to manage the ship-wreck, where there was no water. But a child's vivid imagination very easily gets over trifling difficulties of that kind. I must, however, tell the whole of that story at another time. It is too long to tell here.

What remained most vividly in my mind when I went back to this second house, where I had lived in my early childhood, was the memory of one day when I had come back to my mother in eager excitement from Sutton Coldfield. There was a park there with four or five long pools. Nature had been allowed to continue in its wild state. The incident I am about to mention must have happened when I was about twelve years old. One day I had walked over with my elder brother

to Sutton Park by road. The walk was a long one for a boy of my age. It was over seven miles and I was a somewhat weak child when I was young. There was a pool, close to the park entrance, on the far side of the park, which was first approached when we walked over. My brother and I had gone across some treacherous marshy soil eagerly seeking some adventure amid the wild natural scenery. We were playing together at 'Swiss Family Robinson.' Then I discovered a wild bird's nest with three eggs in it, whose colour was light blue with little dark spots. I had never seen such a nest before in such a wild place. In my excitement I took the eggs in my cap and on my return home when I was tired almost to death with the long walk and all my excitement was over. I showed my mother all the three eggs, expecting her to admire them. She said to me, "Oh, Charlie, what have you done? Just think of that poor mother hen-bird coming back and finding all her beautiful eggs stolen! Even now, perhaps, she is flying and flying round her deserted nest making a sound of pain. Could you not have taken only one, and left her two behind,—if it was necessary to take one at all? Oh, Charlie, my dear little boy, what have you done?"

Before she had finished, the picture of that poor mother-bird flying round and round the deserted nest, crying with pain, gripped my imagination. All that night I could hardly sleep at all, though I was very tired. Then my memory is not quite clear what happened next, but I feel almost certain that it was surely next morning that I went back to Sutton Park with the three blue speckled eggs. What happened later was this that I did not find the nest and so my conscience did not get the relief it needed, but had to bear the burden, until the child's habit of forgetfulness blotted out the memory of my conscious mind. All the agony I had suffered sank down into the sub-conscious.

Let me end this picture, therefore, with the portrait of my dear mother, as she drew me to her side and said to me, with her tender chiding voice, which was the greatest punishment I could possibly receive, "Oh, Charlie, what have you done?"

III

One of the most beautiful things to witness in my own childhood was the absolute devotion which my father had towards my mother. There are always in married life differences of temperament and disposition. My father was at all times impulsive, warm-hearted, generous to an almost extravagant degree, and ready to believe any one who came to him with a pitiable story of distress. He was also exceedingly chivalrous and always wished to take up the cause of the oppressed and the afflicted.

My mother understood all these sentiments and shared them, but she always had the better judgment. As a mother of a very large family, she had to consider her own children and their needs. Therefore, though no one could be more open-hearted and open-handed towards real distress, she was not taken in, as my father not seldom was, by those who merely came to beg, because they were unwilling to do honest work. Thus, as years went by, my father used to rely more and more upon my mother's judgment. Indeed—shall I dare say it without any irreverence to his dear memory?—she became almost, as it were, a mother to him as well as a devoted wife. While the authority of our large house-

hold was entirely in his hands, he often would unconsciously delegate that authority to her in forming his decisions and would act upon her judgment rather than upon his own.

This made the loss all the harder to bear for my father when my mother died, after an ideal married life of nearly fifty years as husband and wife. He literally pined away after she was gone from him and the terrible days of European war hastened his own death. It would be difficult to find a more perfect example of a wedded love which was all in all.

It happened that while I have been in England this summer, I came across a bundle of my father's letters written after the death of my mother. They were so pathetic in their patient fortitude and tender longing

*We knew that their joy could not last, dear
That its gladness must soon pass away.*

*But there's one thing that never can change, dear
A gift that has come from above,
Which has welded our hearts into one, dear
The gift of unfaltering love.*

*Though our life here on earth fade away, dear
Though our bodies be laid in the dust,
Even then, this shall never decay, dear
For it liveth in Him, whom we trust.*

*Now alas! You are taken away, dear
And I'm left to linger below,
But the stream of my love does not stay, dear
Its fountain shall never cease to flow.*



C. F. Andrews (standing on the left) and his father, mother, brothers and sisters

for my mother's presence that it was difficult to read them without tears. He tells the story, which my sisters had corroborated, how he had turned in his distress and solitude to the composition of poetry. Never in his whole life had he written a line of poetry before and now at the age of eighty-five he would spend day after day in writing down his thoughts in verse and giving them a very simple poetic form. It touched him very deeply indeed when anyone wrote to him and said that these simple verses had given them comfort in sorrow. He wrote not only to assuage his own grief, but also to help others to bear theirs.

One of the most touching of these simple poems is before me in his own handwriting. It runs as follows:

*When we think of those years so long passed, dear
When we both were so happy and gay,*

*In those heavenly mansions above, dear
Where all shall be glory and peace,
We shall still live the life of that love, dear
In fulness that never shall cease.*

It is quite possible to criticise this poem from the point of view of literature and to fail to appreciate it as such. But my own criterion is a simpler one. For I can realise in it how every word, that he wrote about my mother in this poem, was written with tears and how those tears were able in a slight measure to assuage his own grief.

We, who were her children, joined with our father himself in giving this honour and reverence to my mother. Whenever we went over the wide world, it was to our mother that we always wrote those long letters of ours that were handed round to all the family circle.

There was not a single week in which I did not send by the steamer from Bombay a long letter to my mother. Not seldom I would write to my father also, but my mother always had my longest letters. Once when I had some doubt whether my letter had actually gone by the main steamer, I sent a cable to explain. For I could not bear the thought that my mother in her weakness, during her declining years, should have the least anxiety on my account. Again and again, I used to warn her that the mail delivery was not infallible and it was well I did so, because inquisitive eyes sometimes were wont to scan my letters just before they departed from the Indian shores and at one period their delivery became irregular. That episode could not be avoided, but what I could avoid was to fail, by my own fault, to catch the mail. Therefore practically I never missed the mail during all those years before she died.

IV

I cannot remember where I left off in my reminiscences about my mother and I shall run the risk of repeating myself. Here where I am living among the Hindustani exiles from the United Provinces, who came out to British Guiana, more than ten thousand miles away from India, under the indenture system, wherever I sit down in company with them, they always ask me two questions. The former is, "Mr. Andrews, are you married?" When I tell them that I have been all my life a bachelor, they express surprise and tell me that they thought that I had many children in India. The second question is this: "Is your mother still living?" I tell them, "No. She died when I was in South Africa with Mahatma Gandhi." Then they ask for the story of my mother's death, which has reached some of the educated Indians of this country and I tell it to them as I shall tell it in due course in these reminiscences. It is true to say that nothing brings our hearts more closely together than these stories about my own mother.

I cannot remember whether I told the story of those very early days in my life when we were still living in the North of England. There were already very many children born in our family and I came in the middle of them all—with brothers and sisters who were older than myself and many also who were younger. When I state the fact that we were fourteen in all, of whom only one died in infancy, I can imagine the surprise of my readers. But no greater blessing ever came to me in life than to have such a mother and to belong to such a large family. Truly I pity very much indeed the spoiled children today, who are either the only children of their parents, or who belong to a very small family of two or three children. We were a supremely happy family circle, with delightful companionship within the same home. In India the joint family system gives some happy relationships such as we had in our family and the fact that all through my childhood I had so many brothers and sisters has made perhaps the home-life in India more easy for me to understand than if I had been an only child in my own home in England.

But the story I wanted to tell was this—will you forgive me if I have told it already and listen to it again?—One day when I was quite young, probably not more than five years old, I was with my brothers and sisters in our play-room, when suddenly I felt burning hot and ill. My knees began to pain me so much that I sat down on the floor in the middle of our game and began to cry. I can remember vividly just how I sat on the floor and looked at my knees and saw how

red and swollen they had become. My brothers wanted me to go on with the game and said, "Charlie, get up!" But I could not rise.

At that moment my mother came in and I can picture her tender, beautiful face, while I write down these words. Without an instant's delay she knelt down on the floor by my side and kissed me on my forehead and looked at both my knees as I pointed towards them through my tears. She saw at once that I was very feverish. She then carried me in her arms to my cot and called the doctor.

When he came he shook his head sadly and said that the illness was rheumatic fever in an acute form and that my life would be in danger. He wrapped my knees in bandages made of flannel. That night I lay in delirium with very high fever indeed.

My mother has often told me how the high fever kept up, month after month, till my body had become a mere shadow and my life was despaired of. All that I can remember of those months of suffering was my mother's face looking down on me with wonderful love and tenderness. She prayed for me by my bed-side, night and day and God in His great mercy heard my mother's prayers and restored me to her arms in love.

By far the greater part of all that suffering is merely one blank to me to-day. Probably I passed many days and weeks almost unconscious just hovering between life and death. The crisis at last came and every one thought that I was going to die. Then one day I opened my eyes after a long period of unconsciousness and saw a flower on a little table close to my bed. If I remember aright, it was a white flower. It looked so beautiful that I seemed to wake into consciousness of life again and to wish to live. Of one thing I am sure. It was that flower which gave me the first impulse of life, just at the very time when my spirit was flickering between life and death. From that day onwards I rapidly recovered.

We all have very curious memories of our earliest childhood. So much is absolutely forgotten. Yet other things are as clear and vivid as if they had happened yesterday. It will easily be imagined what a weak and tiny child I remained for some time after that terrible illness. We have a proverb in English: 'Troubles never come singly.' This was true with me. One day I was standing outside the drawing-room door listening to my father singing inside the room. My mother was playing the piano. So far my memory is uncertain, but what follows could never be forgotten. In a foolish childish way I had put my finger into the crack or hinge of the door, which was half open. My father paused in his song and shut the door sharply, while my finger was still in this crack or hinge. When the scream I gave told him what had happened my poor finger on my right hand was smashed to a pulp right up to the first joint. Fortunately I was so young at the time that there was no bone yet fully formed but only soft tissues. Yet so severe was the accident that for six months, while I was still weak with my former illness, I had to help my hand in a string until the finger recovered. It is easy to see on my right hand the place where the accident was even today. But the long strain of recovery always afterwards made my right hand weaker than my left. Therefore when I began to play games, I found that I had become left-handed. It was this accident which in this peculiar way made me left-handed all the rest of my life.



The Filipino girls are diving for coins flung from steamers that ply between the islands



Sampans carry American Red Cross supplies for China

Courtesy: USOWI

he might be forgiven for the wrong he had done and that he might be brought to repentance and to a better life. He used to speak to us and tell us that we must not feel any bitterness against his friend, because although he had done that great wrong still he hoped that he would, in time, come to see the wrong. When people urged my father to prosecute him, he indignantly refused and those who suggested never asked him a second time. This incident had a very great effect indeed on my life. It made me love my father as I never loved him before and my mother also who was entirely of one mind with my father in this matter. It seemed to bind the whole family together in love and was in this way a great blessing. But the greatest blessing of all was that we became exceedingly poor—so poor that we children often had to eat dry bread and nothing else for our meal and we were obliged to live in a very small house with the poor people of the town. Thus from being fairly rich we were reduced to poverty and the struggle that my father and mother had to make to educate us during the next few years was very great indeed.

VII

On the way down from Johannesburg to Durban I had fever in the train. It was a touch of the old malarial fever and I was quite exhausted by the time we reached Durban. There we met the Indian ladies who had just come out of jail. It was the first time I had seen Mrs. Gandhi. But at that moment I was quite upset because Mr. Pearson put into my hands a letter

stating that my mother was not expected to live. I showed it to Mr. Gandhi and he told the ladies themselves. The next morning was a terrible ordeal. I felt certain that my mother must have died and was waiting for a second cable in answer to my own. There was an immense gathering of Indians waiting to be told about the settlement and I had to speak. It was very very hard indeed to speak at such a time. In the afternoon the cable came to say that my mother was dead.* I sent the cable to Mr. Gandhi and soon afterwards Mrs. Gandhi accompanied by all the Indian ladies came to see me. That was the greatest comfort that I received at that time. It seemed to me that they were my mothers and I felt in a strange way that those Indian ladies were to be my mother in future. Often and often I have felt this to be literally true and I am sure that my mother's love for India has been returned to me in the affection which I have had from Indian mothers wherever I have met them.

"Go and help the Indian cause in South Africa and do not come back till your work is done." These were the words that Mr. Andrews' mother wrote back to him when he asked her whether he should be by her side during her illness in England or proceed to South Africa to help Mahatma Gandhi there.—*Benarsi Das Chaturvedi*.

* Died on 9th of January 1912.

A REVIVALIST*

Our Debt To The Swami Shradananda

PART II

By ST. Nihal Singh

XII

A shock was awaiting me—a psychological shock. With the turn of the century I had ceased to be a provincial—at least, to be so in my own sight. I had become a metropolitan (not, of course, in the Church of England sense). Lahore—the capital of the region of my birth, not yet hacked by George Nathaniel (later the Earl and later still the Marquis) Curzon (of Kedleston)—had become my home, temporarily.

"Home" was only a cubicle. That word I had to learn. Now I would describe it as a poky little place—bare and ugly. Then, however, it spelled to me independence. Thanks to my father's generosity—and father, as I was later to understand, was not wealthy—I was not one of the common herd, as so many of my fellows (to my notions) were, who dwelt in dormitories.

Nor had he sent me to one of the cheaper colleges maintained by private agency. No. The institution I had entered was the first of its kind in Lahore. The initiative for it had come from the State. The Government still ran it.

How soon I was to sicken of all this officialdom! That, however, is "another story," as Rudyard Kipling would put it. He, I had just discovered, had lived and laboured for a time not far from the Government College Hostel, and not so many years before. I was to meet him in the course of the travels upon which I was to embark somewhat later.

Whether one lived in a cubicle or in the dormitory, there was precious little privacy. That I learnt almost immediately after I had taken up residence at Lahore.

Of a bookish turn of mind and something of a prig, I was not a little irked by the gregarious sense in the Punjabis fast emerging towards manhood. It was assertive—aggressive—undeniable. Since there was no avoiding it, I had soon to come to terms with my neighbours.

What the professors and assistant professors tried to ram into my mind, already cluttered with much miscellaneous pickings from books and periodicals, was to me, educationally, of little value compared with what my compeers taught me. This teaching went on mostly at night. It took place in a sort of open-air forum.

This forum was the unpaved oblong on all four sides of which the hostel and college offices had been built. As the gloom gathered, cots (*charpais*) were carried out of the cubicles and halls into it. At first, with the rolled-up bedding serving as a huge pillow for me to lean against, conversation proceeded. Later the *durri* was spread on the string-webbing, my newly made friends and I lay talking till, one by one, we fell off into slumber. Every one within ear-shot joined in.

XIII

Lala Munshi Ram's name leapt into the conversation hardly had the shyness of provincialism thawed in that heart-cockles-warming college-hostel cordiality. I

cannot, for the moment, recall who started the discussion or how it began.

So challenging a personality must indeed have been under frequent discussion long ere I came upon the scene. Something that he had said or done must have provoked some one to subject him to sharp criticism. The attack must have been met with equally stout defence.

It is, of course, not at all improbable that I may myself have started the polemics on this particular occasion. As I related earlier in the course of this article, I was proud of Uncle Munshi Ram. I was ever trotting out the one triumph he had achieved of which I wrote earlier. This was the victory at a verbal joust that he had won over "Ratee-geen."

Upon coming to Lahore I had dropped that manner of murdering that legal luminary's name. What I heard about him must inevitably have whetted my desire to relate this incident. As becoming an undergrad who (in his own esteem) was already something of a journalist on the side, I must have put my imagination as well as my heart into the telling.

Whether in this or in some other way, the psychological shock came. Of its coming I have a vivid recollection. Something of the sickening sensation that overpowered me at the time returns to me, in fact, as I pen these words.

XIV

Some six years before there had been a great contest. In this the man whom I was representing as wiser than the wisest lawyer in the Punjab of that day had been worsted.

The conflict had been between men who had elected to tread the path of the Swami Dayananda's making. The man who emerged as Lala Munshi Ram's "opposite number" (to use a pregnant phrase of my wife's native land) hailed from the Bist Doab—the tract lying between the Beas and the Sutlej rivers—as he himself did. Hans Raj¹ by name, he was the principal of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College from its inception.

There were, of course, others. To some of these I shall refer presently. Munshi Ram and Hans Raj were, however, the principal contestants, so far as the general public was concerned.

Some bystander of a humorous turn of mind summed up the struggle in terms of comestibles. Munshi Ram and his followers, he said, fancied only *tori*—a long, narrow vegetable of the gourd species, with a flat taste. Hans Raj and the people ranged behind him insisted, however, upon *jal-tori*—the long, narrow vegetable that grows in the water (fish). Or, alternatively, Munshi Ram's was the *ghas* (grass) party; while Hans Raj's was the *mas* (meat) party.

Animal food was, indeed, a point of controversy. It caused friction—ruffled tempers. Had it, however, been the only, or even the main, issue, it is to be doubted that there would have been a split. Hans Raj was, in fact, not very partial to meat; he is known to have quit eating it not long afterwards. But for the contentions, he might have abjured it sooner.

In essence the struggle was over the custody of the very considerable resources that had already been acquired by Arya Samajists from brothers of their faith. These were being steadily (and even quickly) added to.

¹ Known during his working life as the Principal Hans Raj, he, after "entering the forest," was acclaimed as the Mahatma Hans Raj.

Who was to control the coffers? Who was to conduct the institutions—religious, propagandist and educational—that had been and were being set up? Whose was to be the supreme voice? Whose the masterful hand?

XV

Despite his legal acumen and experience, Munshi Ram was "frozen out." He was not the man to suffer defeat in silence. For a time it looked as if violence was inevitable.

An attempt to seize the principal institution—the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College—was, indeed, made. Shouting

"*Agar dharam ke liye jan jati hai to jane do*" (If faith demands life that sacrifice must be made)", a knot of young men attacked the college gate. They found it barred and locked from the inside. Students armed with stout *lathis* (cudgels) stood to defend it.

At sight of the first trickle of blood, however, there was "disengagement." The fray fizzled out. The attackers retired. The "hans" retained the "fort."

Opposed to Munshi Ram were lawyers of no mean merit. To mention two: There was Lala Lal Chand, who, a little later, was elevated to the Chief Court Bench. There also was Lala Lajpat Rai², whose name, within a quarter of a century, became known and esteemed in every town and village in India and often found its way into papers abroad and in the "Mother of Parliaments" in London.

It was, however, Hans Raj with whom, in the last analysis, Munshi Ram had to reckon. Thin as a rail, with muscle that had known little, if indeed any, of the stiffening and suppleness that exercise gives, he could stand not a ghost of a chance if pitted against his rival in a physical contest. Behind his spectacled, myopic eyes was, nevertheless, a restless, resourceful brain and a little way below that brain a leonine heart. So long as he chose to stay at the college, almost wholly of his own creation, he dominated it, though, according to the letter of the constitution, he was at the beck and call of the Managing Committee. Not only the college, but also the entire organization of which that college was the most active organ.

This continued, indeed, almost to the day of his death. Of him I have written elsewhere, and intend writing at greater length at the first opportunity. A large section of the Punjab of the last and, to some extent, of this generation, is largely of his making.

XVI

Uncle Munshi Ram once gave me his interpretation of this battle royal. There was, between Hans Raj and him, a difference of outlook. This difference was as fundamental as it was radical.

Hans Raj was content, according to his opponent, to run an institution that was largely a copy of the College established by the Government some years earlier. In his institution the fees were lower; therefore young men flocked to it. The attraction was much more of an economic than of a religious nature.

Sanskrit and Aryan culture did not receive there anything like the emphasis that the *Maharishi* or he, the *Maharishi's* followers, would have liked to see them given. They certainly did not constitute its heart. It was, therefore, hopeless to expect that institution to provide the Arya Samaj with an adequate number of

* For Part I of this article, please see *The Modern Review* for March, 1945.

² See my article "Lala Lajpat Rai" in *The Modern Review* (Calcutta) for January and February, 1934.



Rice terraces in the Philippines cut out of the mountainside and strongly reinforced with timber



A new power sprayer developed in the Southern U.S. throws a germ and insect killing spray into a citrus fruit orchard
Courtesy: USOWI

During all these childish illnesses and troubles, my mother seemed to come nearer and nearer to my heart. Probably on account of the fact that she had almost seen me die, my mother had a fondness for me that perhaps she did not have in the same degree for her other more robust and healthy children. At any rate I seemed to think so and the love which she gave me was returned superabundantly from my side. There has never been anyone throughout all my life, who could compare with my mother in my heart for the depth of my affection. For though I have had many friends whom I have loved closer than my brother, their love for me and my love for them cannot compare even for one moment with love which I had for my mother and my mother had for me.

V

I would like to tell some more incidents in my mother's life which I can never forget. They will help at the present time to sweeten our thoughts when there is so much bitterness on every side owing to the critical struggle in which India is engaged. For it is not a good thing to dwell entirely on the harsher sides of life without any relief.

My mother was one of those who believed in bringing up her own children herself with as little help from outside as possible. She would get up very early indeed every morning and was at work in the house preparing for the duties of the day long before we ourselves came down from our rooms. She was very devout in her own life and when we were children we would never miss a single morning or evening saying our prayers beside her. She would sit in her chair and each one of us in turn would kneel down and close our eyes and then repeat after her a simple prayer to God for protection and blessing through the day or through the night as the case might be. It is quite impossible for me even to forget her own reverence on such occasions. The time was never hurried, however busy she might be. It was sacred to God.

We had a sweet custom of getting up very early indeed on my mother's birthday, which came on May 25th every year, and singing outside her door. She would wait in her room that morning, because she knew what was going to happen. Then at the end of our song she would come out with a radiantly happy face and greet us all. We will then give her our little presents, which we had kept in store for that special occasion. She would be intensely delighted with them, however insignificant they might be, and there would be a great joy in her face all day long. Her birthday came at a very beautiful time of the year, when all the spring flowers were in blossom and we used to deck her room with flowers. One such birthday I can remember when we were all quite young. The sun was shining all day long in a blue cloudless sky. It remained for me for many years afterwards an ideal recollection. I would recall my mother's face radiant with pure happiness in the knowledge of her children's love for her and the love which my father had for her and for us his children crowning our home. I remember how the tears were in her eyes often on the morning, but they were tears of happiness in her deep emotion, not tears of sorrow.

We were always discovering something which she had silently done for us out of her endless store of love—some little gift she had prepared with her own hand, some happiness which she had devised. I have often wondered with pity since at solitary families,

where there is only one child or perhaps two children. We were a big family and we had to learn the art of living together. It was our mother who was the real teacher. For her own unselfishness was contagious and we became unconsciously like her in little things. In this manner we were ready to give way to one another instead of thinking only of ourselves. Sometimes I think that the joint family system in India has some of the advantages which we had in our own home. I am sure a great deal is lost in these solitary homes in the West, where there are hardly any children at all.

When in later years we had to scatter and some of us were living in distant parts of the world, it was a wonderful bond between us that our mother was always there at the centre uniting us together. We used to get her letters as regularly as possible. She would know exactly when to post them and she never missed the post. During all my years in India, I cannot remember once having missed her letters by the weekly mail, until at a certain time I came under the observation of the C.I.D. Then I found my mother's letters becoming erratic. They would not arrive when the mail came, but a few days later. It was hard to keep from bitter thoughts when this happened. I have no doubt in my own mind as to the culprit, though when I publicly protested, it was told me that such an interference with my letters had never happened. But this was by no means convincing. It was, however, some recompense to know that I was receiving the very same treatment that hundreds of educated Indians have received from that secret and inhuman society, the Criminal Investigation Department. What really troubled me was to find that my own mother had not received at the proper time my own letters and that this had caused her very great anxiety indeed. This to me was almost unbearable and I used to chafe under it. What happened at a later period I must leave over for another issue.

[Unfortunately Mr. Andrews could not continue these reminiscences any further. The following extracts have been taken from his notes dictated to me in 1920 for his biography.—Benarsi Das Chaturvedi.]

VI

At that time when I was nine years old, there came about an event of my life. The chief trustee of my mother's property proved to be a scoundrel. He was a great friend of the family and my father trusted and loved him as a brother. Then one day my father suddenly discovered that he had speculated and robbed my mother of all the money she had. This was discovered in the afternoon by telegram by my father asking the manager of the Bank if there was any money in my mother's account and the reply came that there was none. And I shall never forget the great shock that it was to my father. I think he felt it most because it was my mother's money and also because the friend whom he loved most had so deceived him. My father was very silent and my mother told me all about it. She was more anxious about my father than about the loss of money. Then the evening time came and we had our evening prayers together. That evening my father read a passage of the Bible in which the words came, *If it had been an enemy then I could have borne it, but it was thou my familiar friend in whom I trusted.* After reading the passage he remained quite quiet and I could see that he was trying to keep back his tears. Then we knelt down to pray and I shall never forget how his whole prayer was on behalf of his friend that

workers who would selflessly devote themselves wholeheartedly to the propagation of the faith.

Such, indeed, was the pull exerted by economics that the College had bound itself hand and foot to the University. Who could say that the University was an independent body—that it was managed by Indians untrammelled by official leading strings? Power was wielded, moreover, by officials non-Indian almost to a man.

Why had Hans Raj sacrificed independence? The answer was that he hankered after students. These could be had in large numbers only if the college was "recognized." This meant that it must be tied down to the University. Without "recognition" the graduates would not have the piece of parchment that was the passport to the services and professions alike. That lure kept him from organizing—from running—an institution that could have been an efficient instrument for furthering the *Maharishi's* ideals.³

XVII

This was all very well, I said to myself, but it could not explain away the disparity between the achievements of the two men. While Uncle Munshi Ram was talking, Bhaiya⁴ Hans Raj was building. How much he had already built!

As instructed by my father, I took the earliest opportunity to go to the "D.A.V." College to see him. After a talk with him in the "Principal's Office," I was taken over the institution.

If I had the eyes that I now carry in my head, I would have been shocked at the sight that greeted me. The buildings would have appeared to me to be squat and shapeless, lacking the dignity that form gives, even without ornament. I would have set them down as the work of some P.W.D. subordinate, may be a sub-overseer, who knew naught of architecture save to calculate stresses and strains. Then, however, they impressed me by their very multitude and substance.

I was even more struck by the life and bustle going on all about me. The whole place was astir—alive.

Whosoever I talked with—whether student or professor—was filled with Dayanandic zeal. Myself not possessing it, I looked upon them as *Katta* (bigoted) Aryas.

I wondered why Uncle Munshi Ram cavilled at the institution. Was he jealous of all this achievement? If envy did not set his tongue wagging, why must he decry it?

Why, in any case, did he not bestir himself? If he had ideas, then why did he not get busy? Was he wanting in the ability to carry them out? Talking—just talking—while Bhaiya Hans Raj was working!

The impatience of my mid-teens found vent in such uncharitable questionings.

XVIII

Soon I was to have my answer. Hardly had this century begun to toddle about, Uncle Munshi Ram seemed to tire of this negative attitude. He had already locked up his law-books. No longer content with preaching and journalising, he concentrated his attention upon devising a body in which his ideas could function. He projected an institution such as he would have had

Hans Raj run, if Hans Raj only would. It was to be in the semblance of the *ashramas* (residential universities) of which he had read in olden works. The picture—or was it a vision?—he carried in his mind was something like this:

In the heart of the forest there would be a clearing. In that clearing there would be a few huts. The pillars and rafters would be made of wood hewn in the vicinity, and that also would yield the materials for the walls and thatch. The floor would be of earth, as God made it.

In the central hutment would live the *acharya* (preceptor) with his *ardhangini* (equal half). To him would come young men thirsting for knowledge in which he specialized.

Among the applicants would be princes of the blood royal and courtiers' sons. There would likewise be the progeny of merchants and artificers. And peasants' offspring, too. Anybody's. Everybody's. None who desired and deserved *vidya dan* (education as a gift) would, indeed, be turned away. Not even a harlot's nameless brat, provided he was worthy.

Each applicant would approach the *acharya* with a load of wood upon his back. Placing it in front of the preceptor, he would beg for the gift—the greatest of gifts—the gift of knowledge.

Raising the boy from the ground the *guru* (teacher) would take him into his *kukh* (literally womb). He would now be of the *guru's kula*.

Teacher and pupil would thereafter live and labour together. Roots, leaves, berries, nuts, honey and the like, gathered from the surrounding forest during the intervals of study, would be their fare. This would be partaken of in common from salvers made of green leaves, while seated upon deer skins spread upon the floor.

Before the *Ushas* (Dawn's myriad daughters) fetched out their tubs filled with paints more delicate than the onyx or mother-of-pearl, the day's routine would begin. After ablutions the fire would be lit in the pit deemed sacred and to the chanting of the *sandhya*⁵ clarified butter and sweet-scented herbs would be ceremonially cast into the living flame.

That flame symbolized the institution. Knowledge imparted there must likewise be pure. Without commercial taint, it must be. Only then could it burn all the dross out of a man's spirit.

It was meant also to illumine his mind. His mind was, in fact, to be turned into a light that would brighten all upon whom it, of design or even chance, fell.

XIX

Once the resolution was made, Munshi Ram—about this time acclaimed Mahatma—bent his giant physical, mental and spiritual energies upon the creation of the *gurukula*. With begging bowl in hand he proceeded from place to place. He had vowed that he would not recross his own threshold till he had secured a certain sum—a lakh of rupees, I seem to remember.

An Arya Samajist—Lala Aman Singh—who shared his faith, caught the enthusiasm from him. He gave him a tract of land that seemed to be just the site he needed. As Ganga *Mai* emerged from the mountain fastnesses in which she had descended from Vishnu's heaven upon earth, she swished past the point, cutting it off from Mayapura—magnet for pilgrims for ages,

5 Literally conjunction—conjunction of night and day; figuratively prayer fitting for the hour.

now a suburb of Hardwar. Most of its acreage was under copse or forest. Kangri was the name it bore.

Clearances were soon made. Hutments were run up. The most impressive among the humble structures was the *havanskala* (fire-hall), for use at daybreak and sunset for the chanting in the Vedic father's style of the ages-old prayer.

Boys ranging from eight to twelve years of age took leave of their tearful mothers in homes scattered mostly over the Punjab and its eastern neighbour. From them they would be away for twelve or fifteen years. No reunion was to be expected during that long period.

In tow of their fathers, also unhappy at the proximate parting but proud to be in the vanguard of this revival, the boys were taken to the nearest railway station. Thence they were conveyed to the sacred stream, very shallow at this time of the year, and transported (I seem to recollect in bullock cart) across its bed, to this spot.

XX

Munshi Ram—now a full-fledged Mahatma—received these youngsters with ancient ceremony into his *kukh* and made them of his *kula*. Through Yama's (the god of death's) action, the *kula* was minus its woman member.

In 1891 he had lost his wife. That dear, gracious lady had, largely with silent sympathy, helped him to accomplish the transition from the kingdom of flesh to that of monogamic bliss. She also had been his loving, if sometimes somewhat bewildered, companion through his progress away from the world.

All the men that the *Guru* needed to start the institution accompanied him to Kangri, however. His magnetic personality had pulled them away from their homes.

Even if they had been permitted to bring their women-folks along with them, which, I seem to remember, they were not, they preferred to come by themselves. At least most of them did.

Kangri, at that time, was hardly the place for women, especially women of the Punjab, with their strongly developed gregarious instincts. The Mahatma was eager, in any case, to keep the *ashrama* free from the distractions and allurements that boys graduating into men find in the other sex.

XXI

One of my life-long friends elected to follow the Mahatma to this "wilderness," soon after this experiment was begun. He was, strangely, a first cousin of the Principal Hans Raj. Rama Deva by name, he had been born and "raised" within a few miles of the place where I first learnt to call Munshi Ram "uncle"—Hoshiarpur.

When the time came for Rama Deva to enter college, there was for him but one institution in the province of the five rivers—in fact, in the whole world. This was the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. He had progressed only about half way towards graduation when an emotional squall rose there.

Rama Deva had begun preaching to the students, even older than himself, doctrines that any person possessed of prudence would have left severely alone. These doctrines were dear to the heart of Mahatma Munshi Ram, as they had been to that of *Guru Dutt*⁶

upon whose pattern Rama Deva had been modelling himself since he entered his teens. In the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College they were, however, heresy.

In his partisan zeal it never occurred to him that his espousal of that cause was in the nature of a rebellion against his cousin-Principal. If it had occurred to him, it is not likely that he would have temporized. Temporization and he were utter strangers, especially at that stage of his life.

Highly emotional by nature, this activity carried on, as it were, in the very citadel of the opposite party, must have appeared to him to be very clever. It must have afforded him no small amount of fun.

The cousin who had to conduct the college, already large and rapidly growing, viewed matters from another angle. As soon as the news was carried to him he sent for Rama Deva and tried to impress him with the error of his ways.

The Principal found the pupil as obstinate as he was obtuse. To the lecture he read him, Rama Deva read him another.

Hans Raj was in no mood to listen to the younger man's concept of how the D.A.V. College should be run. So he laid down the law. There was to be no haranguing *a la* Munshi Ram. If one single word were uttered, Rama Deva, cousin though he was, would be flung out of the college.

Rama Deva quit on the spot. He might have gone to another college: but disgust at what he considered to be man's perversity took him away from Lahore. After a time he again began his studies. Through sheer will-power he subsequently got through the Baccalaureate of Arts examination. Studying pedagogics at the feet of Dr. Wright, a great trainer of teachers, he got a real insight into boy psychology and the technique of drawing out of the faculties of young persons.

He was teaching in Jullunder when Munshi Ram's *gurukula* propaganda shook him to the core of his being. He resolved to pack up and go to Kangri.

His kinsfolk tried to interfere. This, they declared, was madness. If he stayed on, he had a brilliant future ahead of him. If he went, he would lose both money and prestige.

Munshi Ram, they said, was only a visionary. He had never made a success of anything he had undertaken. At the *gurukula* he would fail, just as he had failed elsewhere.

Rama Deva was determined, however. Go he would. Go he did. He was to prove a great acquisition to the *Gurukula* at Kangri.

XXII

So did his life-mate—Shrimati Vidyadhari. Some years after she, as a child, had been conveyed to the home of her in-laws, her husband being only a boy and economically dependent upon his people, she entered the university that never fails to sharpen intelligence and develop character. This was the "U" of Social Revolution—bloodless, but nevertheless effective.

As her man, in choosing whom she had exercised no volition any more than he had done in electing her to be his spouse, became irresistibly drawn into the Arya Samaj movement, there were ructions in the "joint family," several members of which I personally

challenge, for it contravened the conception that only Brahmins could be so distinguished from the common herd. Death at an early age closed a career, many-sidedly brilliant.

³ These are not necessarily my opinions.

⁴ Punjabis address an elder brother as Bhaiya Ji. Owing to the association between his and my family, I regarded Hans Raj in that light.

⁶ In early years he was spoken of as the *Vidyarthi* (student) and later as the *Pandit*. The latter title was in the nature of a

knew and esteemed. A time came when she was told that she could continue to stay with her in-laws only if she desisted from having anything to do with that scamp she called "husband".

Refusing to knuckle under, Rama Deva had been suffered to go his own way. She stayed on.

This tension eased in time. Ere the *Gurukula* opened, she had taken her stand alongside her mate, affectionate and generous to a fault, mercurial in temperament and consumed by an intellectual craving that she, unfortunately, could not share.

XXIII

Among the teachers who flocked to the *Gurukula* there was a Kayastha—Mahesh Charan Sinha. He had studied philosophy (I believe), at one of the universities on the Pacific Coast of the United States of America.

He had just left Seattle, Washington when I

arrived there nearly thirty-nine years ago. Many Americans whom I met talked to me of him.

One day while travelling in a trolley (electric tram) car, they told me an American woman got it into her head that Sinha was trying to mesmerise her. At her hysterical appeal the conductor stopped the car and called an officer (constable), who arrested the Indian student. Produced in court, the young man was honourably discharged.

So high-minded was Sinha that he "buried himself in the jungle", as his kinsmen who had cherished hopes of his great worldly success said. In return for the work he did he received a pittance that, had he remained in the United States of America, would not have sufficed to keep his boots shined.

With such enthusiasm from a band of selfless workers, the *Gurukula* was to get a good start. It did.

(To be continued)

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

Britain's Responsibility and Duty

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I

In my three preceding articles¹ in this series, I have examined the position taken by Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji during their negotiations with each other and afterwards, with special reference to the question of the two-nations theory as enunciated by the former. In this article I propose to consider Britain's responsibility and duty in relation to the Indian problem. It will appear from what follows why I have given priority to Britain's responsibility in the matter over its duty in relation to it.

II

COMMUNAL ELECTORATES

Towards the end of October last, the London *Economist* was reported² to have observed, among other things, in connexion with the break-down of the Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations:

"No doubt should be left where the British Government stands. The complaint is often made against the British policy that it has deliberately fostered Moslem separatism as an obstacle to Dominion Status. The charge is untrue, or at least unproven."

And at a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on October 26th, 1943, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, stated in the course of his remarks on a paper³ read there by Professor R. Coupland:

"This country through its Government and Parliament had come to the conclusion that it was no longer for us to prescribe India's future Constitution, but to treat India as the Dominions were treated in the past

and leave her to decide for herself that most important part of her destiny, namely, the Constitution under which that destiny was to be carried forward in future years."

Previously to this, Mr. Amery had expressed more or less similar views on a number of occasions. For instance, he stated⁴ in the House of Commons on 28th April, 1942,—

"What, indeed, is needed, perhaps even more than new constitutional methods, is a new spirit of compromise. It is by making Indian statesmen conscious that the solution of the (Indian) problem is *their own undivided responsibility and not ours*" that both the right methods and the right spirit are most likely to emerge."

Also⁵, in the House of Commons on 1st August, 1941, "It seems to me there is today a call on Indian statesmen for a new and different effort, for a new technique of consultation and conciliation with each other rather than that of addressing demands to this House or belabouring the Government of India . . . Having deliberately, and I venture to say rightly and even necessarily, remitted to Indian hands the framing of India's future Constitution, His Majesty's Government wished, etc. . . ."

Again⁶ in the House of Commons on 22nd April, 1941, "It is upon Indian statesmen, in the main, and not upon us, that the time-table of future constitutional progress depends . . . the time-table of India's constitutional advance depends far more upon Indian agreement than upon ourselves."

Or again⁷, in the House of Commons on 14th August, 1940, in connexion with the Declaration of 8th August, 1940,

4 See Amery, *India and Freedom*, Oxford, p. 104.

5 The italics are mine.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 83-87.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 73-75.

1 See *The Modern Review* of December (1944) and of January and February (1945).

2 See *Reuter's Report*, dated at London 27th October, 1944, in *Hindustan Standard* of 30th October, 1944 (Dak Edition).

3 The paper was entitled *Possibilities of an Indian Settlement*. See *The Asiatic Review* of January, 1944.

"Subject to these matters (i.e., the obligations of His Majesty's Government referred to in the Declaration), the desire of His Majesty's Government is that the new Constitution of India should be devised by Indians for themselves. . . . Agreement, consent, is, indeed, the foundation of all free government, of all true democracy. . . . The responsibility for securing a speedy as well as a satisfactory result (in the matter of finally settling the new Indian Constitution) rests upon Indians themselves."

It may also be mentioned here that in his speech in the House of Commons on 28th July last Mr. Amery again laid stress on the necessity of an "agreed future Constitution" for India, and that, in the course of a letter⁸ to Gandhiji, dated at New Delhi, 15th August, 1944, Lord Wavell, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, too, laid emphasis on an "agreement in principle between Hindus and Muslims and all important elements" in India. "This agreement", Lord Wavell added, "is a matter for the Indians themselves. Until Indian leaders have come closer together than they are now, I doubt if I myself can do anything to help. Let me remind you too that minority problems are not easy. They are real and can be solved only by mutual compromise and tolerance."

What I have shown above typifies the attitude of the British Government as well as of the British public in general, towards the Indian problem. In a mood of self-complacency they declare that they have done their duty to India, and that it is now India's turn to solve its own political and communal problem. Apparently, this attitude is quite unexceptionable, and those who do not know the real facts of the case may rightly think that the Indians alone are responsible for the present situation in this country, and that it is, therefore, their duty to find a way out of it. But to those who know the facts, this attitude appears to be both funny and strange, if not lacking in political sincerity and honesty. A deliberately creates a highly complicated problem for B, C, D, etc., and then wants to retire from the scene of action in an unctuous mood that it has done its duty, leaving it to the latter to find a solution for the problem or to fight it out. What I really mean to say is that, although the Indian people have their own share of responsibility in the creation of the problem that has arisen in this country, the present situation in India primarily owes its origin to the policy which Britain has pursued in regard to it even during this century, not to go further back.⁹ And this policy—very natural to an existing ruling authority, particularly when it is alien to the country over which it rules—has often been a policy of deliberate exaggeration and exploitation of the differences between the two major communities of India, namely, the Hindus and the Muslims, and now also those between the so-called caste Hindus and that section of the Hindu community which is unfortunately labelled, often with a sinister motive, as the Depressed Classes or the Scheduled Castes. Perhaps one or two examples may be usefully cited here to establish my point.

9 In reply to Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy, dated at Panchgani 27th July, 1944.

10 Those who want to study in detail the problem and history of communal representation in India should read K. B. Kishna, *The Problem of Minorities or Communal Representation in India* (George Allen & Unwin), and Anoka Mohita & Achyut Patwardhan, *The Communal Triangle in India* (Kistabstan, Allahabad).

In the first place, I may refer to the present vicious system of separate representation through communal electorates—the evil system which, as I have stated in another connexion,¹¹ has, ever since its introduction into this country, acted as a cancer in the body politic of India. It has intensified our differences, driven communities farther apart from one another by "stimulating communal interests", and has now led to that suicidal agitation—its inevitable culmination—by a section of our countrymen for the partition of our Motherland, on the basis of a so-called two-nations theory. What do we find to have been the origin¹² of this fatal institution? I first find in a letter¹³ from Mr. (afterwards Lord) Morley, Secretary of State for India, to Lord Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, dated 6th June, 1906,—

"Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India; Lawrence, Chisolm, Sidney Low, all sing the same song: 'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them: be sure that before long the Mahomedans will throw in their lot with Congressmen against you',¹⁴ and so forth and so forth."

And I next find in the *Indian Journal* (October 1st, 1906, Simla) of Mary, Countess of Minto,¹⁵—

"We are aware of the feeling of unrest that exists throughout India, and the dissatisfaction that prevails amongst people of all classes and creeds. . . . The younger generation (of Mahomedans) were wavering, inclined to throw in their lot with the advanced agitators of the Congress,"¹⁶ and a howl went up that the loyal Mahomedans were not to be supported, and that the agitators were to obtain their demands through agitation. The Mahomedans decided,¹⁷ before taking action, that they would bring an Address before the Viceroy, mentioning their grievances."

Accordingly, about seventy Muslim delegates arrived at Simla from the different parts of India, and on the morning of the 1st of October, 1906, His Highness the Aga Khan read the Address in the Ball-room of the Viceregal Lodge, stating the "grievances and aspirations" of the Muslim community.¹⁸ "Minto then read his answer, which he had thought out most carefully." "It was impossible," writes Mary Minto, "to promise them (i.e., the Muslims) too much for fear of offending other communities, but as he spoke, in very clear distinct tones, murmurs of satisfaction passed through the audience."¹⁹

Among other things, Lord Minto said to the Muslim Deputation²⁰:—

"I am grateful to you for the opportunity you are

11 See my article entitled *Should our Legislatures be constituted on the Functional Basis?*, in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Conference Number, 1943.

12 Also see Mehta and Patwardhan, *The Communal Triangle in India*, Chap. IV, and Gurmukh N. Singh, *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development*, Chap. XX.

13 See Morley, *Recollections*, Vol. II, pp. 173-74.

14 The italics are mine.

15 See her *India, Minto and Morley, 1905-1910*, MacMillan, pp. 45-48.

16 The italics are mine.

17 See in this connexion a very interesting revelation in Mehta and Patwardhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63.

18 See Mary Minto, *India, Minto and Morley*, pp. 45-46.

19 See *ibid.*, pp. 45-46. The italics are mine.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

affording me of expressing my appreciation of the just aims of the followers of Islam and their determination to share in the political history of our Empire

"You go on to tell me that sincere as your belief is in the justice and fair dealing of your rulers, and unwilling as you are to embarrass them at the present moment, you cannot but be aware that 'recent events' have stirred up feelings amongst the younger generation of Mahomedans which might 'pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance'

"Your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation . . . in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organization, the Mahomedan community should be represented as a community . . . and you justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire.

"I am entirely in accord with you. Please do not misunderstand me: I make no attempt to indicate by what means the representation of communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement, regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. . . .

"The Mahomedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded by an administrative re-organization with which I am concerned"

Thus in 1906 Lord Minto sowed the seed of separate representation through communal electorates. Duly watered and nurtured by interested parties, the seed has since grown into a very big tree with far-spreading branches, profusely producing the poisonous fruits which could be easily anticipated, and which are now so well-known to us all. And what was really behind the assurance given to the Muslim community by Lord Minto? Thanks to Mary, Countess of Minto, we know it now. "This evening," she²² writes, "I have received the following letter from an official :

"I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very, very big thing has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people²⁴ from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition."²⁵

The letter was really prophetic. It is, however, evident from it that it was not so much the love for the Muslim community of India as the consideration of Imperial interests that actuated Lord Minto to make the Declaration he did on 1st October, 1906. Even Mr. Morley first took more or less the same view about the Declaration as had been taken by the official referred to by the Countess of Minto. On receiving an account of the proceedings of the 1st of October, 1906, he wrote²⁶ to Lord Minto on 26th October, 1906:

"All that you tell me of your Mahomedans is full

of interest, and I only regret that I could not have moved about unseen at your garden party." The whole thing has been as good as it could be, and it stamps your position and personal authority decisively. Among other good effects of your deliverance²⁷ is this, that it has completely deranged the plans and tactics of the critical faction here, that is to say it has prevented them from any longer representing the Indian Government as the ordinary case of a bureaucracy versus the people. I hope that even my stoutest Radical friends will now see that the problem is not quite so simple as this."

It may, however, be stated here to the credit of Lord Morley that he was originally not in favour of the principle of communal representation of Mahomedans through any special or separate electorates. And he actually suggested to the Government of India a plan of joint electorates with proportional reservation of seats, operating through the machinery of Electoral Colleges.²⁸ But pressure from Simla and Calcutta and from some other quarters, proved too strong for Whitehall, and he ultimately yielded to it. The result was that Electoral Regulations²⁹ framed under the Indian Councils Act, 1909, provided for the separate representation of Mahomedans through a system of special electorates. Lord Morley apparently did not feel very happy over it; otherwise he would not have written the following lines to Lord Minto on December 6th, 1909.³¹

"I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was your early speech³² about their extra claims that first started the M. hare. I am convinced my decision³³ was best."

27 On the afternoon of 1st October, 1906, "a tea-party was given for the Deputation in the garden of Viceregal Lodge." *Ibid.*, p. 47.

28 I.e., Lord Minto's Declaration before the Muslim Deputation on 1st October, 1906.

29 See the Dispatch from the Secretary of State (Lord Morley) to the Government of India, dated at London 27th November, 1906, para 12....P. Mukherji, *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Vol. 1, pp. 314-15. Clarifying his ideas in this connexion in the House of Lords Lord Morley said on 23rd February, 1909 :

"We suggested to the Government of India a certain plan. . . It was the plan of a mixed or composite electoral college, in which Mahomedans and Hindus should pool their votes, so to say. . . to the best of my belief, under any construction the plan of Hindus and Mahomedans voting together in a mixed and composite electorate would have secured to the Mahomedan electors, wherever they were so minded, the chance of returning their own representatives in their due proportion. The political idea at the bottom of that recommendation which has found so little favour was that such composite action would bring the two great communities more closely together and this idea of promoting harmony was held by men of very high Indian authority and experience who were among my advisers at the India Office. But the Mahomedans protested that the Hindus would elect a pro-Hindu upon it . . . the Government of India doubted whether our plan would work, and we have abandoned it. I do not think it was a bad plan. . . ." See Keith, *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy*, Vol. II, 1858-1921, pp. 91-92.

It is really very unfortunate that Lord Morley showed this weakness even though he was convinced that his plan was not a bad plan.

30 It appears that Lord Morley had to exercise his casting-vote to get these Regulations through his Council. See Morley, *Recollections*, Vol. II, pp. 316-17. (Under the Indian Councils Act, 1909, the Electoral Regulations were to be made by the Governor-General of India in Council, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State in Council).

31 See Morley, *Recollections*, Vol. II, p. 325.

32 Obviously it refers to Lord Minto's Declaration of 1st October, 1906.

33 I.e., his earlier view referred to above.

In 1917-18 Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, re-examined³⁴ the question of communal electorates in the light of their new policy, and also because they had been pressed to extend the system of communal electorates in a variety of directions. Referring, in this connexion, to the Minto Declaration of 1906, they observed³⁵ that it was probable that "the far-reaching consequences of this decision and the difficulties which it would create at a later stage" had not been "fully foreseen". They could not, regard being had to their position, use a stronger language of condemnation of the Declaration. And with regard to the general question of communal electorates, they first held that such electorates were "opposed to the teaching of history." "We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of self-government among the nations who developed it, and spread it through the world, is decisively, against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance; against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself."

Secondly, they observed that communal electorates would perpetuate class divisions. "India generally has not yet acquired the citizen spirit, and if we are really to lead her to self-government we must do all that we possibly can to call it forth in her people. Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organized against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to come. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted."³⁶

Thirdly, they remarked that the communal system would stereotype existing relations. "A minority which is given special representation owing to its weak and backward state is positively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security." "On the other hand," the stronger majority "will be tempted to feel that they have done all they need do for their weaker fellow-countrymen, and that they are free to use their power for their own purposes. The give-and-take which is the essence of political life is lacking."

Finally, they stated: "We regard any system of communal electorates, therefore, as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle."³⁷

These are very weighty arguments, effectively expressed, against any system of communal electorates. Yet Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford assented "to the maintenance of separate representation for Muhammadans," as they did not dare to go back on "settled facts." Any attempt to do so, they said, "would rouse a storm of bitter protest (from the Mahomedans) and put a severe strain on the loyalty of a community which" had "behaved with conspicuous loyalty during a period of very great difficulty, and which" they knew

"to be feeling no small anxiety for its own welfare under a system of popular government." "How can we say to them" (i.e., the Mahomedans), they continued, "that we regard the decision of 1909 as mistaken, that its retention is incompatible with progress towards responsible government, that its reversal will eventually be to their benefit; and that for these reasons we have decided to go back on it? Much as we regret the necessity, we are convinced that so far as the Mahomedans at all events are concerned the present system must be maintained until conditions alter, even at the price of slower progress towards the realization of a common citizenship."³⁸ Thus principle was sacrificed to expediency. Politics had led to the Minto Declaration of 1906; Politics, again, determined the maintenance of the system of communal electorates in 1917-18.³⁹ I really feel tempted to quote here a saying of Joseph Mazzini:⁴⁰ "To be mistaken is a misfortune to be pitied; but to know the truth and not to conform one's actions to it is a crime which Heaven and Earth condemn."

Concession granted and renewed to the Mahomedans, had, by force of logic, to be gradually extended to other communities in India. "We have been pressed," write Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford,⁴¹ "to extend the concession to other communities. . . . Any general extension of the communal system, however, would only encourage still further demands, and would in our deliberate opinion be fatal to that development of representation upon a national basis on which alone a system of responsible government can possibly be rooted. At the same time, we feel that there is one community from whom it is inexpedient to withhold the concession. The Sikhs in the Punjab are a distinct and important people; they supply a gallant and valuable element to the Indian Army; but they are everywhere in a minority, and experience has shown that they go virtually unrepresented. To the Sikhs, therefore, and to them alone, we propose to extend the system already adopted in the case of Mahomedans."⁴² Again, principle was sacrificed to political expediency. Lord Chelmsford was perhaps not very happy over all this. In the course of a speech in the Indian Legislative

38 *Ibid.*, para 231.

39 It may be argued against this position that under the Congress-League scheme of December, 1916, the Indian National Congress was a party to a compromise which provided for special electorates for Mahomedans. The Congress certainly committed a blunder in agreeing to the principle of communal electorates even though it restricted them to the Mahomedans alone. Presumably, it could not prevail against the baneful consequences of the Declaration of 1906 on the Politics of this country. But that does not justify the action of those who, as Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford said, were leading the people of India to self-government, in starting them on the wrong road to governing themselves. Moreover, did Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford follow the Congress-League scheme in many other respects? We all know that they did not--and in some cases very rightly. There was, therefore, no point in attaching any special importance, as they appear to have done in para 231 of their *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, to the particular action of the Congress, namely, its assent to special electorates for Mahomedans, when such electorates were considered by them "as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle". They should have, therefore, recommended what they themselves thought would soon conduce to "the realization of a common citizenship" in India.

40 See his *Duties of Man and Other Essays*, Everyman's Library, p. 7.

41 *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, 1918, para 232.

42 The italics in this quotation are mine.

21 The italics in this quotation are mine.

22 I.e., the evening of 1st October, 1906, the day on which Lord Minto made the Declaration before the Muslim Deputation.

23 See her *India, Minto and Morley*, pp. 47-48.

24 I.e., the Muslims of India. Their number at that time was presumably sixty-two millions. See *ibid.*, p. 45.

25 The italics in this paragraph are mine.

26 See *ibid.*, p. 48.

34 See *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, 1918, paras 227-232.

35 *Ibid.*, para 75.

36 The italics are mine.

37 See *ibid.*, para 231.

Council on 4th September, 1918, he observed, in reference to the recommendations, on the vexed question of communal representation, made by Mr. Montagu and himself in their *Joint Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*:

"We wished indeed to make it clear that, in our opinion, communal electorates were to be deprecated for the reasons set out in our report. But it was in the main to the method of securing communal representation by communal electorates that we took exception, and not to communal representation itself . . . I am most anxious that the fullest representation should be secured to the various classes and communities in India; but I am frankly doubtful myself whether the best method for securing that representation is through a system of separate electorates."⁴³

Nevertheless, the Franchise Committee to which the whole question of the proper method of the representation of minorities had been referred, and over which Lord Southborough had presided, went a step further, and recommended—or rather had to recommend—in its Report, dated 22nd February, 1919, the extension of the system of communal electorates to Indian Christians in Madras, Anglo-Indians in Madras and Bengal, and to Europeans in Madras, Bengal, Bombay, the United Provinces, and in Bihar and Orissa. In recommending, however, communal representation for these and other communities,⁴⁴ the Committee expressed the hope—a very pious hope in our view—that it would "be possible at no very distant date to merge all communities into one general electorate." And in the Fifth Despatch⁴⁵ to the Secretary of State, dated 23rd April, 1919, the Government of India stated that it felt "the objections of principle to the communal system as strongly as the authors⁴⁶ of the reforms Report," but that India was not prepared to take the first steps forward towards responsible government upon any other road. Under the then existing conditions it could, therefore, see no ground on which it could question the recommendations of the Franchise Committee regarding the representation of minorities. But it expressed the same hope in regard to the future of the communal system as the Committee had done before.

As a consequence of all these, provision was made in the Electoral Rules framed under the *Government of India Act*, for the separate representation of Mahomedans, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and Sikhs through their respective communal electorates.

It may be noted here that, instead of being abolished or even modified as hoped for by the Franchise Committee and the Government of India, the system of communal electorates was confirmed, and even extended in several directions till then unaffected, by the Communal Decision of His Majesty's Government, dated at London 4th August, 1932, upon which the electoral provisions⁴⁷ under the Government of India Act, 1935, now in force, have been practically based except in regard to one matter.⁴⁸ Even an attempt was seriously made by His Majesty's Government to drive

a wedge through the Hindu community itself and to split it into two sections—the so-called Depressed Classes and the rest of the Hindu community. Paragraph 9 of the Statement setting forth the said Communal Decision, provided for the assignment of a number of special seats to the Depressed Classes in several provinces. These seats were to be "filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of the 'depressed classes' electorally qualified" would be entitled to vote. Fortunately, this attempt to divide the Hindu Community was to some extent frustrated by what is known as "the Poona Agreement between the Caste Hindu and Depressed Class Leaders." I may add that the said Communal Decision and the Electoral Provisions based thereon, have introduced a new category of constituencies, namely, "Backward areas and Tribes," and that, thus, the principle of separatism has been extended in various directions, poisoning the whole political atmosphere of this country.

Before I leave this subject of communal electorates, I should like to quote the following extract from an interesting discussion⁴⁹ in which Lord Lytton,⁵⁰ Mr. Wickham Steed,⁵¹ Mr. Kingsley Martin,⁵² and Sir Atul Chatterjee⁵³ took part.

"Lytton—I would like to mention one subject. . . . It's the question of where religion and politics become indistinguishable.

"It was Lord Willingdon's policy in Madras to establish Governments on a definitely religious community basis between Brahmin and non-Brahmin; and in the first reformed Assemblies,⁵⁴ the parties in Madras were Brahmin and non-Brahmin."

Martin—"This point, I suppose, being that caste is a matter of birth?"

Lytton—"Yes. That was the point I took up with Lord Willingdon. I objected rather strongly to his encouragement of the division of parties which depended upon the accident of birth and could never be altered. A man is born a Brahmin or a non-Brahmin and nothing can change his caste. . . . For the same reason I gave Lord Willingdon I have often objected to communal franchise because in my view it makes for intolerance, since a man who is elected in a Muslim constituency is judged by whether or not he's a good Muslim. If he's elected in a mixed community on mixed franchise he's judged by whether he is equally considerate of the interests of Hindus and Muslims, and that tends in the course of time to create political toleration."

Steed—"In other words, instead of being a mandator he becomes a trustee?"

Lytton—"Yes, and although I have said that there is in India great religious toleration there is also great political intolerance."

Steed—"Is that because politics involves a struggle for power?"

Lytton—"Yes, and the best way of getting rid of that,

⁴⁹ See *India and the Four Freedoms* (B. B. C. pamphlet No. 1), Oxford, pp. 86-87.

⁵⁰ Under-Secretary of State for India (1920-22), Governor of Bengal (1922-27), and the Acting Viceroy of India in 1925.

⁵¹ Sometime Editor of *The Times*, London.

⁵² Editor of *The New Statesman and Nation*.

⁵³ I. C. S. (retired). After 20 years' varied service and experience, he "represented the Government of India in different capacities at Washington (1919), Geneva (1921), London (1925-31) and Ottawa (1932)."

⁵⁴ Obviously, under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

⁴³ The italics in this quotation are mine.

⁴⁴ I.e., the Muslims and the Sikhs.

⁴⁵ Para 18.

⁴⁶ I.e., Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford.

⁴⁷ See the Fifth and the Sixth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

⁴⁸ Affecting the so-called Depressed classes.

I thought, was that a man should represent his constituents, whether they were Hindus or Muslims, and study their political interests regardless of their religious faith. . . ."

Martin—" . . . I have always believed that Morley's⁵⁵ introduction of the communal franchise caused

a great deal of trouble. It was a disastrous mistake, in my view."

Chatterjee—"If I may say so, I entirely agree with Lord Lytton's analysis of the effects of a system of communal electorates."

Unfortunately, the "disastrous mistake", to quote the words of Mr. Kingsley Martin, was persisted in by Lord Morley's successors in office. As a consequence, the communal franchise has not only made for intolerance in India, but is also primarily responsible for the ugly situation that has arisen in this country today. However, I shall further deal with this point later on.

(To be continued)

⁵⁵ As shown before, Lord Minto was more to blame than Lord Morley for the introduction of communal electorates into India. The latter, however, showed weakness in yielding to the former, and not sticking to his own view on the question. If he had done so, the history of India would have been different to-day.

REFLECTIONS ON RECENT ART-EXHIBITIONS

By "KAUNDINYA"

THERE was a time in the history of Indian culture when the Fine Arts in all their phases formed a vital and essential part of life, particularly through the rites and practices of religion, very much in the same way as operating in the life of the Middle Ages in Europe. During the nineteenth century the decay of religious beliefs and the destruction of the old social structure have divorced Art from Life, and the artists have been thrown out of employment and lost their independent status, having to compete with other secular trades and professions. During the last few years various new movements in Art have cropped up in several parts of India, which appear to have brought together the artist and his appreciative public in somewhat auspicious relationship which may lead to a more wider recognition of the value of art in the practical and non-practical business of life and help to restore the independent status of the artist in the structure of society. The conditions brought about by War and Famine appear to have roused in the hearts of so-called uncultured and uneducated people a conscience for the values of art as a spiritual and dynamic force which does not end with the termination of life and that messages of beauty do not stop short with the given span of any individual life but are transmitted across the shadows of death, which punctuates, as it were, the successive acts of a human drama on its way to its inevitable climax of its supreme spiritual fulfilment—the human life lost and fulfilled in the divine. For, is not beauty a transcendental attribute—a property of being—one of the divine attributes? As St. Thomas Aquinas has pointed out: "The being of all things *derives* from the Divine Beauty." In that respect, then, the artist imitates God, Who created the world by communicating to it the likeness of His beauty. This element of Divinity in works of Beauty is very happily explained by Jacques Maritain who believes that the great artist is sure to put himself really into his work and is sure to stamp it with his own likeness and take justified pride in the fact that "*not all of me will die*." In this permanent and spiritual quality Art transcends the baser hungers in life. As Andre Gide has remarked: "The artist is asked in only *after* dinner. His task is to provide not food but spiritual intoxication." In its insistence on the sense of proportions, on the sense of values, on the sense of harmony and rhythm, Art provides the essential

standards for the conduct of life, thus justifying Renan's assertion that Morality is "a branch of Aesthetics." Oscar Wilde had remarked pretty much in the same sense but with greater dignity of expression: "The highest Art rejects the burden of the human spirit."

The above reflections are suggested by visits paid to a series of Exhibitions of Pictures held in Calcutta during January and February last. The exhibits offered in these shows somehow avoided the abnormalities of War—so vividly rendered in the War Pictures shown in several shows arranged by the Services Art Club. It is claimed by a class of critics that peculiar stimulation begets peculiar inspiration, so that beneath the impact of war, the artist produces works possessing technical



Mother
By S. Sen

merit greater than any which he showed in time of peace. To judge by the shows in Calcutta, Indian artists, and at least a group of Western artists working in India, (there were several distinguished works by Brunners and others) do not appear as a rule to have been affected, at least, mentally and aesthetically by war conditions with the exception of a small group of artists (Zainul Abedin, Hassan and others) concentrating on

the lurid scenes created by Famine in Bengal. Many and varied subjects, gay, picturesque, contemplative and sombre, mythical and mythological, realistic and naturalistic were assembled in the Exhibition of Indian Academy of Art with a formidable number of about



Sakuntala
By S. Ghose

550 items very badly hung and badly exhibited. There were not very many masterpieces but this is the only show which claims to be representative of artists from all parts of India, east, west and north or south, although in this year's show many of the well-known artists were not represented owing to difficulty of transport. The authorities of the Academy have promised to make their next the most representative Exhibition to which all artists of repute are being asked to contribute. The section of Indian painting (there are Indian artists some



Reclining Woman
By Bunshilal

of whom speak in the Western language while some prefer the vernacular of Indian Art) was a very interesting and stimulating section, full of interesting items—many contributed by new artists (Indra Dugar, Bansilal, Ram Gopal Ghose, S. Bhowmik, Samar Ghose), some-

what eclipsing and replacing the recent shows of the Indian Society of Art which at one time specialized Indian pictures in Indian style. The enormous sales of pictures at this year's Academy show have revealed a very satisfying and significant fact that there is a growing circle of persons interested in pictures, and hungering for works of art and ready to pay reasonable prices to patronize the works of artists. This itself is a phenomenon of valuable consequences on the social and political economy of Art. The two other exhibitions—the one-man show of Mr. Kurt Larisch, and Mr. Jamini Roy—stood on a different footing from the Academy show which they excelled and rebuked in the quality of showmanship with excellent taste in arrangement and in lighting. Mr. Larisch is the local representative and interpreter of the modernistic doctrines in Art—offering a new approach to form and a search for new forms of expressions—which abjure the academic literal accuracy of naturalistic presentation. Jamini Roy clings slavishly to the forms and formulas of the old *pat*-painters of Bengal, with their folk-



Natir Puja
By Tara Prosad

mentality and folk-art technique, limited to two or three grades of primary colours and stereotyped patterns and conventional curves to spell out human or sub-human figures with rounded shoulders and wasp-waisted forms. These major exhibitions were interspersed with a number of smaller but by no means less significant shows of Gopal Ghose and Nirode Mazumdar sponsored by Subho Tagore, the good angel of all struggling artists, and by the exhibition of the works of Chaitanya Dev Chatterjee (sponsored by the Indian Society of Art and supported by the Swamis of the Ramakrishna Institute, which richly deserve an All-India appreciation. Art abjures and abolishes communal differences and pacifies political strifes. For, in the company of artists, as "in the company of saints, all sense of otherness departs: there is no stranger, there is no enemy, there is a feeling of oneness with all." —(Guru Nanak).

THOMAS HARDY

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

BECAUSE Thomas Hardy lived and worked right on into novels; this is the period when they were written. the present century and the uneasy days of peace that Nearly half a century will soon have passed since he separated the two great European wars, one is apt to wrote the last of them, *Jude the Obscure*, and turned ignore the atmosphere of the time when his own his creative energy to poetry. In those great novels,



A Wessex tower, surrounded by the bare, open Downland so described in Hardy's work

thoughts and artistic impulses were developing. The ebb and flow of contemporary thought and events had an influence on him that was probably a good deal less than that exerted on many other writers of the front rank; but to appreciate the essential qualities of his art, and to place it in a correct perspective, we must remember that he was born only two or three years after Queen Victoria came to the throne, and that those who are now figures of the remote past were the people he read about when he opened his morning newspaper.

Dickens and Thackeray were in their hey-day when he was a young man; he was 27 when Anthony Trollope's *Last Chronicle of Barset* appeared; 36 when George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* came from the press; and among the poets, Tennyson and Browning and Swinburne were busily at work. Swinburne, indeed, was only three years older than Hardy; and Robert Louis Stevenson was his junior by 10 years.

Having thus grouped some of his own contemporaries around him, and having got the man himself into a true focus, we must remember something else if we wish to derive the fullest enjoyment from his

therefore, we must not look for a modern technique. Some of his workmanship may even seem a little heavy-handed in detail; but the labour of an honest craftsman went into them; and they stand four-square and enduring, like an old parish church in the English countryside.

It was indeed as an architect, with a particular interest in churches, that Thomas Hardy began life; and the publication of his first novel at the age of 31 opened the gate to a new way of livelihood. His second book, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, helped to establish him. This realistic idyll of country life (which Hardy himself described as "a rural painting of the Dutch school") is probably the best introduction to his novels, and its scenery is the countryside that forms the background of all his greatest work.

That countryside was Wessex. It was an ancient kingdom of which Shakespeare's *Lear* was the legendary



A typical Wessex village, with old thatched cottages in a woodland setting

king, and extending over the central counties on the southern English coast. Hardy was born and he died in the very heart of that countryside; and through Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy, Nelson's flag captain, he

could trace his descent back to a Thomas Hardy of Dorset in the sixteenth century: so his roots were deep in Wessex soil.

Excepting the pleasant holiday towns on the coast, this part of England has never been widely popular amongst tourists. There is indeed little to catch the eye of a sightseer—unless he appreciates the charm to be found in gentle hills, quiet dales, green woods, and pellucid streams. Today, Wessex is a well-cultivated land; the farmers there have answered the call to grow more food, and thus save cargo-space in convoys; and more Wessex acres are under the plough than ever before.

But when Thomas Hardy roved over that countryside as a boy, there were stretches of desolate land which gripped his imagination with a power that never relaxed till the end of his days. In the opening chapter of *The Return of the Native* he describes Egdon Heath, so lonely and so timeless; and the mood of such places dominated all his work.



Thomas Hardy

But there is something timeless also about his characters. One feels that they might have lived in any century; theirs was the heritage of folk-lore, superstition, and ballads handed down from generation to generation. The shadows of an older world seem to fall across Thomas Hardy's pages: strange influences bear upon the destiny of his people; and they are born, they labour, love, suffer, and die, in a rhythm that has all the inevitability of the slow coming and going of the seasons.

Sometimes, indeed, the ironic laughter of the gods can be heard in faint but haunting echoes: this was but

Hardy's personal reaction to man's impotence to comprehend the ways of nature. Such laughter can be heard in the tragic *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, his most widely read book, in *The Woodlanders*, and in the rather harrowing *Jude the Obscure*, which Hardy himself considered to be his greatest novel.

In "*Tess*," he depicted a woman who was pure and sweet at heart, but who perished in the end, her lovely qualities wasted by the stupidity of the world; and in "*Jude*," the novelist depicts the war between flesh and spirit, and the tragedy of unrealised hopes. Irony, sorrow, despair—these are often found both in his novels and in his poems. But there is also a deep loving-kindness, a going out of the heart to all living breathing things.

As time passed, modern civilisation penetrated ever deeper into Wessex; and Thomas Hardy noted the slow changes that it brought. In his novels, the men and women who stretch out their hands to welcome a new order of things are often the ones who suffer the most bitterly—as if nature were taking vengeance upon those who deviate from the ancient paths. The beautiful Bathsheba, in *Far From the Madding Crowd*, longed for brilliant action and high romance; Eustacia, in *The Return of the Native*, was eager for life of thrilling event; and both suffered because of the restless spirit that burned within them.

But most of Thomas Hardy's country folk have the plodding step and deliberate tongue of men who have time in plenty for the tasks before them. Birth and death, with all the joy and sorrow that lie between, do not call forth ecstatic words from these Wessex people: they accept life as they accept the closing down of winter upon their land and the breaking of the frosts under a spring sun.

Whatever changes the last half century may have brought to the face of that land, the hearts and minds of the country people have changed little. Hardy himself—and he was a shrewd observer—said he thought that modern Wessex folk were even more like some of his characters than the generation that had gone before. That staunch and sturdy peasantry, which forms a nation's backbone, has all the old qualities bred by the centuries—and by that invisible but potent thing which is called tradition.

In the *Dynasts*, one of the great epics in English literature, Hardy shows how these simple folk talked and went about their business under the menace of invasion, in much the same way as they did for many long months at the beginning of the present war. The epic covers 10 years, and is accepted as Hardy's masterpiece, but unfortunately too many readers give it more than a reverential bow and pass on. It is a long work, but it is a deep well of wisdom and insight and noble poetry.

"No Englishman since Wordsworth has heard the still sad music of humanity with so fine an ear as Thomas Hardy." Thus wrote the late Henry W. Nevinnson, himself a great Englishman. And he added these words about his friend: "One of the most keenly imaginative, creative, humorous, and profoundly sympathetic natures who have added a lasting glory to English literature."



WAR BRINGS NEW LIFE TO BRITISH ART

By KENNETH MONKMAN

WHEN this war began the valuable pictures from Britain's art galleries were taken and hidden in the country-side, safe from bombs. So instead of turning their backs on the war, the artists of Britain were stimulated, and began to paint. They painted the flames, the shattered ruins, the little

bird-like machines twisting and turning high in the blue sky, the people sprawled in long rows in air-raid shelters, the women building tanks and bombers in factories; they painted these and a hundred such subjects, not only as they saw them, but as they felt them. That is where the artist beats the camera.

Many of the younger artists were called into the fighting forces, and some joined the fire brigades and air-raid services. But they still painted whenever they got the chance. Others, the ones who had already made a name, were employed by the Government as official war artists; some were sent to sea in battleships, some to aerodromes, some abroad to France or the Middle East.

One of the finest paintings, done by an artist called Charles Oundall, shows the evacuation from Dunkirk beaches. No camera could have equalled the drama of this wide panorama of sand dotted with



"Burners" at work on the steel plates of a ship. This is one of Stanley Spencer's war pictures as a series entitled "Ship-building on the Clyde"

Many people thought that living artists would act on the same principle; would turn their backs on the war, so to speak, and go on painting the peaceful subjects that artists have painted for centuries—flowers, faces, animals, country scenes, and the like.

But war has been different from any in our history. Not only have the weapons been swifter and more terrible, but all of us have been on the battlefield. We have all tasted smoke and fire. We have all seen the good things that war produces, too: the incredible courage of quite ordinary men and women, the endurance, the unselfishness, and the high sense of comradeship found among people who suffer a common misfortune.

No one was more closely aware of these new experiences than the artists. That is what artists are for to see things and feel them more clearly than ordinary people, and then to put them down in paint so that ordinary people can share the same clear vision and feelings.



The surrender of a "U" boat to a British Trawler. This picture is painted by Charles Pears, one of Britain's leading marine artists

vivid bursting bombs, wrecked aircraft, and thousands of khaki figures waiting their turn to embark for England.

Another unforgettable painting is "The Dead Sea",

by Paul Nash. The artist got the idea when he came across a big dump of wrecked enemy bombers shot down in the summer of 1940. He saw the mass of



This is one of the war pictures by Dame Laura Knight, R.A., of two officers of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force

twisted and painted metal as an ocean of angry black and silver waves; and that is how he painted them—as a sea of enemy bombers breaking against the impregnable coasts of Britain.

Another artist, John Armstrong, symbolised his faith in the future even when the bombing was at its worst by painting a large serene-looking tulip growing against a background of devastation.

These are only a few paintings out of many thousands that have come from British artists during the war. Not all these thousands are good pictures by any means. But the fact that they were turned out at all is very significant. They were painted, every one of them, because the artist felt deeply enough about something to want to tell other people about it with paint and canvas—even though paint and canvas are often as difficult to obtain in wartime as are the opportunities for sitting down and using them.

And what of the public, the people with whom the artist wants to share his experience? Undoubtedly there has been a big increase since the war in the number of people who enjoy looking at paintings. Though the London National Gallery is without its world-famous masterpieces, there is always an exhibition of the new war pictures instead, and crowds throng to see them. Four similar exhibitions have been touring Britain, and others have been sent to America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

Many of these war pictures have also been published in a series of booklets which have enjoyed a wide sale. Others are available as coloured postcards.

The growing interest in art was still further emphasised early this year when the National Gallery took the risk of staging an exhibition of French Impressionist masterpieces. It was packed throughout the weeks it was open.

All this is significant because it may well foreshadow a big revival of painting in Britain after the war. English painting has a quite distinctive charm of its own to offer to civilisation; and the fact that it now seems well set on the road to reaching another of its best periods is one of the very pleasant surprises of a war that has given us so many unpleasant ones.

THE LAND OF THE PANDAVAS

Jaunsar-Bawar
(EXCLUDED AREA 1935 ACT)

By A. V. THAKKAR,

General Secretary, All India Harijan Sevak Sangh, and President, Aboriginal Welfare Works

I could snatch four days from my routine office work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh and Kasturba Memorial Fund and spend them in a study tour of the condition of the hill-people residing in Jaunsar-Bawar, the northern subdivision of Dehra Dun district of the U.P. My guide, friend and philosopher, was Shri Dharma Dev Shastri, who has started for the last two years a mission of service to the people residing in the hilly region.

The area of the subdivision is comparatively small, a little over 400 square miles and also sparsely populated, less than 60,000 souls; but it is very interesting, both geographically as well as socially. The altitude begins with 3,000 feet at the bottom of the hills and goes up to 7,000 feet, where the Military Cantonment of Chakrota is situated, and some peaks rise up to nearly 10,000 feet. The river Jumna passes along the eastern boundary and crosses it on the south near Kalsi, an important

ancient town at the foot of the hills. It is here that one of the famous edicts of Emperor Asoka is found inscribed on a huge boulder of quartz near the bank of the Jumna. The inscription is yet in a preserved state, as the rock is very hard, having successfully stood the weather for over 2,200 years. A motorable well-tarred road winds up from Dehra Dun to Kalsi and to Chakrota, a distance of about 60 miles, having been built as early as the eighties of the last century.

THE PEOPLE

The people inhabiting this area of Jaunsar-Bawar are very ancient and have been touched little by the changes that have taken place in the constitution of the Hindu society and also by the Western civilization. Brahmins and Rajputs not only freely inter-dine with each other, but also inter-marry without any reserve and freely take water from the Harijans except the very

THE LAND OF THE PANDAVAS

lowest. Bonds of caste do not sit so tight upon them as on the Hindus in the plains, with whom they have little contact socially and economically. Brahmins do not put on the sacred thread as a rule. The people rarely migrate to the plains, much less do they mix with the Hindus of the plains of the same status as themselves.

Economically speaking they are very much self-sufficient and depend upon imported articles as little as possible. They use the timber of their forest in the make-up of their houses, the floors and the roofs being made of Deodar planks. The walls are built of stones which are so plentiful in the hills.

As the country is very hilly, level fields are rarely to be seen and they have to be carved out of the hill-sides, gentle or steep, at a heavy expenditure of time and labour. The fields thus prepared are sometimes too steep for working the plough drawn by bullocks and therefore ploughing is often done by hand. One finds fields in terraces, rising one above the other on the hill sides and the terraces are supported by dry walls 4 to 10 feet high. Rarely you will find a small table-land on the top of a hill, and that too will be very limited in area. Maize, wheat, rice, ginger and turmeric and even poppy are grown. Now-a-days potatoes are grown to a large extent and exported to the plains.

POLYANDRY AND COMMON WIVES

The population here consists mostly of Brahmins, Rajputs, Bajgis and Koltas, the last two being Harijan castes. The former consider themselves to be the descendants of Pandavas and Kauravas and the hills are said to be full of temples dedicated to Pandavas. There are various legends connected with the times of the Mahabharata. The practice of polyandry is prevalent even at the present time and the people believe that it is economically beneficial for them. Though a few of the educated people have taken to monogamy, they have no objection in giving a daughter in marriage to all the brothers in one family. Just as in the case of a Hindu family where a man has two wives the children address both of them as mothers, the children in this area address all the 2 or 4 or 5 husbands of the mother as their fathers. Sometimes there is a large difference in age between the eldest and the youngest of the brothers who have a common wife, the child born of the eldest addresses the youngest brother of the family as his father, even though he may be younger than the first child. Besides the practice of having one wife between several brothers, there is also the practice of several brothers having 2 or 3 wives in common. The children have in such cases several fathers and several mothers all of whom they treat as equals socially speaking. The reason advanced in favour of this polyandry is that the family property is not divided in minute fragments, which it would be, if each brother took a wife and had his own family to maintain out of the scanty land they can cultivate. The cultivable land on the hills is very limited, and very little new land can be brought under cultivation and hence it is said that this system of polyandry restricts the families and is therefore preferable to monogamy.

Marrying of girls at a very young age is also very common. It is said that this had led to barrenness in women and hence a family consisting of several brothers with one wife has to take a second or third wife. Much of the agricultural work, except the hard labour of ploughing falls on women and hence the practice of taking more than one wife for a number of brothers is growing.

HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN

It is said that venereal diseases in syphilis, acute and chronic, extend to about 70 per cent of the people and if other reports can be believed, extend even to 90 per cent of the people. No medical facilities—Ayurvedic or Allopathic—exist in the hills, except in the military cantonment of Chakrota. The result is that syphilis has grown to an alarming extent and womankind is the greater sufferer. This has led to barrenness among them. A very great necessity therefore of this area is a hospital for women with a Lady Doctor-in-charge with a staff of itinerant midwives and *dais*. The mortality amongst women in confinement is said to be heavy and this can be prevented by anti-natal and post-natal clinics. It is the ambition of Shri Shastri's mission, called "Ashok Ashram" to establish a hospital for women somewhere in the hills, where women can take advantage of the same. He is in need of funds for the same and in search of an Indian Lady Doctor who will be prepared to reside in that unfrequented area at some sacrifice.

Illiteracy exists here to a very large extent, the number of District Board schools being negligible. It is said that the people require the services of their children for field work and would not spare them for the school. This is not a new argument, but it has to be met with by some propaganda in favour of literacy. Hindu missionaries can overcome this disinclination to literacy by some effort and residence in their midst.

SEMI-SLAVERY

The system of semi-slavery exists here by which the lower classes of Harijan called Koltas are bound down to Brahmin and Rajput families for small sums of money and often for whole life. Similar tribes of bondsmen are found in other hill parts of the country, in Bihar and even in the plains of Gujrat and Rajputana. It is high time that somebody took up this work of educating the Koltas and raised them to the full stature of a human being and made them respected citizens of India. At present they possess no land, have no vision outside their hills and their intellect is undeveloped. Even the great demand for labour in the war-time has not attracted them and they remain where they were, wedded to their masters for doing their agricultural toil and who feed them like their animals.

ASHOK ASHRAM

A few words about Shri Shastri's mission popularly known as *Ashok Ashram*. He has enlisted a few young men as teachers and Vaidas and planted them in the hilly villages as missionaries among the simple folk of these unfrequented hills. Some of his workers who come from towns and are accustomed to town amenities run away after a few weeks' residence in hills. Even Christian missionaries are said to have failed in these hills. A band of young men and women determined to live in these hills and to bear the inclemencies of weather, with a passionate love for service for this ancient people, is required and badly required.

As already mentioned a Women's Medical Mission is the greatest necessity. Other reforms like the abolition of polyandry, of semi-slavery, of prevailing illiteracy and the uplift of womankind in general will follow in course of time. May the attention of the rich people of the plains who frequent Dehra Dun and Mussoorie, situated in the same district, be attracted to this important problem, may I say, a most neglected problem of bettering the lot of these hill-men!

TEERAT SINGH AND THE KHASI REBELLION (1829-1833)

(Based on the original records preserved in the archives of the Government of India)

By PROF. REBATI MOHAN LAHIRI, M.A., B.L.

In the early decades of the 19th century, Assam was given over to confusion and disorder which led to the intervention of the Burmese in the affairs of Assam. Assam was virtually conquered by the Burmese in 1819. Soon the overbearing Court of Ava came in collision with the East India Company whose North-Eastern frontiers overhang the newly conquered Burmese territories. The British Government declared war against the Burmese in 1824 and expelled them from Assam in less than a year. By the treaty of Yandaboo concluded in 1826, the whole of the Brahmaputra valley passed into British hands.

The Assamese nobility whose ancestors had ruled the valley for more than six hundred years and had a proud history of their own, did not take quietly to the permanent occupation of their fair valley by the British forces. The British, who had declared on the eve of the Anglo-Burmese conflict that they had had no intention of annexing any part of the valley, preferred to stay as conquerors and even did not condescend to hand over the upper portion of the valley to one of the princes of Assam though strongly recommended to do so by their newly appointed Agent. The Bengal Government tried to soothe off the opposition and hatred of the disgruntled nobility by employing them in the reconstructed Judicial and Revenue Departments of Assam. But the Assamese nobility were not to be so easily reconciled with. Their intriguing brains were in action and the result was the outbreak of a series of insurrections and rebellions in which "all elements of the country including the hill-tribes combined to drive the English out of the valley." This interesting and eventful chapter of the history of Assam has been totally omitted by the historians like Gait and Mackenzie.

The first rebellion broke out towards the end of the year 1828 under the connivance of the Burmese authority and under the direct leadership of the ex-functionaries of Assam who set up one Gadhahar, a Prince of the royal blood, as their King. The first rebellion was soon crushed. Undaunted, the nobility rose in rebellion again under the standard of a new pretender named Rupchand in 1830. The English were given no breathing time, troubles were also brewing in the west and the Khasis broke out in open rebellion towards the beginning of 1829. It was the most formidable and long-protracted rebellion and caused alarm and consternation and the whole of Assam was in a state of excitement. The Singppo incursion (which took place in 1830) and the second resistance of the Assamese nobility were easily beaten off, but the hardy and sturdy Khasis kept the fight going on in their mountain homes and fastnesses and the Brahmaputra valley saw the prospect of pacification only when their leader Teerat Singh made his submission towards the beginning of 1833. The Khasi rebellion testifies to the organising ability and freedom-loving spirit of the Khasis and Garrows who made a determined and persevering attempt to subvert the new regime. They had no resources in men and money; they fought under the most baffling circumstances against a highly superior and organised power yet they put up a heroic fight and produced leaders who extorted high praises even from their adversaries. Of the heroic figures

who dominated the Assamese history during these troublesome periods—Teerat Singh was the most noble and patriotic and his career reads almost like romance. Strangely enough this heroic hill chieftain has got scant recognition from the hands of the European historians who have treated him as an ordinary rebel—a savage and blood-thirsty barbarian.

To understand Teerat Singh and to form a real estimate of his exploits, we must know something of the Khasi people and their form of Government, because it is in the background of their national character and constitution that we should trace the true genesis and causes of their insurrection which though a failure was tinged with the halo of martyrdom.

Between the district of Jyanteah and the hills on the west occupied by the Garrows is a tract of mountainous territory seventy miles in length and more than fifty miles in breadth covering roughly an area of thirty-five hundred square miles inhabited by the Khasis, a bold and independent tribe. The Cossyas possess a superior type of civilisation than is generally found amongst other hill-tribes inhabiting the north-eastern region of India. When pitched against the English, they exhibited the same stubbornness, independence of character and the hatred of a foreign domination which generally characterise the mountaineers throughout the world. Their democratic constitution again gave additional stimulus to their freedom-loving spirit. There were as many as 30 little states in the Khasi hills before the advent of the English. The Chiefs of these states were in no sense territorial sovereigns with unlimited power. They were merely elected heads of village confederacies each having a council of his own whose advice they were bound to follow on all important matters. The Khasi nation as a whole presented the appearance of a congregation of little oligarchical republics—subject to no common superior. Matters of common interest were discussed by their assembly where every member was entitled to speak and vote. A representative of the British Government who was present on one such occasion was simply struck with wonder at the order, decorum and propriety with which the debate was conducted for several days and he openly admitted that he had not seen these surpassed in any European society. Democracy was the very breath of their nostrils. When that democracy was in danger—they were prepared for any sacrifice. Such was the country and the people with whom the Britishers came in contact and conflict.

On the acquisition of Lower Assam in 1824 the ingenious mind of Mr. Scott, the first British Agent in Assam, conceived the bold idea of establishing a direct communication between Assam and Sylhet through the Khasi hills. The bracing climate of the Khasi hills tempted him not a little. An agreement was entered into with Teerat Singh (1826)—the king of Nunklow, one of the confederating states, by which he not only placed his territory under the British protection, but also agreed to supply materials for the construction of a road running through his principality. The road was accordingly cleared and a Bungalow was constructed at Nunklow for the reception of invalid soldiers. When

the British soldiers began to pass through the road displaying grandeur and might of the British Raj, the Khasis began to realise the impolicy of their action and they began to look indignantly at the fetters they had forged with their own hands. Teerat Singh was evidently rueing the consequences of his impolitic act and was ready to join any scheme "that was aimed at to drive away the lowland strangers from his territory." And a plot was hatched under the leadership of Barmannick, the chief of Molcem and all hill chiefs combined to effect the expulsion of the English from the hills.

Mr. Scott got the scent of the impending danger and hurried towards Cherapunjee towards the end of March 1829. His object was to chastise Burramanik. But the hill chiefs, contrary to all expectations, stole a march over him. They had a ready-made plan. On 5th May 1829 a party of Khasis perpetrated "what is known in history as the Nunklow Massacre" in which one invalid European and a number of Bengalis lost their lives. The Khasis then burnt down the Bungalow, released the convicts employed on the road and proceeded towards Cherapunjee in search of Mr. Scott. The insurrection had begun. The reverberation of their first success had gone like a thunder-clap through the whispering galleries of the Khasi and Garrow hills and the hill-people came in thousands to join the standard of revolt. Both Gait and Mackenzie treat the massacre at Nunklow "as cold-blooded murder—the mere outburst of the fury of a savage tribe." It was not an incident by itself. It was a part of a general plan to drive out the English. The real causes of the Khasi insurrection lay deeper. It was their universal antipathy towards the foreign domination that caused a general flare-up in the Khasi mountains.

The chief persons concerned in the rebellion were Teerat Singh, Burramanik and Mukund Sing of Mosing. Their plan was worked out skilfully and showed organising ability of a very high order on the part of the hill chieftains. Burramanik and his party were entrusted with the work of guarding the passes opening to Assam and Teerat Singh himself guarded the Sylhet side with a view to prevent supplies and reinforcement reaching Mr. Scott from the plains of Bengal. The whole adult population numbering more than ten thousand were armed with bows, swords, and shields and Khasis were excellent marksmen. They were joined by a large number of Garrows—their kinsmen. Their first act was to demolish the road constructed by Mr. Scott. And to render it impassable, they obstructed it with trees and poles, erected palisades at places and destroyed the bridges on it. They did not depend upon their own strength alone. Teerat Singh made elaborate preparation to drive out the English. His views and plans were of a most extended nature. He sent emissaries to Raja Chandra Kanta, to the Bhots and to the Singppos. He sent a special message to Raja Chandra Kanta exciting him to throw off the British yoke. Raja Chandra Kanta sent his blessings. Teerat Singh also despatched special informers to Gauhati and other places to ascertain the military strength of the British in Assam.

The first effect of the insurrection was indeed embarrassing. The collection of revenue was, in many places, stopped. The whole of Assam was in a state of excitement and slightest reverses on the part of the British would have thrown the whole of Assam into a state of rebellion. No help could be sent from the Assam side.

Happily for Mr. Scott and his followers, succour came from the Sylhet side. Captain Lister advanced towards Cherapunjee with a lightning speed and saved Mr. Scott and his party.

When the Calcutta Council was informed of the Nunklow tragedy, feeling ran very high. They empowered the Agent to adopt such measures as would overawe "the petty chiefs." With regard to Teerat Singh they issued order to treat him as "a savage blood-thirsty murderer" deserving capital punishment. The Bengal Government thereby not only under-estimated the strength of these petty chiefs, they could not also realise the nature of the Khasi disturbances—far less they could dream that one day a representative of the mighty British Government would descend down the steps of a mountain-cave to have an interview with he seditious and half-naked savage blood-thirsty monster who strangely speaking appeared to many of the local British officials a patriot of a very high order.

Operations were conducted as usual against Teerat Singh and other rebel chiefs. Their territories were occupied and confiscated. Many Khasi villages were burnt down and rewards were declared for the apprehension of the rebel leaders but the rebel chiefs made no submission and the war went on with vigour on both sides. Mr. Scott died in 1831 in the third year of the war. His successor Mr. Robertson on taking charge of the Assam affairs embarked upon a new policy to end "this wretched warfare." He held out the olive branch of peace and empowered Singh Manik, a friendly Khasi chief, to open negotiations with Teerat Singh. He saw the rebel chief several times. Finally, it was agreed that an official representing the British Government and having a power to negotiate should meet the rebel chief Teerat Singh on an appointed date. And accordingly truce was declared and on 23rd August 1832, Captain Lister, representative of the British Lion, met the Lion of the Khasis at his den. It was an historic interview no doubt—only there was no mighty pen of Todd or Cunningham to depict as such before the world at large. Teerat Singh was seen in company of his ministers. Alluring promises were held out to him. Teerat Singh was not the man to be bought off by promises. He boldly demanded the abandonment of the line of the road passing through his kingdom and also demanded the restoration of his territory. As the British representative was not authorised to deal with those points, the party broke off without achieving anything substantial. The British Government then offered "mildest terms" to the followers of Teerat Singh and tried to make a separate treaty with them on condition that "Teerat Singh must be given up." But nothing came out of this move as the followers of Teerat Singh declined to swallow this bait. Mr. Robertson fearing that nothing would come out of the peace negotiations "completed the economic blockade" by tightening the cordon round the belt of Khasi hills and made elaborate preparations to round up the rebels.

Raja Singh Manik was all this time busy in convincing Raja Teerat Singh of the futility of further resistance. His party was being thinned away through death and desertions. And at last on 13th January 1833, he surrendered to the British as advised by the friendly Khasi chieftains on conditions that his life should be spared which the British gladly undertook to do. Even when he surrendered he did not forget his beloved country and requested the English officer to

make proper arrangement for the administration of his territory.

Teerat Singh was sent down to Gauhati where he was ordered to be transported to the Tenasserim province by the political Agent. But the Bengal Government revised the order of their Agent and sent him to Dacca for detention. His territory was given over to his nephew. When Teerat Singh arrived at Dacca the Khasi King had nothing with him except a blanket to cover his body. He was at first confined in the ordinary jail but later on he was removed to a separate house and was given a monthly allowance of Rs. 63. He was allowed the privileges of two servants. There remained the last independent King of the Khasis to wear away his last days in confinement and solitude till death delivered him of all igoiminy in 1841. Thus ended the

career of one of the most heroic but little known figures of the Indian history. He was destined to play his part on a stage—small beyond all proportions. Even Mr. Scott whom he antagonised most paid glowing tributes to the patriotic impulse of this great Chieftain. It was admitted by one of the British officers who was deputed to deal with him that "had all the Khasi chieftains joined in the general conglomeration that followed the Nuklow massacre, it would have been very difficult for the British to bring them under control." With Teerat Singh also departed the independence of the Khasi states.*

* Abridged by the writer from his book, *The Annexation of Assam*, to be shortly published.

THE GANDHIAN PLAN

By AMIYA NATH BOSE

PRINCIPAL AGARWAL'S *The Gandhian Plan* may well prove to be a document of historic importance. For the first time a complete plan of economic and social reconstruction of India has been placed before the nation with the full approval and authority of Mahatma Gandhi. Principal Agarwal's Plan is, in essence, a socialist plan with the necessary modifications to suit the needs of our country and the genius of our people. It is to be hoped that on the basis of this Plan complete unity will be forged inside the Indian National Congress.

At the very outset, Principal Agarwal makes it clear "that independent India must be the first postulate of economic re-construction." He hopes that his brochure will "evoke honest and constructive thought on these problems, at a time when other schemes of post-war re-construction are being seriously studied, discussed and formulated." I hope I shall be forgiven, if I may suggest some minor modifications in his Plan in course of this article. I hasten to add that I find myself in complete agreement with the basic ideas of his scheme.

India is fundamentally a land of the peasants. It is, therefore, natural that in any scheme of reconstruction the problem of agriculture will find the first place. The central problem of raising the productivity of land could only be tackled on the basis of a number of radical reforms suggested by Agarwal. The first of these reforms is the nationalisation of land and a system of long-term tenancy to the actual tillers of the soil. He stresses "the urgent need for a systematic planning and improvement in agriculture on scientific lines." He also advocates the development of co-operative farming.

But even a most successful development of agriculture on the lines stated above will not solve the crucial problem of India—the problem of unemployment of nearly fifty per cent of our people. This will only be solved, if there is a simultaneous and parallel development of our industries. As R. C. Dutt pointed out in his *Economic History of India*, the history of India under British rule is a history of "progressive ruralisation" and the gradual destruction of our native industries. It is, therefore, agreed on all sides that for

raising our national productivity, we must develop our industries. In this development, India can follow either of the three following methods:—

1. The traditional capitalist method.
2. The traditional socialist method.

3. The modified socialist method as enunciated by Principal Agarwal.

The protagonists of the first method hope that Indian capitalists and financiers will develop large-scale industries on modern lines and by the operation of economic laws surplus labour will gradually flow from land to industry. As a result, there will, of course, be large cities, palatial buildings and dirty slums and a complete concentration of economic power in the hands of a few. It will mean opulence on one side and misery on the other. It will convert a very large number of people into robots and will reserve culture as a privilege of the privileged class. Such a method Principal Agarwal rightly repudiates.

It has been suggested by the supporters of the second method that the National Government might take upon itself the task of carrying through a programme of socialist industrialisation. In that event the state will take over the present private industries and in addition, will develop other industries owned and controlled by the state. Under this plan, industries will be developed on a large scale and there will be a planned transference of labour from land to industry. If large-scale industries are developed under such a plan, they will lead to a development of large cities throughout India. There will be a growing differentiation between cities and villages, which in turn will create acute sociological problems. In any case too much mechanisation will mean a life of monotony for a very large number of people. Work for most of the people will be reduced to a ceaseless repetition of mechanical movements. It might mean economic efficiency, but it will surely result in cultural bankruptcy. The full effects of such a mechanical life are becoming apparent in America, where people are producing huge battleships but little culture. No, India must not follow the road to cultural bankruptcy. We must give full scope to human personality. We must not produce machine-

men with a craze for efficiency. Further, such a plan will mean a tremendous concentration of power in the hands of the state bureaucracy. It will curb the initiative of the people, it will reduce democracy to a farce.

This brings me to Principal Agarwal's *The Gandhian Plan*. He does not deny that a number of basic and key industries must be developed on a large scale. These "key industries shall be owned and managed by the state in the interests of the nation as a whole." All the public utility services will, of course, be owned and managed by the state as well. Only those industries, which for technical reasons cannot be organised on the basis of small units should be allowed to develop on a large scale. The criterion in this case is not economic efficiency, but technical need. The rest should be organised on the basis of cottage industries and dispersed throughout the villages. As a general principle, all the consumption goods, according to this Plan, will mainly be supplied by "cottage industries." For instance, there is no technical need to organise textile industry on a large scale. The result of this policy will be to bring employment to villagers, who are wholly or partly unemployed today and will make it unnecessary to transfer large number of workers to congested cities. The cottage industries need not, of course, be run on primitive lines. Indeed, we must fully utilise our present scientific knowledge to modernise these industries. According to Lewis Mumford "the recent achievements of science can make small workshops situated in small garden cities spread all over the country side, the most efficient, healthy and wholesome units of industry and of society." Such a decentralisation of industries will be facilitated by a proper development of electric power. Indeed, in my view, the success of *The Gandhian Plan* depends on a complete electrification of India. As Mahatmaji puts it, "If we could have electricity in every village home, I shall not mind villagers plying their implements and tools with electricity." Under the direction of the National Planning Commission, the state will develop electric power on the basis of India's river systems and will bring power to every village home. It will then allow private or co-operative enterprise in the organisation of village industries on the basis of power provided by the state. The organisation of these village industries will be under the direction and control of the 'Gram Panchayat.' To re-capitulate, therefore, under *The Gandhian Plan* a number of basic industries, like the defence industries, power, mining, metallurgy, machinery, heavy engineering, chemicals, transport will be owned by the state and controlled by the National Planning Commission in the interest of the nation as a whole. The rest will be organised on the basis of village industries with the help of electric power. There will be scope for co-operative enterprise in these village industries and the control of these industries will be vested in the village Government. The beneficial effects of such a Plan on the life of our people can hardly be over-estimated. The villagers will have a large measure of control over their economic and other activities and democracy in that case will become a reality. The unity of India and equal development in all parts of our country will be guaranteed by the control of the state of our basic and key industries. This Plan will prevent the development

of large cities and excessive mechanisation with all their evil consequences. Industry will be merged in agriculture. Factories and workshops run by electricity will grow up in the very heart of corn-fields. Recent scientific achievements will be utilised fully to promote "good life" and machine will become the servant of man.

This picture of India of tomorrow will, I feel sure, arouse great enthusiasm and command the approval of all, who think in terms of a democratic and socialist India. But this plan is not merely a statement of future intention, it is also of immediate political importance. There have been in the past and there are at the moment, a number of political groups inside the Indian National Congress. These groups have held different and often divergent views in regard to social policy. But they have all united on the platform of the Congress for the common problem of Indian independence. But if *The Gandhian Plan* is accepted by the Congress as the basis of its social policy, it is highly probable that the ideological differences inside the Congress will largely disappear and complete unity inside the Congress will be achieved on the basis of this modified socialist plan.

The Gandhian Plan will fulfil another distinct need. The Congress, in spite of the tremendous support it has received from the masses, has not quite succeeded in linking up the struggle for every-day existence of an Indian peasant with the wider struggle for political freedom. In view of this fact, emotionalism has played an important part in our technique of political propaganda. But it has never been quite patent to our peasants and workers that on the success of Congress struggle for independence depends the ending of economic misery and exploitation of our people. And the people will never be ready for supreme sacrifice, unless they are convinced that the struggle for political independence of India is also a struggle for their economic and social emancipation. *The Gandhian Plan*, once it is accepted as the programme of the Congress, will make it quite clear that the Congress stands for an all-round economic and social development of our people on a socialist-democratic basis. But the plan must not remain the intellectual property of a few political workers, it must become the conscious desire of the common people of India. What is necessary, therefore, is a systematic and continuous presentation of the fundamentals of the scheme to the vast masses of our countrymen throughout the length and breadth of India. This, of course, can only be done by a unified Congress under the supreme leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. This planned propaganda will mean a considerable extension of Congress power among the masses of our people. The emphasis on village democracy and economic and social reconstruction of India will reduce the problem of minorities to insignificance. If effective political power passes to the village communities, organised on a democratic basis, communal problem will have no meaning. India's unity will be achieved on the basis of de-centralised Government and well-developed village communities. A new and fruitful social experiment will, then, be India's contribution to world thought.



Book Reviews



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Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

POST-WAR CONSTRUCTION: By D. Pant, B.Com., Ph.D. (Dublin). Published by Kitab Mahal, Zero Road, Allahabad. Pp. 165. Price Rs. 2-8.

Explaining that reconstruction in his view implies an attempt to restore pre-war conditions by building upon old values which, as everybody must agree with him, is more or less an impossibility by reason of the new forces let loose by the present war and the radical changes in our ideas created by them, the author pleads for construction by which he understands the total scrapping of the old social, economic and political organisation and its replacement by a New Order which will have Man for its foundation. For the attainment of this purpose, certain axioms and postulates, the necessity of the observation of which is self-evident, are laid down in the second chapter. The politico-economic, the socio-psychological, the educational, and the administrative basis of the New Order are explained in the next four chapters. Then follows a discussion of the problem of unemployment, overt and masked. In the last chapter but one, we have the author's suggestions as to the way in which the above ideas could be applied to the world, British India, and India while, in the last chapter, he gives details of his plan of Construction which, in his language, "shorn of its trappings and frills, . . . simply demands Security of Livelihood, Human Standard of Living, Impartial Justice, and Political, Religious and Cultural Security for Man."

One infers that Dr. Pant has very definite ideas as to how the world can be made a better place to live in, that he is conscious that his views are not always orthodox, that he has the courage of his convictions and is not afraid to give expression to them. He does not lack optimism and offers his solution of our difficulties in a style always striking, picturesque, and emphatic.

GANDHISM: A SOCIALISTIC APPROACH: By A. N. Agarwala, M.A., Lecturer, University of Allahabad. Published by Kitab Mahal, Zero Road, Allahabad. Pp. 56. Price As. 12.

The respect in which Mahatma Gandhi is held by thousands of Indians has induced them to follow unquestioningly the political lead given by him. While as yet we do not know whether the technique evolved by him will give us complete freedom, it cannot be denied that it has taken us far and that as yet its possibilities are not altogether exhausted. But Gandhism has its economic aspect also where it is paralleled by the acceptance of socialism as our next step forward in the sphere of social organisation. The author contends that much is common to both these movements which are influencing each other and he envisages the time when there will be a happy amalgam between them. The arguments in support of this opinion are well put and the size of the book is no indication of its value as an exposition of this particular point of view.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMIC PLANNING: Edited by Dr. P. S. Lokanathan. Published by Eastern Economist Ltd., New Delhi. Pages 54. Price Re. 1.

This is another small publication on principles of Post-War Planning in India with a foreword by Mr. G. D. Birla. Although the war is not yet over, the Post-War Plannings and Schemes of reconstruction have caught the imagination of economists and Governments of Allied Nations and although India is not yet a nation, capitalists of this country are not slow in preparing their schemes for Post-War India.

In the present pamphlet, the principles have been discussed in a balanced and scientific manner and with some amount of caution so as to avoid extreme hardship of the people in case of a quick industrialization. The questions of food supply, agriculture, clothing, housing, education, and public health including water supply have been discussed and lessons from the Soviet Gosplans have been brought in for comparison. Post-War India is taken as capitalistic with a State-Socialistic bias. Under a sufficiently democratic State Control of basic and key industries, private capitalists shall be allowed to invest money in metals, machine tools, machinery, heavy engineering, heavy chemicals, etc., but the State will nationalise all public utility industries and concerns.

After all had been said in favour of private enterprises it is admitted that planning must mean socialism sooner or later, more sooner than later, but to avoid the rigour of totalitarian and dictatorial socialism private capitalistic enterprises, and even cottage and small industries must continue for some time till they merge in the New Order. The plan will require a vast amount of external capital and the author has an eye upon the sterling balances in that connection. But as long as England controls the destiny of India, economic reconstruction of the country must be subordinated to the Imperial interest and as such all plannings by non-official authorities are more or less academic unless they find favour with the British masters of India.

However, students of economics will find this pamphlet interesting, the subject-matter having been very ably handled and statistics cleverly utilised.

A. B. DUTTA

THE JAPANESE PARADOX: By N. J. Nanporia, Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1943. Pages 136. Price Rs. 3-12.

Japan is a land of paradoxes. It is indeed hard to reconcile her westernization with her primitive Shinto Cult and patriotic fanaticism, her tremendous national virility with her social backwardness, her kimono and geisha with *harakiri*, her artistic creativities with her instinct of expansion and plunder. Most of these contradictions, so apparent to Western observers arise, however, from an imperfect appreciation of Japanese history and culture. They are by no means inherent in the Japanese tradition, but are symptomatic of the

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disharmony which the hasty assimilation of an alien culture has wrought in Japanese national life. The author has attempted in this book a correct appraisal of those typically Japanese phenomena which particularly baffle Western observers. He does not emit the familiar propaganda stuff which scarcely carries any conviction with discerning readers. The treatment of women in Japanese society hardly does any credit to this proud nation, and the cruelties of her industrial system are a disgrace to her social conscience. But the Shinto is not so primitive as is usually imagined; it is the Shinto that has helped to Japanize Buddhism and Christianity, and has transformed primitive religious beliefs into an aggressive and fatalistic patriotism. The Shinto is a great assimilator. An interesting revelation that Mr. Nanporia makes is that the Japanese Emperor is a man of culture and liberal sympathies. "He is the only man in Japan who laughs openly at his own divinity and regards Shintoism with derisive amusement. . . . It was not incorrectly stated that on December 7, 1941, there was not a more miserable man in the East than Emperor Hirohito, descendant of the Sun God—dessa" (page 132).

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

HINDUISM AT A GLANCE: By Swami Nirvedananda. With a foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Published by Vidyamandir, Dhakuria, Bengal. Pp. £29. Price Rs. 4-8.

The author, who is a learned monk of the Ramakrishna order, is already known as a thoughtful writer by his maiden work on spiritual Renaissance. The book under review is a fitting addition to the former and is a comprehensive outline of the fundamentals of Hinduism as a whole. The volume is very correctly printed and attractively got up: A glossary of Sanskrit words used in the book with their suitable synonyms, as well as an index, are annexed in the appendix. The book is divided into two parts: the first part having thirteen chapters and the second part, eight. The first part deals with the doctrine of Karma and re-birth, transmigrating and salvation, path of Pravritti and Nivritti, four Yogas, as well as the sacred books of Hinduism. The second part surveys the Hindu prophets, Hindu idea of God and Soul, projection and prajaya, rituals and mythology. The subject is treated from a broad standpoint, from where this ancient religion can be viewed in its full grandeur. The treatment sparkles with transparent clarity and breathes throughout a freshness that will at once appeal to the modern mind, Hindu or non-Hindu. The book may be safely laid down as an excellent manual of Hinduism and unhesitatingly depended upon as a very good guide to the immortal faith. The erudite author has done well in retaining the Sanskrit terms in his exposition, as they are almost untranslatable and indispensable for an understanding of Hinduism. In the concluding chapter, the Swami, who is an experienced teacher of Hinduism, earnestly appeals to Hindus of all classes and schools for a new understanding of our age-old Dharma according to the changed conditions of our times. Hinduism through the ages, the author rightly points out, has shown extreme rigidity with regard to the essentials but remarkable elasticity in the readjustment of externals. He is firmly convinced that the foundations of Hinduism cannot be shaken by either scientific or historical criticism of the moderns. He exhorts every Hindu, man or woman, to be initiated into the true Hindu view of life, to make our religion dynamic in our private and public life, and to adopt a synthetic outlook—which alone can save us

from the present crisis and pave the way for Hindu unity and wider expansion of Hinduism.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE PHILOSOPHY OF VISISHTADVAITA: By P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A., Principal, Panchaiappa's College. Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar. Price Rs. 10.

This book is the outcome of deep study and great devotion. In it the author has dealt with the whole of philosophy in an exhaustive manner and according to a definite plan; he has begun by showing that *Visishtadvaita* is not a vain, speculative system, but is "a philosophy of affirmation and valuation", the end of which is the knowledge of *brahma*, the realisation of *brahma*, and the attainment of *purushartha*. But *purushartha* cannot be attained without correct knowledge; hence follows the discussion on Ramanuja's theory of knowledge; next comes the discussion on the nature of Brahman as well as its relation to *Chit* and *Achit*—of Brahman as *Adhara*, *Niyanta* and *Sesin*. Surely all this discussion is to be found, even if briefly, in all works on Ramanuja's philosophy; but for an exhaustive exposition of the doctrine of Brahman as *Saririn*, as well as for brilliant criticism of the different kinds of *Bheda-bheda*, both Indian and European, this book stands unrivalled. Metaphysical knowledge alone does not satisfy the hankering of the human soul; hence the discussion on Brahman as *Bhavana Sundara* follows next; herein the author gives us the Vedantic interpretation of Brahman as the Beautiful. The knowledge of Brahman as the controller and sustainer of the universe, as well as the realisation of His beauty fills the human soul with an overwhelming love, which culminates in *Prapatti* or complete surrender, and in the discussion which follows next on *Prapatti Yoga* we reach the very heart of the philosophy of Bhakti. Then there are the chapters on the life and teachings on *Visishtadvaita* teachers as also on Ramanuja's influence on the religious systems of India. These are, in themselves, valuable contributions to the history of Indian philosophy. In the last chapter the author has given a summary of the whole book, for the benefit of the readers.

The book is therefore a monumental work and will be found indispensable by every one interested in Indian philosophy and religion.

The style of the writer reaches at times a rhythm which is not generally found in philosophical works.

ISAN CH. ROY

BENGALI

SAMAJ O SAHITYA: By Kumar Bimal Chandra Sinha, M.A. Messrs Das Gupta & Co., 54/3, College Street, Calcutta. Pages 388. Price Rs. 3.

This is an introduction to the study of modern Bengali poetry in twelve Chapters with an Appendix on ancient Sanskrit poetry. Literature of any country cannot but be a mirror of contemporary society and poetry is no exception. But the author's is no materialistic interpretation of poetry although he admits social and class conflicts as factors determining the trend of literature. He cannot be in the wrong when he says that every literary man of importance must be in himself both the creator and the representative of his age—personality alone determines in which he is greater (page 305). A poet of talent represents only his age whereas a poet of genius not only represents his age but also creates beauty which is eternal. It is admitted that a poet must be an idealist, but for that reason he cannot draw his nourishment from the air. He must have the roots of his poetry in the soil of actual and contemporary experiences. Even Rabindranath Tagore who on occasions mocked at things contemporary and tried to overcome the passing

MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE IN THE USSR

By M. MALINOVSKY

MOTHERS and children are surrounded with great care and solicitude in the Soviet Union. Already, in December 1917, in the very first months of its existence, the Soviet Government passed a law by which women workers were granted pre-natal and post-natal leaves with full pay and nursing mothers were given the right of two hours' interval at work everyday for the purpose of nursing their infants. At the same time began a wide-flung construction of maternity hospitals, nurseries, consultation centres, homes for unmarried mothers, children's homes, child welfare and milk distributing centres.

The Soviet rule freed women from the age-old yoke which had oppressed them, raised their human dignity, opened wide roads to them for participation in state activities, in economic, cultural, social and political life of the country. This right has been firmly established by the Constitution of the USSR.

The first link in maternity and child welfare service is the prenatal clinic where women can get advice on how to take care of themselves during the entire period of pregnancy, get medical attention and, in case of need, may see a specialist.

As result of the work of these antenatal clinics, a sharp decrease took place in the number of abnormal confinements, postnatal complications, still-born infants and abortions. Healthier mothers and sturdier babies were born: the average weight of the newly born infants increasing from year to year.

The antenatal and postnatal centres have become true schools for mothers hundreds of thousands of women having learnt here how to take proper care of their newly born infants.

In Tsarist Russia there were no child welfare centres. Now they exist in the most outlying corners of the vast Soviet Union, as well as in central regions of the country.

Since the establishment of the Soviet rule the number of maternity hospitals and wards shows great increase, and service in them has improved radically. Thus, in 1913 there were only 6824 beds in maternity hospitals and at the present there are 141,873, that is an increase of more than twenty times.

Matters were particularly bad with regard to medical attention during confinement in the so-called national regions of the Tsarist Russia. Now thousands of women in eastern republics of the Soviet Union go to well-equipped maternity hospitals. Painless birth methods are widely applied in maternity hospitals in the USSR.

Once the baby is born it comes under the care of the postnatal clinic. Doctors and nurses of each clinic observe the growth and development of all infants in their district, whether ill or well.

In the USSR there are over two thousand and eight hundred child welfare centres with special kitchens preparing babies' food for infants up to the age of three, and this milk is daily distributed to tens of thousands of children.

Nurseries are highly popular in the USSR. Women workers and collective farmers can attend to their tasks in enterprises and on fields without worrying, when they know that their children are well-fed and cared for in the nurseries.

There were only five hundred nursery cots in Russia in 1913. At present there are in the USSR over eight hundred thousand in permanent nurseries and up to four million in seasonal nurseries which function in the villages during the periods when field work is at its height.

In addition to medical workers of general public health service, the health of children is guarded by some seventeen thousand special children's doctors and tens of thousands of nurses.

The solicitude of the Soviet Government for mothers and children is particularly marked by the recent edict of the Supreme Soviet, USSR: "On increasing the State aid to expectant mothers, mothers of large families and unmarried mothers; protection of motherhood and childhood, institution of the honorary title of Mother Heroine, Order of Glory and Motherhood Medal."

According to this law, which was passed during the present war, every mother of two children is entitled to State allowance on birth of the third child and this grant is proportionately increased on the birth of each succeeding child. The antenatal and postnatal paid leaves are increased to seventy-seven days. In cases where complications set in, or twins are born, two weeks are added to this leave. The additional rations which expectant and nursing mothers receive are now doubled. From the sixth month of pregnancy up to four months after confinement women now receive additional rations.

According to the new law, unmarried mothers have the right to place their infants in homes where these will be brought up and maintained at the cost of the State and withdraw their children from the home at any time they wish.

The law also provides for a further widening of the network of mother and child welfare institutions. This year in Moscow alone fifteen hundred beds will be added to maternity hospitals and a considerable number of nurseries and antenatal and postnatal clinics opened. Children's dining rooms now provide special diet for a hundred and seventy-five thousand Moscow children. In Belo-Russia new children's homes are being opened to accommodate an additional fifteen hundred kiddies and in the Minsk region for another three-hundred children. Rest-homes for expectant mothers have been opened in Moscow. Obstetrical and gynecological wards and consultation rooms have also been opened.

In the Soviet Union the mother is honoured by the State and by the people. Motherhood has been put on a level with services deserving to be rewarded by orders or medals.

WALTER DE LA MARE

By B.

Among contemporary British poets, Walter de la Mare has gained a distinguished place owing to his delicate and individual style. He is regarded by critics as a master of fantasy and symbolism, and a true follower in the Maeterlinck tradition. Among his more important works are his *Songs of Childhood*, *The Listeners*, *Motley and Other Poems*, *The Veil*, *Poems for Children and Memory*.

Born in 1873, Walter de la Mare first embarked on a business career, but took up writing as a hobby. After publishing several successful poems and a novel, he finally gave up business in 1908 to devote himself entirely to his literary work. Here are two of his recent poems:

A QUIETIST

He lies one, who, hating strife,
Kept to a peaceful, private life.
Rare gifts were his to share; but none
Will keep him from oblivion.
It was his weakness, and his grace,
Always to choose the lower place.
There, if he shone, for a natural wealth,
Like glowworm 'twas—as if by stealth.
Men in the world there are called great
Who win at length to high estate.
He shunned that fiercer light, lest he
Should lose the quiet of privacy.
But even a lift of the eyebrow proved
How much he valued what he loved;
There peered from those hazed eyes
A self by solitude made wise;

As if within the heart may lie
All the soul needs for company;
And, having that in safety there,
Finds its reflection everywhere.
Life's tempests must have waxed and waned;
The deep within at peace remained;
Full tides that silent well may be
Mark of no less profound a sea.
Age proved his blessing, since it brought
What, half unwitting, he had sought
Life long; and found him reconciled
To die, as he had lived, a child.
He had come full circle; now is gone.
Stranger, respect his all; this stone.

THE SOLITARY BIRD

Why should a bird in that solitary hollow
Flying from east to west
Seem in the silence of the snow-wanned sunshine
Gilding the valley's crest,
Envoy and symbol of a past within me
Centuries now at rest?
Shallowly arched the heavens rise beyond it,
Of turquoise green and blue;
Not even a whisper irks the magic of the evening
The narrowing valley through;
No faintest echo brings a syllable revealing
The secret once I knew;
Down whisks the snow again, cloud masks the sunshine
Bird gone, and memory too.



Pearl S. Buck, Nobel Prize Winner, in accepting election as Honorary President of the India League of America, made the following statement: "I have joined the India League of America because I have been brought to the conviction, finally, after long, close and continuing experience with people and events in Asia, that India has become an immediate test-case for world democracy, in the eyes of all the darker peoples, everywhere."



Indian scientists who were on a visit to U.S.A. have returned to India. They are (front row): Sir Jnan Chandra Ghosh, J. N. Mukherji, Dr. Nazir Ahmad; (back row): Prof. Meghnad Saha, (Frank S. Coan, of the U. S. State Department), Prof. S. K. Mitra and Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar

influences of his time, is but the best exponent and the most perfect representative of his age, country and society with a vision for the future and a beauty of his own that surpassed all contemporaries in the field of literature. In the words of the author 'successful creation in literature has certainly a beauty which goes beyond time but such beauty is a product of the time and would not have been possible in defiance of environments' (page 255). This is why Tagore is of eternal value. So is Bankim Chandra and Sarat Chandra.

The author has good words for those ultra-modern poets who have their basis on reality and not for those who have taken their inspiration from foreign sources without any touch of environments. It is not an easy task to assess and measure the ultra-modern poetry of Bengal but the author has done this with considerable skill. He has no bias for proletarian art because it is called proletarian unless it is really so. Although many ultra-modern writers desire to say that the sun of creative genius of Tagore had long set, the author holds that to the last day of his life Tagore's creations were realistic and of permanent value in literature and these belonged to the soil of India unlike the ultra-modern poetry of some young contemporaries whose inspirations came from foreign lands and as such were far from real. In the long discussion the author has undertaken to assess the value of poetry; he quotes extensively from ancient and modern writers and not unoften disagrees with some eminent art critics.

The author's study of the economic conditions of Bengal since the establishment of the British Rule, rise of the new middle class—landless and cut off from the original strata of society, the birth of a new literature in Bengal and its development in relation to environments and contemporary events—political and economic, is excellent and deserves to be studied by those who are interested in the study of modern Bengali poetry.

SADHAK DARA SHUKOH: By *Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L.* Published by the *Noor Library, 12/1, Serang Lane, Calcutta. Pages 12 + 139. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Dara, eldest son of Emperor Shahjehan, is a melancholy figure in Indian history. All his culture, education and popularity could not make good his political incapacity as a statesman and he had to pay dear for his goodness. To judge this man by earthly failures is to misjudge him. The author depicts the real man in Dara—a man ever ready to serve humanity, ever ready to sacrifice himself for the brotherhood of man, religious tolerance and unity among warring sects and sections of his time. He was really a saint and had he succeeded his father to the throne of Delhi instead of Aurangzib, the history of India would have been something different and perhaps a brilliant one. Dara was an emblem of Hindu-Moslem unity and as such he was condemned to death as a heretic by the Moslem divines under the instigation of Aurangzib. Such a pious life in history should be a subject for study to all students of Indian politics.

The author as a preacher of Hindu-Moslem unity has succeeded once again in bringing out a volume in Bengali which will do real good to the country.

A. B. DUTTA

BANGIYA NATYASALA (1795-1873): *Brajendranath Banerji. Visva-Bharati Granthalaya, 2, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta. Second Edition. Price eight annas.*

The growth of the Bengali stage is a fascinating theme. The Bengali stage has contributed not a little towards the evolution of Bengali culture. The Visva-Bharati publication department has done well to bring out promptly the second edition of the book. It is included in the Visva-vidya-samgraha series. The author traces in this treatise the origin and development of the Bengali stage. He gives a concise but complete account of the stage (up to 1873). As in his other works,

here also Banerji is accurate with his information. A few additions and alterations that have been made in this edition have added to the value of the book.
S. L.

HINDI

VIKRAMADITYA: By *Hemchandra Joshi, D.Lit.* *Vikrama-Gaurava-Prasarak Mandala, Girgaon, Bombay 4. Pp. 32. Price four annas.*

This is a timely short study of Vikramaditya, whose bi-millennial anniversary is being celebrated throughout India at present by the Hindus. It is based on historical research and so it will justify amply the latter's pride in their ancient king, who was an acme of courage as well as culture. Incidentally the book also treats of a lesser Vikramaditya, Raja Devichand of Kumaon, who lived in the eighteenth century. Its publicity value cannot be disputed.

AJITVIRYA BAHUBALI: By *Kaka Kalelkar, Sahyogi Prakashan, Hirabag, Bombay, No. 4. Pp. 43. Price As. 10.*

This is a Hindi translation, which has been done competently, of Kaka Kalelkar's account of his visit to the image of Ajitvirya—a piece of wonderful sculpture,—in Shravanbelgola, in Mysore State. It is travelogue, legend, history, art,—all compounded into a literary composition which at once grips the attention and interest of the reader. Some of the passages, particularly those which describe natural effects, are pure poetry. Incidentally, it is an essay in appraising aright the idealism of art. The get-up of the booklet is excellent, but the price of ten annas for such a small publication is rather high.

UNANI DARSHANA: By *Rahul Sankirtanya, Sahyogi Prakashan, Hirabagh, Bombay, No. 4. Pp. 40. Price As. 12.*

Here is a bird's-eye view of Greek philosophy, with its several schools, written with that clarity of interpretation and expression which one has come to associate with everything that emanates from the pen of Pandit Sankirtanya. It covers nearly a period of thousand years, starting with about 600 B.C. The booklet, under review, is a part of the bigger work, planned by the author, which will deal with various philosophical systems of the world. The reader will await eagerly the remaining parts.
G. M.

GUJARATI

GUJARAT NI GAZALO: Published by the *Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. Paper cover, Pp. 179. Price Re. 1. (1943).*

Gazal literature, i.e., verses written in the vein of Arabic, Iranian and Urdu poets, is alien to the genius of the Gujarati language. However, during the last fifty years, verses have been written which seem to have caught the spirit of that peculiar kind of versification to be found in the above-mentioned three languages, and meet with a modicum of success. The poems eighty-nine in number of about twenty-eight writers have been brought together in this collection; in quality they are good, bad and indifferent. But latterly a band of young Muslim writers have girded up their loins to make up for this defect in Gujarati literature and their first-hand knowledge of Iranian and Urdu literature, which the other writers did not possess, gives them a very good start over some of their predecessors. The founder of the society Bhikshu Akhandanand was a great man and he—alas, now no more—developed it to a high pitch of utility with his life blood. The object of taking light and literature to every college and hamlet, by cheapening the price of good books is worthily being continued by his successors whose desire to make the masses acquainted with this branch of Gujarati literature, is to say the least, praiseworthy.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Tagore's Message to East and West

Tagore the poet-seer who was also the stalwart champion of justice and of his country's freedom, speaks in his message of universal sympathy and tolerance. Mr. Laurence E. Moore observes in *The Aryan Path*:

This magnificent soul lived and worked for the good-will of all men through a period darkened by the catastrophe of two major wars in the Western world, which produced their back-wash all over the earth.

Tagore's message, in an essay entitled "The Spirit of Freedom," was never more appropriate than at this moment, to both East and West. This short essay is printed in the little volume of his works entitled *Creative Unity*. The theme of this essay is:—

"When freedom is not an inner idea which imparts strength to our activities and breadth to our creations, when it is merely a thing of external circumstances, it is like an open space to one who is blindfolded."

Against this background the Poet sketches a brief but poignant picture; firstly of freedom as it is at present interpreted in the West, and secondly of freedom as it is understood in India.

In the West he feels that "freedom as an idea has become feeble and ineffectual." This is due to the fact that, although living under a system which gives them an external semblance of freedom, the Western people are not in reality free because their minds are dominated by the agents of the very system under which they live. Behind this semblance of freedom there lurk selfish, private interests whose power is in the obscurity under which they operate. These interests have recognised the tremendous potential for constructive development inherent in the people which, when turned into avenues of popular welfare, is the greatest blessing of mankind.

Being entirely selfish, private interests in the West have united in an unwritten conspiracy to deceive the people and keep them in ignorance of the true state of affairs.

This end is achieved with an amazing measure of success through various subtle methods of propaganda, all directed towards putting the free thought of the people into a certain mould, which produces results beneficial to these selfish interests but not to the people. One of these is the newspaper, owned by such interests, through which the most subtle propaganda is daily poured into millions of unsuspecting minds, wide open to opinions and eager to be convinced.

Another method is the radio, over which the most sugar-coated medicine can be distributed, mostly at that time of the day when men wish to relax and be amused, when all their critical barriers are down and almost anything will be accepted if it is presented in a sufficiently attractive garb.

This is the picture that the Poet Tagore sees in the West. The spirit of the machine, turned by unscrupulous interests to the exploitation of men, which "represents the active aspect of inertia which has the appearance of freedom, but not its truth, and therefore gives rise to slavery both within its boundaries and outside."

At the same time, however, while turning wearily from the disturbing spectacle of the West, he is pained

to find in his own country just as little of the true spirit of freedom, even though the external circumstances are different.

Tagore says:

"He only has freedom who ideally loves freedom himself and is glad to extend it to others. He who cares to have slaves must chain himself to them: he who builds walls to create exclusion for others builds walls across his own freedom: he who distrusts freedom in others loses his moral right to it. Sooner or later he is lured into the meshes of physical and moral servility."

The Poet sees no moral or practical justification for the caste system, which must be rooted out of Indian life and its place taken by a spirit of true, co-operative brotherhood, in deed, as well as word. Hear his words:

"Our stupefaction has become so absolute that we do not even realise that this persistent misfortune, dogging our steps for ages, cannot be mere accident of history, removable only by another accident from outside. Unless we have true faith in freedom, knowing it to be creative, manfully taking all its risks, not only do we lose the right to claim freedom in politics, but we also lack the power to maintain it with all our strength."

Man has conquered space on earth, water and in the air. His material achievements have been tremendous. Truly, in this realm nothing is withheld from his grasp. But he no longer has time to rest and enjoy his work as he had in earlier centuries when his achievements were less.

The world sorely needs the inspired and enlightened example of a people who shall unite the wonderful possibilities of the machine with the praise of God so that man, freed increasingly from drudgery, may once more learn how to rest and enjoy his work and give the glory to God. This is the part that the Poet would have his country play in the world today. This is the glorious vocation of India.

A Reconstruction of Our Past History

In the course of his presidential address delivered at the annual general meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (as published in *The Calcutta Review*) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee observes:

**AT ALL TIMES
BANK OF COMMERCE
IS A GOOD PLACE
FOR SAVINGS**

*Hd. Office: 12, CLIVE ST., CALCUTTA
and Branches*

The task of writing a true and connected history of pre-Muslim India has been rendered extremely difficult by the colossal loss caused to ancient Indian monuments due to a policy of destruction pursued by foreign elements who periodically visited India, either for plunder or for gaining political control over her destinies prior to the advent of the British rule. Such monuments constitute the principal source for a systematic reconstruction of our past history and the preservation and proper study of what little is still left to us are of utmost importance in this respect. When we study the history of the previous attempts for the preservation of our cultural inheritance, during the early and middle periods of the British rule in India, we are confronted with the absence of any active interest of Government in this matter.

The noble efforts of such individuals as Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, Prinsep, Kittoe, Cunningham, Fergusson, Rajendralal Mitra, Bhau Dauji, Bhagawan Lal Indraj, R. G. Bhandarkar and of Indian culture and publishing them were others in collecting materials for the past history mostly made in their private capacity.

The original example of duty which was set to Government by this band of enthusiastic workers could not but evoke some sort of response, of however tardy a character, in the former, and some of them, such as Cunningham and others, were given official status and encouraged to pursue their useful activities. But even then Government, especially in the last part of the Company's rule, were culpably ignorant of the nature and magnitude of this kind of work on account of their total inability to grasp the real values of things. Lord William Bentinck is regarded as one of the most enlightened Governor-Generals of India and yet it was in his time that the Taj Mahal was on the point of being destroyed for the value of its marbles. It was the same ruler of India who sold by auction the marble bath in Shah Jehan's palace at Agra, originally torn up by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV. After 1857, a solemn proposal was made by the then Government to raze to the ground the Jumma Masjid at Delhi, one of the noblest ceremonial mosques in the world. As late as 1868, the gateways of the Great Stupa at Sanchi in the Bhopal State were on the point of being destroyed and one of them, the Eastern one, was about to be presented to Napoleon III, the Emperor of the French. Be it said to the credit of John Lawrence, one of the members of Government, that this great act of spoliation was successfully prevented through his efforts. Some sculptured pillars of the beautiful Ajmere temple, turned hastily into a mosque during the early Muslim period and now known as Adhai-din Ki Jhompri, were pulled down by a zealous officer to construct a triumphal

arch for the then Viceroy to pass under. Innumerable sculptural and architectural pieces from Sarnath, belonging to Brahmanical and Buddhist shrines of great antiquity, were carried away by official orders from the site and thrown into the Ganges as ballast when the Dufferin Bridge was being constructed at Benares. Many more such instances of vandalism of greater or lesser magnitude can be cited for which Government of earlier times can be held directly responsible either through errors of commission or omission.

It was, however, in the time of Lord Canning, the first Viceroy, that archaeological work in India won for the first time some sort of permanent State patronage.

The Archaeological Survey of Northern India was constituted in 1860 and Cunningham was appointed in 1862 as Archaeological Surveyor and afterwards the first Director-General of Archaeology in India. The twenty-three volumes of old archaeological reports that were published by him and some of his able assistants show what good use was made by him and his lieutenants of the limited opportunity with which they were provided. Then followed a long period of partial stagnation and occasional spurt in the Governmental activities of preservation and study of the ancient and mediaeval Indian monuments. It must be said to the credit of Lord Curzon, one of India's most forceful Viceroys and Governor-Generals, that he recognized the full value of this work. He very correctly pointed out in his speech before the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1899 that—"it is in the exploration and study of purely Indian remains, in the probing of archaic mounds, in the excavation of old Indian cities and in the copying and reading of ancient inscriptions, that a good deal of the exploratory work of the archaeologists in India will in future lie . . . A curtain of dark and romantic mystery hangs over the earlier chapters, of which we are slowly beginning to lift the corners. This also is not less an obligation of Government. Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific schemes of antiquarian work."

The reconstituted Archaeological Department of India from the time of Lord Curzon onwards worked under the able guidance of Sir John Marshall, and it was in the latter's period of official tenure that one of the most outstanding archaeological discoveries of India was made by a Bengali archaeologist of eminence, the late Rakhaldas Banerjee. The discovery of the prehistoric sites in Sind and lower Punjab regions, which after systematic excavation yielded invaluable mementos of the Indus Valley culture, was an event of far-reaching importance, for it changed a great deal of our preconceived notions about the nature of antiquity of Indian culture.

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In Eastern Europe

The New Review observes:

A preliminary remark should help us to focus our picture of the Russian victories, and prevent a relapse into that unhealthy optimism which spoiled military and civilian opinion last autumn. The direct object of any offensive is the destruction of the enemy's fighting potential; will to fight, numbers, equipment, war factories, etc. Up to date the Russian offensive has not achieved conclusive results, and could not be expected to do so in a few weeks, though the struggle is unfolding in all its gigantic dimensions. On the other hand, the Nazis have abated nothing of their determination to fight to the death. Their High Command is as good as it was in 1939, their soldiers as fanatic and well-trained, their research departments as resourceful. In spite of our air bombing their war factories are still in working order, and the morale of their working population shows no sign of breaking down whilst anti-Nazi discontent remains unorganized.

From all reports at hand, the weakest point in their war potential is their diminished mobility; their transport system has been badly hit and their oil-producing capacity is said to have been cut down to one-fifth of what it was in April 1944. Mobility is crucial in modern warfare, mobility multiplying fire-power, permitting surprise and regulating the pace of battle. High mobility could provide a badly needed respite, give reinforcements from Italy and Norway time to reach central Germany and protract the fierce all-out battle which must be anticipated before the end. Reduced mobility will bring the Nazi war machine to a stop, and confusion in the High Command which synchronized offensive on all fronts might produce may advance the hour of the final breakdown.

The preceding commonsense observations neces-

sarily tone down the highly coloured accounts sent out by war correspondents from their Moscow armchair (no foreign reporter has ever been allowed on the Russian front though a few went on conducted tours in recently liberated areas). Early Russian reports were lopsided in stressing the extent of the ground lost by the Nazis, whilst omitting to speak of prisoners; in mechanised warfare, space usually is of minor importance whilst the number of prisoners is one of the main gauges of success. Moscow reports also went wrong for weeks on end in giving Marshal Zhukov's offensive undue priority. His advance was spectacular, but his offensive had not the importance of Marshal Koniev's drive. Koniev defeated larger and better equipped troops, seized the most valuable industrial area of Silesia and outflanked the Nazi positions in Czechoslovakia and along the lower Oder.

War correspondents may have gone by the favourite saying of Litvinoff: 'Who gets to Berlin first wins the peace'; they might as well contrast it with General Fuller's rider: 'Who gets to Vienna first has Europe by the throat'; but militarily speaking, who destroys most of the Nazi war potential will be the victorious general.

In the present phase of the conflict, a decisive battle is joined along the Oder, the 'Eastern Rhine.' It is as crucial as was the battle along the lower Maas and Rhine last year though the Russian offensive has not yielded as substantial results as our victories in Normandy and France. The battle is in full sway, and, as it is combined with a decided offensive in the west, it should break the back of Nazi power. Even Turkey is convinced that the war in Europe will be decided in the near future, and she is making a deliberate rush to help the victorious Allies.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Robert Louis Stevenson

In an article entitled 'Stevenson after Fifty Years' in *The Catholic World*, Mathew J. Ashe, briefly criticising the merits and demerits of R. L. Stevenson as an author, passes judgment on him as follows :

A half-century has passed since the death of Robert Louis Stevenson, cosmopolitan Scotch author. On December 3, 1894, at Upolu, Samoa, R. L. S. died while at work on the unfinished *Weir of Hermiston*, a novel acclaimed by the critics as holding his greatest promise.

The difficulty of accurately assigning Stevenson's place in literature is similar to that which confronts an analysis of any author who has written prodigiously. Charles Scribner's Sons has put out twenty-two volumes of his works, and these represent a widely varied range of literary craftsmanship. They comprise critical essays and essays of travel, poems, plays, short stories, and the longer romances in addition to the letters arranged by Sidney Colvin. The very fact that he passed away prematurely in his forty-fifth year only serves to emphasize the relative vastness of the total output.

It is by now commonly recognized that this writer's most consistent success came in the short story and the essay. In each of these departments he did much to set up standards more or less conventional today. He has produced many short stories that are wellnigh perfect models of their kind and rank him among the best short story writers in the English language. Coming to mind are "Providence and the Guitar," a triumph of excellent good humor, and "The Beach of Falea," an exotic love tale. Then we recall the social shocker, "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," together with the ghost story, "Thrawn Janet." There are besides, "The Sire de Maletroit's Door," a grim enough yarn with a happy ending, and that little masterpiece called "The Bottle Imp," which retells with new enchantment an old legend about a demon in the glass.

Concerning the essays, Stevenson, himself in the tracks of Sir Thomas Browne, went far to develop a mode frequently appearing now-a-days both in books and in articles for periodicals. Here reference is made to the personal or familiar essay where the prevailing note is the intimate projection of oneself into the topic at hand. At once, we think of the many brilliant essays forming the content of his sizeable list of travel narratives. Under this category come the essays in *Edinburgh: Picturesque Notes*, *An Inland Voyage*, *Travels With a Donkey*, *Across the Plains*, etc. Moreover, there are separate pieces among his other works which obviously command attention. To mention but a few, we can cite, "An Apology for Idlers," "The Foreigner at Home," "Talk and Talkers," and "Books Which Have Influenced Me."

As a whole, the author was not successful in the longer romances, though, by way of paradox, his most famous productions are the adventure classics, *Treasure Island* and *Kidnapped*. "It is the length that kills," is his often quoted self-commentary, a judgment he had seen continually verified by pathetic experiment. Partly from temperamental reasons and partly because of his ill health—each no doubt reacting on the other—he could not bring himself to stay for long on any given subject.

R. L. S. did not absolutely lack the capacity for prolonged thought, as is indicated by his two most

famous books. The explanation for *Treasure Island* is the author's ability to summon energy for a quick execution, the whole being completed in two installments of fifteen days each. *Kidnapped* is certainly a valid exception. He was many months at this masterpiece, but paid dearly for his pains by an exhaustion that nearly brought him to death's door. *David Balfour*, the sequel, was by no means equally well received.

One unmistakable Catholic quality of Stevenson, which if it will not quite pass under the name of warm-heartedness, is at least akin to the same is his ready sympathy for all races and classes of men. On this point, Lionel Johnson, austere poet and critic of the '90's, provides an apposite comment : "As Addison with his London folk, so Mr. Stevenson with all the people under heaven known to him: they can never be so strange to him, so marvellous or so repulsive, but he will make friends with them, try to read their hearts, and picture them as naturally as the folk of his own Lothians."

From our present vantage ground, we can harbour little doubt that R. L. Stevenson has stood the test of these fifty years. With all his weaknesses in the balance, it is yet but fair to concede that he accomplished a great deal for one man. Undoubtedly, he had his moments of eclipse as well as of brilliance and resiliency of spirit. Still, where an author has produced on so vast a scale, it seems wholly right to appraise him on the side of his very positive assets.

Citizen of the world, Stevenson travelled not as your ordinary tourist, but rather like the genuine artist for whom every tint of land-scape and vagary of man carries a finer impression. Readers of the world over can still draw pleasure and profit from Robert Louis Stevenson's uncommon inventive gift and his minutely picturesque language.

Indian Soil Conservation

Dr. R. MacLagan Gorrie, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., of Indian Forest Service, thus observes on 'The Place of Mechanised Equipment in Indian Soil Conservation' in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* :

The world problem of deterioration of soil, and in many countries the parallel phenomenon of increasing density of population, render it essential that we in the British Empire should marshal our resources of men and material to make all available land productive. This war has witnessed the supply of vast quantities of mechanical transport and heavy machinery for the moving of earth, the digging of trenches and of tank-ditches, the consolidation of surfaces for air-landing strips, and so forth. It has also witnessed the training of many thousands of men to handle this equipment, with the surprising result that the more primitive and unmechanised countries such as India, Burma, Ceylon, Sudan and many of the Crown colonies will suddenly find themselves wealthy in mechanically-trained men, where previously anything more than hand labour and the moving of head-loads of soil in baskets was unknown.

How can we keep these trained drivers and mechanics fully employed, whether they have returned to civilian life or are available for agricultural projects while still serving in the forces? The first essential will be to secure machinery suitable for our purposes as soon as it can be spared from its war-time role, and organise



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There is a general impression amongst farmers in most countries that the mechanisation of farming will automatically cause a reduction in the number of labour hands employed, but this is not necessarily so. In the type of soil conservation work now envisaged for India very large tracts will be opened up to more intensive settlement, but these are now supporting only a scattered population of graziers or cultivators who can barely make a living.

India is already dangerously unbalanced by the war boom in industry; the eating power of the people and particularly of the soldiers has been greatly stimulated but the land which alone can produce their food has been neglected. The land wants not only protection from erosion but also its full share of manuring and the fostering care of well-planned husbandry. The new industries need markets if they are to survive but their own safe market is a contented and prosperous peasantry; the purchasing power of India's million villages can only be raised by developing more fully their one basic natural resource, namely, the soil.

The Story of Petroleum, A Giant of Modern Industry

In another issue of the same *Journal* under the above caption, Sir Frank Smith tells the story of petroleum, from which the following extract is made:

The story starts some thousands of years ago in Mesopotamia, now called Irak, and in Persia, also called Iran, for Mesopotamia is not only the cradle of civilisation but it is also the land where petroleum was first found and used industrially. In the Bible there are references to pitch and oil and petroleum gases, and it appears certain that Abraham, who was born at Ur, used oil to burn in lamps. The Arabic name of Ur means pitch, and near the town and also near Hit there are

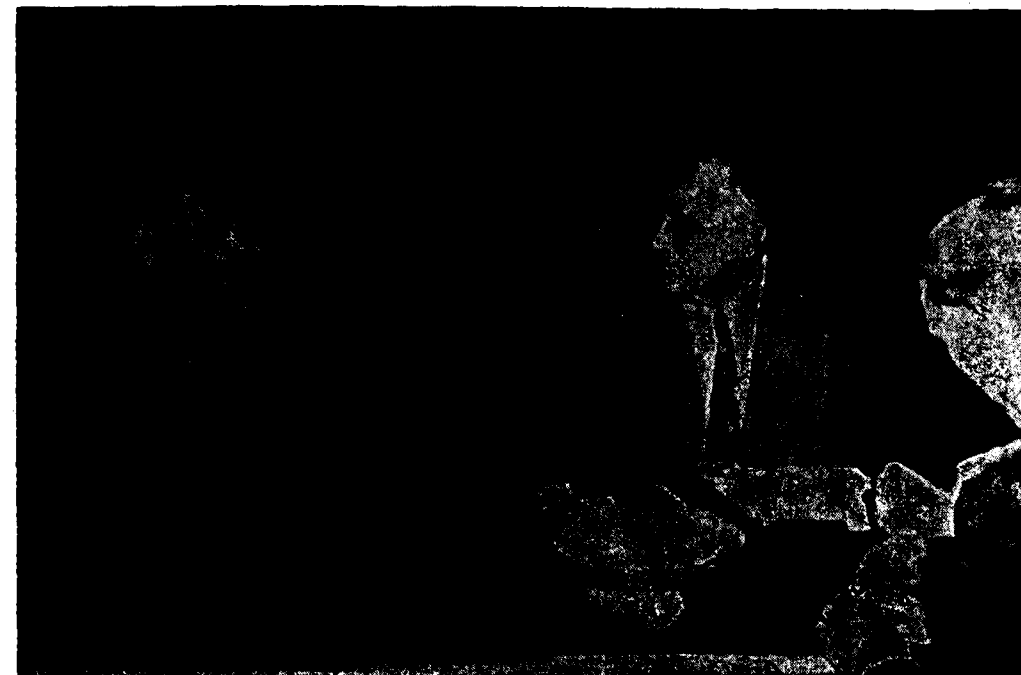
many surface deposits of pitch. Nebuchadnezzar used pitch as a mortar to hold bricks together, and examination of parts of the great wall of Babylon and of the Royal palace of Nebuchadnezzar show pitch oozing from between the bricks. In those days also the boats on the Tigris and Euphrates and Noah's Ark, too, were rendered waterproof by the use of pitch. The circular river boats were made of gopher wood.

In addition to pitch, there are pools of oil in Irak and Iran which are fed by liquid which is continually oozing or seeping from the ground. There are also great fires of hydrocarbon gas, and some of these have raged for thousands of years. These gushes of gas do not appear to have been put to any industrial use, but in some parts of the country Fire Temples were erected about the fires, and some of the inhabitants became fire worshippers.

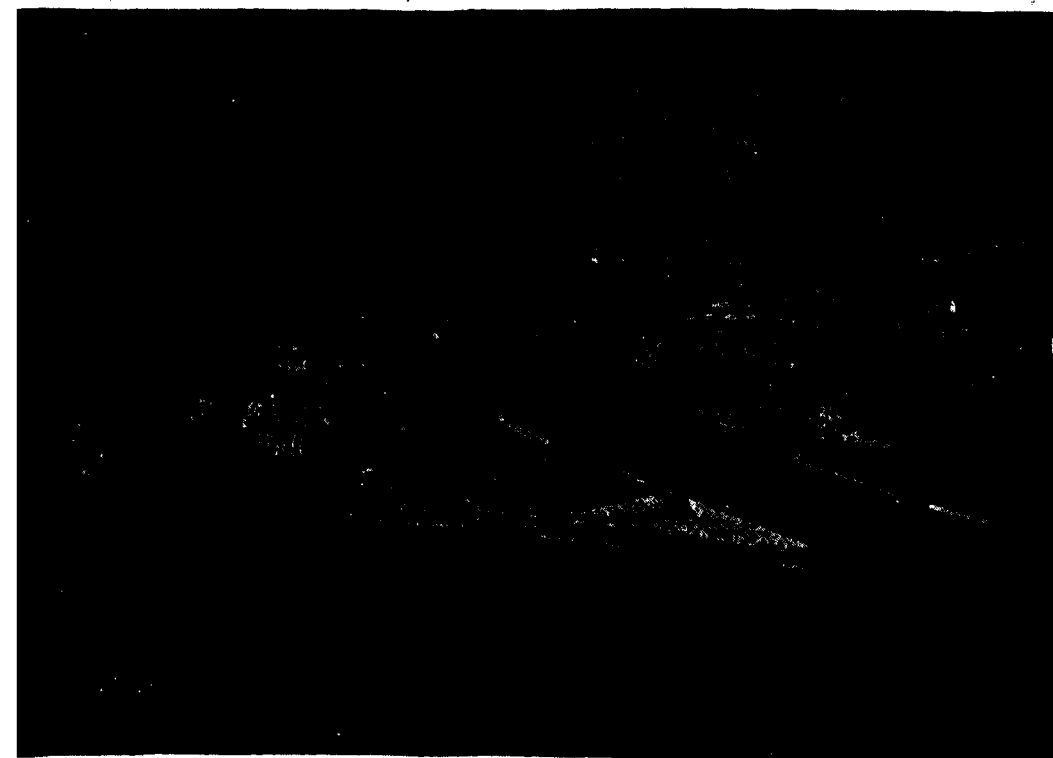
Until the nineteenth century the pitch and oil were used for no important practical purpose, and when oil was discovered in America nobody was particularly interested. Then someone extracted a special portion of the oil and found it to be very good to burn in lamps, and afterwards the internal combustion engine was developed to run on another extract of petroleum, which we call petrol.

Petroleum is a mixture of many liquids and has many gases and solids in solution. It consists of pitch or bitumen, of fuel oil for burning in ships, of paraffin wax for candles, of diesel oil for motor buses, of lubricating oil for machinery, of petrol for motor cars, of gases such as methane, and of special liquids used for medical purposes.

Thousands of years ago there must have been vast quantities of petroleum in the earth, but the bulk of it has crept to the surface and disappeared. Fortunately, some of it has not escaped; it is surrounded by materials which it cannot penetrate; to-day we say it is "trapped" because it cannot get away unaided. Scientists, working like Sherlock Holmes, have obtained clues to these traps, even though many of the traps are two miles or more below the surface of the ground.



Marshal Stalin and President Roosevelt confer in Yalta



This pre-war view of Coblenz shows its strategic importance, situated as it is at the junction of the Rhine and Moselle Rivers

Courtesy: USOWI

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NOTES

Indian Industrialisation and International Cartels

In a speech delivered at the eighteenth annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in March last, Mr. G. L. Mehra dealt with a number of problems regarding the post-war industrial development of India. He first of all regretted the absence of a positive declaration on the part of the Government of the policy that they propose to follow in regard to industrial development after the war. The Government policy on this subject has however been published on April 22 last. Mr. Mehta pointed out that our post-war industrial policy was not merely a question of the tariff policy of the Government. A positive assurance was wanted that the Government would protect both those industries which have come into existence during the war, and these which have expanded as a result of the war and which are integral parts of national economy both from external and internal competition. Mr. Mehta pointed out that in other countries, it has been the attitude of the Government to lay the foundations of the post-war development during wartime by and through the development of war industries. In India, this has not been done. During the war, the industries were merely allowed to eke out a precarious existence and only at the concluding stage of the war, the Government have at last come forward with a mere statement of their post-war industrial policy with no machinery for giving shape to that policy. Comparing the Indian position with other countries, Mr. Mehta said :

Today starting from a scratch, countries like Australia and Canada have been able to build up key and heavy industries. Canada is today the second country in the world in the building of cargo-ships, fourth among the world's air powers, and the third trading nation in the world. It had undoubtedly a substratum of industrial development before the war, but many of her industries have been developed during the war; her chemical industries, optical glass and synthetic rubber have been developed from scratch. So also the case of Australia in regard to steel and air-craft. But here in this country, we

cannot say that during this war we have been able to build up one single key or heavy industry; in fact, because of the difficulty in getting some essential raw materials, plant and machinery, our industrial development has been handicapped in many respects.

The matter was worse here in respect of some heavy industries. While they were actively fostered in Canada and Australia with Government support as part of war effort, the promotion was discouraged in India as being contrary to war effort.

Dealing with the menace of international cartels and combines, Mr. Mehta said :

This question of international agreements is not merely a question of agreements between Governments which will in the years to come become important. There will also be agreements and arrangements between powerful interests through international cartels and combines. It is very essential that the operations of such cartels and combines, in so far as they affect Indian industry, should be carefully studied. In fact, I venture to suggest that it is time that the Government of India instituted a thorough, comprehensive and impartial inquiry into the ramifications of such international cartels, their operations, their effects, and their rules and regulations, because it is impossible for any indigenous Indian industry to come into existence unless these cartels' activities are controlled in India. In an illuminating pamphlet on the Fertiliser Industry, Sir Padamji Ginwala has shown how both the producer and the consumer in India subsidised the Imperial Chemical Industry before the war. The Indian farmer paid anything from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per ton more than the prices obtaining in Great Britain. But this did not benefit the Indian industry but only the British Sulphur of Ammonia Federation. Many years ago, the Tariff Board in India exposed similar ramifications of the Oil Industry, and the instance of the Swedish Match Combine which seat down many small Indian match factories is still fresh in our minds. This question needs immediate attention.

Besides the international cartels, two giant corporations have recently been formed in England, one to help British industry and another British Commerce.

SRI CHAITANYA'S PILGRIMAGE TO PURI

By Khagen Roy
(Vidyasagar Hall, Midnapore)

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

The Minister for Reconstruction for Britain has just increased the guarantee for export trade facilities from £75 million to £200 million. These are ominous signs and the Indian trade and industry ought to be vigilant in this matter.

Indian trade and industry, during this war, has betrayed a woeful lack of co-ordination, imagination, and sympathy for the consumer. They have very badly let those people down who, for years together, have suffered for the development of Indian industries. There is not the slightest doubt that many of our industries, notably cotton textiles and drugs, would not have been where they are today but for the patriotic sentiment and suffering and sacrifice of the consuming public. The industries have betrayed them at a very critical hour of their life for the sole purpose of amassing sky-rocketing profits.

Nationalisation of Industries

The Gods of destiny must be convulsed with mirth at the sight of Delhi and Whitehall repeating King Canute's experiment. The choice before Britain now is between a complete democratic plan or a true Soviet pattern in toto. No compromise between the two is possible unless it be made plainly with the consent of the people to be experimented upon and without any ulterior motives. Nationalisation strongly laced with communalism, to the exclusion of important fields like ship-building, heavy chemicals and coal where British capital may conveniently sow and reap in safety, plainly means exploitation. This nationalisation, sought to be made with the help of careerists and quislings lured with the hope of undeserved and unearned riches forcibly taken from the helpless consumer, aims at two distinct objectives, to maintain and safeguard British trading and industrial interests, and at the same time to keep American competition at arm's length. We hold no brief for the Indian capitalist, indeed he deserves nothing from the people of this country, judging from the way he has behaved during this war, but we fail to discern any justice or honesty in a move which savours of robbing Peter to pay Paul when Paul happens to be even more unscrupulous and unprincipled.

Democracy permits private enterprise to flourish within legal bounds, with a fair field and no favours. Nationalisation must follow the principle of equity and justice with no favour and no weightage and it must not envisage any Ottawa Pact or Communal Award-like arrangement for the benefit of British capital and for the express purpose of stalling off American competition. Nationalisation, to be successful, must start with the land and end with the sky. There cannot be any half way measure in it. The issue is not whether control and guidance are exercised in a scheme of nationalisation, but who exercises them, and how, and in whose interests.

We wonder if the wisecracks of Delhi and Whitehall are aware of the fact that Indian capital has acted as one of their principal ancillaries during this war, and with the forcible eviction of that, the path of communism—we mean the real article and not the tame "Birmingham make" affair—is clear in India. We do not intend discussing the relative merits or otherwise of either democracy or communism. We only intend showing up the ridiculousness of this ersatz N. E. P. Of course, there are plenty of carrots hung up in the scheme to lure and to gag those who want to amass

truly filthy and surreptitious lucre by this wonderful plan.

We know that complete nationalisation of all means of production, trade and transport in a free country and under a truly people's government, like Soviet Russia, has been of the greatest good to the country. We have also experienced how the same nationalisation in an enslaved country and under a foreign government becomes a source of unmitigated suffering. The railways in this country are owned and managed by the State, and as such, technically we may call it nationalised. Every Indian traveller and every Indian trader knows in his heart of hearts and often at a great cost how inhumanly discriminating the railway administration has been.

The second sinister feature in the government plan is the preparation of the system of granting licenses at the discretion of the Executive. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, in criticising the Government plan, has strongly condemned both these schemes of nationalisation and licensing. We have seen during these war years that when this power to grant licenses rests in the hands of representatives or henchmen of foreign vested interests, it becomes the greatest obstacle to trade and industrial development. The plan has been published too late for us to deal fully in the present issue. We reserve fuller comments on it for our next number.

Empire Above All—To Be the British Policy for India

The political storm aroused by Mr. Ernest Bevin's *Labour Will Fight* speech at Leeds continues unabated. The breach between the parties constituting the National Government is now open and obvious. As the war in Europe draws rapidly to its close, the objections to the restoration of full political life in England is fading away. Although there will be bitter differences about who won the war—this or that politician—there will not be the slightest difference of opinion between them about India. The London correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* significantly reports that "some Indians in London keep on saying that Labour will grant India Self-Government, but they forget that Mr. Attlee, who has always claimed the credit for writing the formula which Sir Stafford Cripps took to India, has not changed his attitude towards India. Mr. Attlee represents Labour's official attitude towards India. One thing cannot be over-emphasised—that "Empire above all" is the slogan of all Englishmen, whether extreme Right or extreme Left—except, of course, the Communists—and India is the problem they do not want to handle; some because they really believe that India is better off inside the Empire, others because they do not want to lose votes."

"The same situation obtains to-day as it obtained in 1921 in reference to Ireland. The British Labour then appointed an Investigation Commission and then blessed the Tory compromise of the Irish Free State."

"There is another factor which has entered the situation—that is the increasing strength of the Soviet Union. Many Englishmen opine that it would be best to hold India for fear of her falling into the hands of the Bolsheviks. And while the rights and wrongs of Poland may agitate English minds it is noteworthy there has never been the same righteous indignation expressed regarding the rights and wrongs of the Indian question."

"India remains to-day the test of political sincerity, and if there is one thing which is severely rationed in Britain to-day it is this commodity. How true this is will be demonstrated when the present election campaign runs its course. Meanwhile, any Indians pinning their hopes on some solution of the Indian problem coming out of this election will be sadly disillusioned."

Intelligent opinion in India scarcely had any such illusion that Britain, of her own volition, will grant freedom to India. There were, however, some people in this country also who sought to pin their faith in the public pretensions of British statesmen. Their disillusionment will be completed probably when they find that India has but only a very minor place in the Labour Party's Election manifesto.

San Francisco

San Francisco Conference has begun its deliberations. Roosevelt has been prevented by fate from attending it and the other two Allied leaders, Churchill and Stalin have also not found it possible to attend. There have been preliminary differences amongst the big three, but prospects of their composition seem to be in sight. So far, the deliberations have confirmed the shrewd suspicion in many quarters who believed that the ultimate achievement of this conference will be to maintain Imperialism in toto. Judging from the generally pessimistic note about the Conference in the American Press, and some significant assertions thereof, it is now apprehended that the world is going to be divided up between the big powers, and the lion's share will go to Britain and Russia. The *Nationalist* of Calcutta is responsible for the publication of a statement from Upton Close which reads:

Close revealed that after Roosevelt's death some agreement had been reached between Churchill and Stalin with regard to spheres of influence in Asia. He attributed this guess to "some students of Asiatic picture." If a Russian path were opened in North Asia for instance into Korea, Stalin might feel less inclined to question British Imperialism in South Asia. He gloomily pictured China as an unfortunate middle kingdom between growing Russia and recovering British Empire.

An artificial balance of power is sought to be established at San Francisco. We call it artificial because the same methods as had been followed in the League of Nations are again being followed. It is now plain to the world what the fruits of the League of Nations were, and he must be a fool indeed who can dream that the San Francisco Conference following the same lines can achieve any other result. Hitler was the fruit of Versailles, we wonder who would be the next after San Francisco. As in the Versailles and other negotiations after the last war, so in this Conference also we find fencing with truth and attempt at disguising Imperialism as democracy. The case of India is a clear index regarding the sincerity of the conferees' desire for world peace. If India has to acquiesce in the decisions at San Francisco, and to work for them, it would be because of compulsion by force of arms. There can be no other word for it for she has been denied representation as have many others of the untold millions of submerged peoples of the world.

Bernard Shaw on Shape of Things to Come

In reply to the question, "Supposing Russia and China become the dominant power in Europe and Asia,

will it affect the British and American democracies for better or for worse?"—Bernard Shaw said:

There are no such things in the world as British and American democracies. The United States and the British Commonwealth are plutocracies; and there is no future permanence for plutocracy.

Both have passed through feudal plutocracy, maintained by a vast majority of serfs to a Cobdenist or capitalist plutocracy maintained by a vast majority of wage slaves, merchants, financiers, and suburban snobs, and are now passing head-long into Fascist or Nazi plutocracy depending on the same majority, but abandoning Cobdenism and equipping private enterprise with public capital and protecting it by State regulation.

Hitherto all civilisations have got thus far and then collapsed.

The development of Fascism into sufficient Communism to abolish classes by making the whole population inter-marriageable has never been achieved. The U.S.S.R. is making a prodigious and not unpromising attempt at it; but in the west plutocracy is still firmly established on the votes of the poor.

The greatest tragedy of the modern world is that this Anglo-American plutocracy thrives on the votes of the very people whom it exploits.

Commercial Safeguards in the Government of India Act

The Central Assembly has passed without a division Mr. Manu Subedar's resolution formulating that early action be taken for the removal of Sections 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act 1935 relating to commercial safeguards. The discussion that followed assumed a lively character. The Government's attitude was lukewarm but that of the European group definitely provocative. The Assembly left the Government in no doubt as to its demand that now that India was no longer a debtor to Britain, no justification existed in retaining the clauses which were hampering an evolution of post-war plans of India's economic development. The British commercial reaction was generally expressed by Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European group, who said that logic compelled them to recognise that any reciprocal arrangement in the Act or outside it, must involve new restrictions and limitations. The remedy lay not in the removal of a particular block of sections but in the complete re-orientation of methods. Sir Henry referred to the great industrial progress the country had made during the last ten years and said that they provided a complete denial of the statement that the sections in question hampered the development of Indian industry.

The Deputy Leader of Opposition, Mr. Abdul Qayyum, gave a fitting reply to Sir Henry's speech. He asked the leader of the European group whether he was going to rely on the safeguards provided in the Government of India Act, behind which the only sanction was the British army of occupation in India, or on the goodwill of the people of this country. Sir Henry Richardson's words, he went on, were very sweet but the iron hand was visible under the very thin muslin glove. The so-called equality between a British company incorporated in the United Kingdom in carrying on business in India and an Indian company incorporated in British India, he went on, was really a cleverly conceived design to kill Indian enterprise

and industry. After all *one could not have equality between unequals*. Indian industries were just beginning to rise and they could not meet on terms of equality the well-established British industries supported by political power.

Mr. Abdul Qayyum asked whether there were in the constitution of the self-governing British Dominions sections similar to sections 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act. The self-interest of the British community in India and their compatriots in England was so strong, he said, that in peace-time on one pretext or another India was not allowed to have large-scale industries like chemicals, automobile factories, ship-building industries, aircraft factories or even locomotives. Australia had set up a big aircraft industry during wartime but the Central Assembly was told by the Government of India before the war that the materials which were necessary for the manufacture of aircraft in this country could not be obtained on a sufficiently economic basis.

Mr. K. C. Neogy also made some good points. He said that in 1915 when the Industrial Commission was appointed the Government of India contemplated the idea of Indian industries being started by Indians with the help of Indian capital and control. In 1923-24 the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee appointed by the Government of India definitely suggested coastal reservation for Indian shipping. It was a strange irony that what was contemplated seriously by the Government of India in 1923-24, was absolutely unconstitutional for us to contemplate at the present moment.

European Vested Interests and Safeguards

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition, said that the issue lay between the Opposition and the European vested interests in this country, as Government were remaining neutral. This was one of the most extraordinary situations which had arisen in the House during the time he had been a member.

Throughout this time, Mr. Desai said, he had not heard one word from the European group in favour of India's freedom. The European group talked of the right of free trade and free competition in this country. For the moment undoubtedly that right had been conferred upon them by the force of British arms. Right was a creature of law and law was a creature of the legislature which would claim the power to make laws in the interests of India. Right was, therefore, extremely relative and Mr. Desai wished so much emphasis had not been placed upon it. It was by the exercise of brute force, the Leader of the Opposition continued, that eleven members of the European group, representing nobody except themselves, were in the Central Assembly. There was no use planning under the present conditions. If the restrictions were to continue, the plans had better be postponed. The Opposition demanded that the Government of India should be in a position to legislate in the best interests of India and if these restrictions came in their way, the House would be right in asking for the repeal of those restrictions.

In attempting to explain the British commercial position Sir Edward Benthall said that at the Round Table Conference he had favoured a commercial agreement on general principles between Britain and India

not imposed but negotiated at the conference. When the attempt was made to translate this desire into action, legal pundits found that the political relationship between H.M.G. and the Government of India made it constitutionally inappropriate to execute such an agreement, however unanimous the consensus of opinion might have been at the Round Table Conference. They were therefore reluctantly forced back from the basis of a freely negotiated treaty to the restrictive clauses in the Act.

Mr. Manu Subedar's resolution is bound to have far-reaching consequences. It is reported that a number of European members of the Central Assembly are leaving for London shortly to influence Whitehall against the demand in India for the early abolition of commercial safeguards for the British in the Government of India Act. It is also known that Sir Ardesbir Dalal, Member for Planning and Reconstruction, who expressed sympathy with the resolution, and hinted at the possibility of negotiations to have the questions settled through a convention or treaty, is visiting London next month in this connection. Indian businessmen and the public should see to it that the Indian case is not left entirely in the hands of officials. It should be strongly advocated by a non-official body. The British vested interests will not be prepared to give up to any extent the unconscionable grip the safeguards give them over Indian enterprise by making it impossible for the indigenous industries to be protected against even cut-throat British competition in India. Those Indians who realise that any planning worth the name in this country is an impossibility with the present restrictions in the constitution itself should take all legitimate steps to see that these obnoxious restrictions are removed forthwith.

Road Transport in U. P.

To bring under full control the road transport system in the United Provinces so that cut-throat competition may be eliminated and an adequate and efficient service be provided to the public, the U.P. Government have planned a comprehensive programme for reorganising the road transport services, both for passengers and goods, to be run by substantial joint stock companies in conjunction with the railways. With the help of the Lend-Lease Scheme the U.P. Government will be able to have in course of time 1,800 motor lorries and trucks for the use of 12 such joint stock companies spread over the province. Each single company will be financed with a capital of Rs. 25 lakhs. Thus the 'one man one bus' system, which has proved to be uneconomic and inefficient, would be replaced by an efficiently organised 'controlled monopoly system' with the public having a dominant voice in it. In the joint stock companies the railways will have a substantial interest, the Provincial Government a small interest and the balance will consist of shares to be held by the public, that is, 46 per cent, 5 per cent and 49 per cent respectively. The companies will be compelled to provide rest houses, booking houses and all other facilities that are usually available on a railway journey. The U.P. Government is of the opinion that it will be necessary for these companies eventually to have a monopoly of road transport, but the Government will see that the interest of the public do not suffer and the railways will not be allowed to run these services entirely in the interest of rail transport and

if the interests of the public require road services to be run on unremunerative routes these companies will be compelled to maintain such services.

The interests of the railways are no doubt involved on all routes which run parallel to the railway. For this reason it has been proposed to give the railways a substantial share in the companies. According to the U.P. Government, this has been done to ensure that "the railways will take the same interest in the maintenance and development of road transport as they do in transport by rail, and to ensure such co-ordination of transport by road and by rail which will result in the greatest convenience to the public and to the greatest promotion of economic need by the fullest utilization of both forms of transport." The proposal has been to give the railways concerned a substantial interest and not a controlling interest. The Provincial Government will take up a small number of shares, sufficient to enable it to hold the balance in matter of policy as between the railways and the interests of roads.

This proposal to give the railways a substantial share in the companies may not be looked upon with favour by the people. The Railway have proved, since the very opening of it that the interests of the British commerce and industry would always be given priority over competing Indian interests. During the present war it has been seen that the Railway Administration resorts to such discriminating practices in the most autocratic and brazenfaced manner. Careful attempts have always been made to maintain the entire railway administration under the complete control of British vested interests. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, the railways have been placed under a Statutory Railway Authority over which the Central Legislature of the future will have no control whatsoever. In order to stifle the future road competition, the railways have already made proposals in the Central Legislature to secure complete control over road transport, which was however thrown out.

Competitive road services running parallel to railways have always been encouraged in the U.S.A. and U.K. Such competition puts down the monopolistic tendency in both the systems of transport. In this country also, it is this healthy practice which should be encouraged and fostered. Granting of a substantial share in road transport to the railways together with the balancing share of the Government, both of which are hitched to foreign interests, will in effect mean watering down of the needs and comforts of the Indian people.

Decrease in the Available Supply of Cloth

The cloth famine continues unabated and Bengal continues to be the worst sufferer as is inevitable. The authorities seem to have done their duty by announcing that an overall per capita average of 12 yds. of cloth is available for civilian consumption, according to them this was India's normal consumption and therefore there is no reason why there should be any cloth famine had this quantity reached the average consumer. On April 23, at a Press Conference in Calcutta, Mr. Vellodi, the Textile Commissioner, categorically stated:

The general impression I have gathered during my visit to Bengal is that to describe the existing state of

supply of cloth or of yarn in the Province as famine, is unwarranted by facts and that it is indeed a gross exaggeration.

Only two weeks ago, Mr. Krishnaraj Thackersay, Chairman of the Textile Control Board, had told a Press Conference at Bombay that if all the cloth manufactured in India in mills and on the handlooms were available for civilian consumption, "there should be sufficient cloth to enable a distribution of 15.75 yds. per capita per annum. Unfortunately a very large slice of this production does not reach the civilian consumer, for out of the total, approximately 750 million yards of cloth per annum—at one time this reached to figure of 1,000 million yards—are supplied to the Defence Services. Over and above this, a further quantity of 23 million pounds of yarn is being taken away by Government, which is equivalent to about 100 million yards of cloth. In addition not less than 600 million yards of cloth per annum are liable to be exported out of the country at the express wish of the Allied Governments to foreign countries. It is difficult to say whether additional cloth is still smuggled out of the country."

In the Report of the Handloom Fact Finding Committee (Appendix XXII) we find that during 1931-39, the per capita consumption of cotton cloth in India ranged between 14.1 to 16.9 yds., the latter figure being for the pre-war year 1938-39. If, therefore, the entire amount of the 6,300 million yards of cloth produced in India were available for civilian consumption, if the Defence and the Inter-Allied requirements had been fully met from England and America, there would not have been any cloth shortage in India. According to Mr. Thackersay, at one time as much as 1,700 million yards were taken out of the Indian production to meet the export demands and the requirements of services in India. Even to this day it is in the neighbourhood of 1,450 million yards. According to a calculation published in the *Eastern Economist* (April 13), the net available for civil consumption is only 4,400 million yards, that is, only 11 yds. per capita per annum. A correspondent of the *Eastern Economist*, who, according to the journal, ought to know and who doubts the accuracy of the figures given out by the Textile Commissioner on different occasions, has given the following alternative estimates:

Mill production	3800	4700
Handloom production	1600	1200
Imports	900	—
Total	6300	5900
Less Exports	—150	—600
Less Defence requirements	—	—900
Net available for consumption	6150	4400

In this calculation it has been rightly claimed that handloom production has gone down from 1600 to 1200 million yards. The production figure of 1600 million yards of handloom cloth is based on the surplus yarn theoretically available for the handlooms; but it is now a hard and unassailable fact that a large quantity of this surplus yarn does not reach the handloom weaver. It is therefore useless to stick to the theoretical production of handloom cloth. Thus we find that the available cloth for civil consumption has been brought down from the normal average of 16 yards to 12 yards

according to the Government, and to 11 yards only according to unofficial calculation.

Government Failure to Aid Production

The question that logically follows is that with the increasing demand on the mills, what have the Government done to increase production? The natural increase in production during war years from 4,000 to 4,800 million yards just balanced the imports. Government assistance was necessary to carry production beyond that point, but that did not come. Mr. Thackersay says:

During all these years no new productive machinery could be obtained and no addition could be made to plant either for fine cloth, coarse cloth or yarn. This is the position even today.

One must remember that there were great opportunities for such expansion. Mr. Thackersay says:

There are two ways of achieving an increase in production. One is rationalisation, and the other is by working the machinery for longer hours than at present. The available machinery in the country could produce 6,000 million yards and perhaps some more yarn; but this could be achieved only under certain conditions, chief of which are more labour and more coal to enable the industry to work three shifts. Both the requirements are not easy to obtain and will need the Government's active assistance.

This active assistance came, but in a reverse direction. In reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy, on February 13, the Commerce Member of the Government of India admitted that the Textile Commissioner, in view of the coal shortage had suggested in January last to the panel members of the Cotton Textile Board, excepting U.P. and Madras, to advise mills in the areas concerned to have organised closures for short periods to enable them to build up a small stock of coal. The total loss of production due to such closures in January alone was admitted to have been in the neighbourhood of 23.7 million yards. We have however reason to believe that such closures had begun since December last and continued up to March involving a total loss of production of about 70 million yards. Further questioned, the Commerce Member admitted that no jute mill was advised to discontinue working on account of coal shortage, and no instructions were issued or suggestions made to any industry, other than Textile, for a closure or curtailment of output due to want of coal. The coal shortage has also a history behind it. Coal loaded on wagons in the collieries for despatch to other industries were diverted to jute and paper mills. In reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy on February 20, the Supply Member, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar admitted that notices under the D.I. Rules had during the last few months, been served in several instances on collieries for the purpose of forcing them to deliver coal to three industries in supersession of the normal approved process of allotment. Of the three such extremely essential industries, Sir Ramaswami named only two—jute and paper—and about the third he said, "I am unable to recollect the third". In any case it was not the cotton mill. Asked about the reason for doing so, Sir Ramaswami stated that if the jute mill industry did not get the coal, the result would be that the Government would be unable to keep its promise of guarantee of minimum price of

jute which it had undertaken. Jute would become excessive, the selling pressure would be such that the prices would topple down and it was "in the interest of the jute producer and the essential economy of Bengal and the jute mills production must be kept up." Jute prices could easily have been kept up by reducing the area under jute, but that could not be done as it would have run counter to the British jute mill industry. The Government, therefore, kept the mills going so that their profits were assured, and were eager to honour their commitments to the jute-growers, undertaken for the ultimate benefit of the mills, even when such a step enforced nudity on the people.

Increase in production in other directions also could have been effected, but were not done. Production of mills in South India using hydro-electric power, could have been greatly increased, had the Government granted them some facilities about the depreciation allowance for machinery. The Government have not yet responded to the textile industry's request for a higher depreciation allowance in order to compensate for the increased wear and tear of the machinery as a result of the mills having to work additional shift. Similar depreciation allowance has been allowed to coal industry, in spite of the fact that coal raisings have not been substantially increased, probably for the reason that this industry is dominated by British vested interests.

The entire amount of any shortage in production, which has been solely due to the fault of the Government, have been deducted from the available supply for civilian consumption.

Export of Cloth

A very important feature of the cloth famine is the forced exports. The Government of India, from the very beginning, maintained an atmosphere of secrecy about the exports. When hard pressed they tried to show that these exports had been undertaken at the request of the industry and in the interest of India for building up an export market abroad. The real truth about the exports has at last come out when Sir Md. Azizul Haque had to admit, in reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy, that exports of cloth had been undertaken at the behest of the Allies. It was settled at Washington and that the Government of India had no power either to stop or to alter the quantum of such exports. The stages through which Sir Azizul had passed before making this important admission will be of much interest. On November 15, 1944, in reply to a supplementary question asked by Mr. Neogy, the Member for Industries had stated that the decision as to quota and quantum of export for the benefit of foreign countries was taken after consulting the Textile Control Board. On February 13 last, when he was asked by Mr. Neogy to produce extracts from the proceedings of the Textile Control Board testifying to their approval of the policy underlying the exports, Sir Azizul said, "My statement that the decision as to the quota for export was taken after consulting the Textile Control Board is not strictly accurate; but it is a fact however that the export trade welcomes the facilities for exporting this quantity and the Textile Board has been kept fully informed since its formation." Mr. Neogy, however, did not let this very important matter stop here. On March 8, he asked:

(a) With reference to the reply given by the Honourable Member for Industries and Civil Supplies to my starred question No. 176 on the 14th February, 1945, to the effect that the export trade welcomes the facilities for exporting the allotted quantity of textiles and the Textile Board has been kept fully informed about it, will the Honourable Member please state whether representatives of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry do not generally disapprove of the export policy in this behalf?

(b) Is it a fact that at a meeting of the Panel of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry (Standard Cloth) held on the 31st January, 1943, prominent representatives of the industry, such as Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Sir Shri Ram and Sir Ness Wadia, adversely criticised the export policy of the Government holding that the home market was more important for the industry than the export market and that most of the countries where exports of cotton textiles were being made at the instance of Government, would not remain customers of Indian concerns after the war was over? Is it a fact that representatives of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry and others present at a conference held in Bombay under the Chairmanship of Sir Akbar Hydari on the 1st and 2nd June, 1943, were of the opinion that export of cotton textiles could be permitted only after the internal demand of India had been fully satisfied?

Sir Azizul replied:

It is correct that in January 1943, Sir Shri Ram, Sir Ness Wadia and Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai criticised Government's export policy for the reasons given. They were however a minority in a meeting of 27. We have no detailed records of what was said at the meeting of 1st and 2nd June, 1943; it is possible, however, that some of the invitees to the meeting may have expressed the views suggested by the Hon'ble member.

It was therefore finally revealed that exports had not been undertaken at the request of the Indian textile industry and trade but it had been done for wider and deeper reasons. This reason had also come out on February 13, when Sir Azizul told Mr. Neogy that "All foreign countries do not state their requirements to the Government of India but quotas are determined in accordance with a global planning scheme which is discussed with His Majesty's Government and subsequently considered by the Combined Production and Resources Board, Washington. The types of goods licensed for export against quota are controlled by the Government of India in the light of supply position in the country." He also said that details of quotas fixed for each country were confidential. It is therefore quite clear now that a confidential decision taken in Washington by the British and American Governments can, in effect, reduce the people of India to nudity with the support and assistance of the Government of India. At the same time, it has been authoritatively stated that imports of British textile products are coming. We wonder if the Government of India had even pointed it out to the authorities that these imports of British cloth might be diverted to the Middle East for relieving the Indian exports. Obviously this has not been done. A void has been created in the supply position of cloth in this country and it is only natural that this void will be filled in by the British imports.

Indian Central Rice Committee

A Bill providing for the creation of a fund to be spent by a Committee specially constituted for the

improvement and development of the cultivation and marketing of rice and rice-products and all matters incidental thereto is now pending in the Central Legislative Assembly.

Introducing the Bill, Mr. Tyson said that the funds for the Committee should be provided by the levy of a cess not exceeding a rate of six annas per ton on all paddy which is hulled in power mills in British India. Only 27 per cent of rice produced in India was brought to mills, and the cess works out at less than one pice per maund or one anna per annum to each member of a rice-eating family. It was expected to raise Rs. 24 lakhs a year in this way.

The main object of the Bill is to put rice research, development and technology on a more permanent basis than it stands at present. The deficit production of rice in India, coupled with the increase in population can no doubt be balanced by an increased production in a planned way and to achieve this end, research will be necessary. The Committee, when constituted, would utilise the fund to defray expenditure involved in (a) undertaking, assisting or encouraging agricultural, industrial, technological and economic research; (b) supplying technical advice to growers and owners of mills; (c) encouraging the adoption of improved methods of cultivation and storage; (d) promoting testing, and distributing improved varieties of seeds; (e) aiding the control and destruction of insects and other pests and diseases of paddy and rice both in the field and in storage; (f) promoting the improvement in the marketing of paddy, rice and rice products, including the adoption of standard grades for paddy and rice; (g) collecting statistics from growers, dealers and millers on all relevant matters and improving forecasting of crops; (h) maintaining institutes, farms and stations as necessary; and (i) doing of such other things as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of the Act.

The Committee is proposed to be formed on lines similar to those of the Indian Tea Cess Committee, Indian Central Cotton Committee, Indian Lac Cess Committee, etc. The Committee will include representatives up to a maximum of 51 members of which 14 will represent rice growers, 14 the rice industry and trade, 5 nominated by the Central Government and the rest forming the technical officers of the Central and Provincial departments of agriculture with the Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research as its President. The Bill has been circulated to the provincial governments, and all except Bihar have approved it. Bihar stated that rice was a valuable commercial crop and the cost of research for its improvement should be supported from the ordinary revenues. This was also the opinion of several members of the Assembly. The Bill has been circulated for eliciting public opinion. The *Science and Culture*, published under the guidance of the Indian Science News Association, supports the formation of such a committee but points out that they should have the representatives of the consumers and of universities of similar non-official organisations in it. Further, in its opinion, rice being the staple food (and not a commercial crop), Government should at least provide half of the proposed funds for the Committee. We entirely agree with the views of the Bihar Government in this matter and believe that it is the duty of the Central Government to find the entire amount necessary for maintaining the Committee. A Central Government which makes a gift

of Rs. 8 crores for the rehabilitation of Europeans in their homeland, can and most certainly ought to find this paltry sum of Rs. 24 lakhs themselves, instead of trying to pull this amount out of the pockets of the rice industry and trade, and ultimately the consumer.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Seldom has the hour needed and produced the man of destiny, in the history of human civilization, as when in this catastrophic war Roosevelt stepped out on the world stage. And seldom has the hand of Fate removed the man with the tragic suddenness of the passing of the great President. There are other figures in this gigantic struggle on either side with claims for prominent pedestals in the archives of history, but they all possess considerable backgrounds in the continuous process of strife, destruction and trial of International wits, which started with the Entente Cordiale and has culminated with the present world-conflagration. The U.S.A. has up till now kept out of power politics and as such Roosevelt was an unknown quantity when he intervened on the side of democracy when the Axis seemed to be irresistible and all-powerful. By this intervention, Roosevelt has written a whole chapter of World History, indelibly stamped in every page with his towering personality, in shining letters of hope, endeavour and achievement.

In the turning of the tide in favour of the United Nations no other single man can claim the amount of the credit that stands to the account of Roosevelt. No one else had shown so much sympathy and understanding with causes that were apparently lost and no one else had persuaded his nation to undertake so much from purely altruistic motives. India was totally outside the scope of his beneficent actions so far as its nationals are concerned, but a sister Asiatic nation, Free China, owes an irrepayable debt of gratitude to him and through him to the American nation. And for that alone all Asiatics should remember him as being the first great Westerner that displayed a non-acquisitive interest in the affairs of an oriental nation.

Rabindranath Memorial Fund

The re-organised Memorial Committee has made some progress during the few weeks it has functioned. We understand from the Secretary of the committee that the 3 lakhs mark was reached at the close of the month of April.

An Error Corrected

In the *Modern Review* for April, the Pangire case was incorrectly stated as police zulm in C. P. The incident occurred in the Kolhapur State in the Bombay Presidency. The reference to the Governor of C. P. was therefore needless. We regret this unusual oversight.

Lahore Civil Liberties Conference

The Lahore Civil Liberties Conference, presided over by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, provided a common platform for the Congress, the Muslim League and the other political parties to put forward a united demand for India's independence. Choosing for his theme the posthumous statement of the late President Roosevelt

which pleaded for the conquest of doubts, fears, ignorance and greed all over the world, Mr. Desai declared, "If Roosevelt's statement means anything, it means that this war would have been fought in vain if the subject races, who have been made to fight in this war for freedom and in the name of freedom, are to remain in subjection after the war is over. If Java and Sumatra are to go back as territories to Holland, and Indo-China to France, Malaya to England and Burma is to remain a dependency, and India is to continue as a jewel of the British Crown, then we, as honest men, have no interest in this war. The world will not accept the solution if the new order is going to be a replica of the past, and if the white races continue to rule more than half the world inhabited by coloured races. Millions of men would have died in vain and billions of dollars would have been spent in vain if once again the same issues (still unsolved) are to remain before the world. Supposing the world remained as it was, how could it be said that they had conquered greed—organised greed of white races? The real issue is what is to be the world of tomorrow, if the motive of ambition and greed is going to produce the same series of wars leading to the same series of destruction. Again, how could it be said that the world had conquered fear if India is not free and is always in fear of the British bayonet."

Explaining the Congress attitude towards the war, Mr. Desai said that it was gross misrepresentation to say that we had not offered to go to war with Germany. What was the use of fighting Germany if England was to be free and India to remain a subject nation? If it had been or even now was made our war for our freedom, we would gladly suffer any amount of regimentation and temporary loss of personal liberty. We would gladly and wholeheartedly fight for our own freedom and also of those who compass it. Let the world, before it makes plans for the security and peace of the world by a combined armed force, know that all those arms would only have to be used against the subject races of the world in the next global war, for they will now refuse to remain subjects despite all threats of dire consequences.

Inaugurating the Conference, Mr. Saifuddin Kichlew, the former President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, said that the Civil Liberties Conference was a common platform for every Indian, whatever his political views. There was no one in India who did not want immediate freedom for his country. Mr. Kichlew made it clear that Swaraj will have to be wrested from unwilling hands and we must prepare ourselves to win it by sacrifice and suffering. Raja Ghazafar Ali of the Muslim League said that whatever the enemies of our freedom might think and say, a time had come to sink all our differences and to forgo a united front for India's freedom.

The Conference discussed the application of the Defence of India Rules in the country. It was of the opinion that the Defence of India Act, Rules and Orders were not being utilised by the Executive for the purposes for which they were designed but for the suppression of legitimate rights and civil liberties of the people. The Conference condemned the restrictions imposed by the Government hampering the growth of a free press in India. A protest was also made against the misuse of the powers of censorship to suppress news and views of a political nature merely because they were inconvenient and distasteful to the Government.

The Sapru Plan

Elsewhere in this issue we publish an article on joint electorates, dealing mainly with the Sapru Plan, written by one of the foremost journalists of the land. We do not agree with all his conclusions, but we think it desirable that views from the eminent thinkers on the subject should be given the widest publicity.

It must be admitted that the Sapru Plan is undemocratic in principle because real democracy does not permit of any weightages or special favours or anything of the kind. Race or religion has no claim for special representation in political bodies, high or low, in any land where real democracy is functioning. In Britain, no special representation for the Catholics has been provided in her Parliament although the Catholics consider themselves an entirely different entity as against the Protestants. Similarly in the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. no separate or special representation has been provided in their Legislatures on religious or racial grounds.

Such measures as envisaged in the Sapru Plan can be acceptable in a democratic constitution on the clear understanding that it will be an interim arrangement and that for the specific purpose of bringing back the joint electorate system into vogue. The greatest possibility of danger in the Plan lies in that if the communal arrangements are torn from the context and shaped by our foreign constitution makers, discarding its joint electorate proviso, it will be a source of unmitigated evil to the country. The entire purpose of the conciliation plan will be completely defeated unless joint electorate be made the *sine qua non*.

Hindu-Muslim Parity at the Central Executive

Three weeks before the publication of the Conciliation Committee's proposals, Sir Mahammad Zafarullah Khan, in an article in the *London Times* under the heading "Communal Issues in India" wrote:

"In the Central Executive the Muslim claim to participate on a basis of a 50 per cent share must be conceded. That is to say, half the Ministers at the Centre must be Muslim and the head of the State should be alternately a Muslim and a non-Muslim."

This is exactly what Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has proposed although with the proviso of joint electorates. Sir Zafarullah then says:

Regarding defence and other Central services, the Muslim claim would again be half.

This article was substantially reproduced in the *Statesman*, Delhi Edition, dated March 23, 1945. By the side of this article was printed a letter from a Muslim under caption "Ending the Deadlock: A Muslim View" which suggested the following solution:

There is one way in which H. M. G. can intervene. They must now have been convinced that the Muslim nation is so irreconcilably opposed to a United India. If H. M. G. must intervene they can do so by framing a constitution and imposing it on the basis of Muslim autonomy and keeping it in force until another agreed constitution is presented to them jointly by Indian parties.

A liberal Hindu, Rai Bahadur Chunilal Roy, Retired Deputy Commissioner of Excise and Salt,

Bihar, sent a reply to this letter, but the *Statesman* did not publish it. This letter was ultimately published in the *Bihar Herald*, dated April 3, one week before the publication of the Sapru proposals. Mr. Roy replied to Sir Md. Zafarullah's proposals in the following words:

Fifty per cent share for Muslims in the Central Executive is exceedingly unjust, not only for the very large Hindu majority, but also for minorities other than Muslims who will possibly never get a chance of coming into the picture, although their aggregate percentage is 10, i.e. two-fifths of that of the Muslims. It would really mean domination by the 24 per cent minority over the majority constituting 76 per cent; and if simple majority domination is bad, minority rules must be worse. Fifty per cent for Hindus constituting 66 per cent of the population and 50 per cent for Muslims and other minorities (or even 48 per cent for the Hindus, 35 per cent for Muslims and 17 per cent for other minorities) would be more equitable. In defence services, why should non-Muslim proportion, 66 per cent during troubled periods of war (*vide* Mr. Amery's statement in Commons on 8th July, 1943) and with more than 75 per cent VC's earned, be suddenly cut down to 50, to enable the Muslims to have his 50 per cent in easy times of peace?

Broadcasting of the reactionary Muslim views and suppression of the corresponding Hindu opinion in the organs of British Imperialism in this country and abroad, unmistakably indicates that attempts will now be made to adopt all the worst features of the Sapru proposals, torn from its context of joint electorates, as the basis for the drafting of the future constitution of India. Zafarullah has forestalled Sapru.

The Home Member's London Visit

According to the *National Call*, there is something ominous and sinister behind Sir Francis Mudie, the Home Member's hurried visit to London. The *Call* believes that he has been summoned to be beside India Office during the Wavell talks, and that his and Mr. Conran-Smith, the Home Secretary's visit is not entirely in connection with the recruitment of Imperial services although it will form one of the subjects of their visit.

The *National Call* has already published that Lord Wavell has gone with a valuable gift from India to Britishers in the Army in that they can get into the Indian Civil Service and the Imperial Police Service through selection and nomination and without competition. The process has already begun in and at the cost of Bengal. The Government of India, it appears, has already agreed to the lowering of qualifications giving exemptions in age limits, etc., and what is more, the arrangement would be not merely a war-time expedient but a permanent feature of recruitment of the heaven-born services. The fifty-fifty ratio is being maintained. The *National Call* understands that a modest proposal that the recruitment may be on the basis of 70 Indians and 30 Britishers was turned down. The *Call* understands that Lord Wavell has already taken that gesture of goodwill from Delhi. Sir Francis Mudie and Mr. Conran-Smith should not be needed for that purpose unless the India Office is not competent to frame rules granting facilities and exemptions to British personnel in the Indian Army now in United Kingdom and willing to join the Imperial Services.

An independent India will certainly require that the Indian administration be run by fully nationalized services, solely in the national interest. The existence of foreigners in the highest administrative posts of a country, specially where such foreigners are recruited from the ruling class, is a hindrance to the progress of the country which pays them. Egypt bitterly realised the force of this obvious truth and India is doing it now. In the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, drastic regulations against the inclusion of foreigners in the Administrative Services have been provided. In India also, a complete liquidation of the existing I.C.S. and I.P.S. is necessary. Highly efficient Civil and Police Services can be built up in this country at a much lower cost if the recruitment is confined solely to the test of merit, and to the complete exclusion of nomination and selection on any grounds whatsoever. Minority representation on the services may be confined to the giving of a full and fair opportunity for qualifying for the competitive examinations. If services of any foreign expert be necessary for any branch of the services, special contracts may be made to that effect. Knowing the growth of such sentiments in India, the authorities at White Hall have become eager to get India committed to the inclusion of Britishers in the services to such an extent that she will be compelled to retain them for fear of paying a staggering amount by way of compensation in case the services are liquidated. This argument however has not much force in it. If India can pay alms to the white men of Europe, through the U.N.R.R.A., to the extent of Rs. 8 crores, she can certainly find means to purchase the British pets in the services.

Political Motives for Mudie's Visit

The *National Call* writes:

It is wellknown in New Delhi, particularly among political quarters that there is always an inner cabinet for every Viceroy. The Home Member, the Director of Central Intelligence Bureau, the Foreign Secretary and the Political Adviser form this inner circle. Sometimes suitable additions are made for special objectives. This inner circle, it is said, is not happy over the proposed changes in the Central Government. It wants the *status quo* at least for the duration of the war and has already explained to high quarters now that the coming in of popular governments would prejudice war effort!

Sir Francis Mudie belongs to this inner group. This group has its spokesman in the person of Sir Reginald Maxwell as adviser to the Secretary of State for India. Sir Reginald was Home Member here before Sir Francis Mudie came and everyone in India knows how ill-disposed he was towards the political parties in India. Sir Reginald made Mr. M. N. Roy the adopted son of the British bureaucracy here with Sir Maurice Hallett, the Governor of the United Provinces as Roy's godfather.

According to lobby talks Sir Francis is being called to strengthen the reactionary forces in Whitehall and to sabotage the Wavell Mission, supposing that Mission had the objective of a political settlement in India. The question of the recruitment of services may be a side-issue, an issue on which the Home Secretary, Mr. E. Conran-Smith would be able to have a better say.

Sir Francis Mudie according to his own speech in the Legislative Assembly last week (which a local contemporary characterised as 'remarkable' and conciliatory) said that he did not believe that the Con-

gress had given up the 1942 spirit. It is said that he thinks that the move to get the Congress into the Central Government and the provinces was intended mainly for the rehabilitation of the Congress organisation and high officialdom in New Delhi represented by the Inner Cabinet would not like to facilitate such a state of affairs. Sir Francis Mudie has not taken lessons from Sir Maurice Hallett in vain, is the comment heard in political quarters.

The attempt to revive reactionary Muslim League activities in London and Cambridge just at the moment when Lord Wavell is banking on the Desai-Liaquat Pact may not be without significance. It is not possible to guess the precise intention of Lord Wavell's visit and the cause of its prolongation, but from the report quoted above it may be understood that the Viceroy's visit has caused some amount of nervousness in diehard quarters both at New Delhi and in London.

Opposition to the Formation of London Muslim League

Sheik Abdul Gaffur, a Moslem barrister in London, has decided to form a new organization called the Muslim League of Great Britain, in collaboration with a number of Moslem students of the London, Cambridge, Manchester and Edinburgh universities.

The object of the new League will be to support the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan. Two prominent Muslim organizations in London, namely, the Indian Nationalist Muslim Association and the New Indian Centre opened by Syed A. M. Qureshi, have decided to oppose the move for establishing a new communal organization in London.

Syed Qureshi stated in an interview that any member of the new organization would not be eligible for membership of the Centre. 'A majority of members of the Centre are against the formation of any communal or sectarian organization in this country,' he said.

Mr. Horace Alexander has pointed out in his admirable little book *India Since Cripps* that the first germ of Pakistan was planted at Cambridge by a Muslim named Mr. Rahamat Ali. This same gentleman has of late been publishing nicely got-up pamphlets explaining his Pakistan scheme with maps specially drawn for the purpose which shows that the whole of India should be painted green with occasional white Hindu spots. It is therefore only to be expected that attempts would be made to convert Cambridge, together with London, into centres of League activity on the eve of the drafting of a new Constitution for India.

Bombay Planners Support Economics of Pakistan

The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:

Sir H. P. Mody and Mr. John Mathai have maintained in a memorandum submitted by them to the Sapru Committee that Pakistan is economically possible. We called attention some months back to an article in the *American Foreign Affairs* by a geologist who analysing the available data, pronounced that Pakistan would have few of the mineral resources needed for important industries. Everything is economically possible. If there is not enough food to go round, you may achieve the economic possibility by tightening your belt. Some American industrialists have framed a scheme to make the Sahara desert an economic paradise.

Mussolini's achievement in making Libya a flourishing Italian colony evoked the admiration of observers, including the eminent English Socialist Brailsford. In any case, the issue of Pakistan cannot be decided on economic considerations. If mineral resources are the chief factor to be taken into account, Great Britain would not be entitled to be an independent State. Pakistan, again, may be a land overflowing with milk and honey. But that would not outweigh the moral and historical considerations which make it out of the question. It is not for the industrialist or the economist to decide on questions of national boundaries. If all that the two Bombay magnates intended to say was that Pakistan need not be put out of court on the ground of its economic insufficiency, they would be right but the relevancy of the opinion at this juncture may be questioned. Anyhow, Mr. Jinnah should be duly grateful to the good Samaritans for intervening to prevent Pakistan from perishing on the wayside.

The memorandum of these two gentlemen is no doubt fraught with great mischief. They have supported what men like Sir Sultan Ahmed and Dr. Ambedkar believed to be an absurdity.

Separate Representation for Ahoms in Assam

Separate representation for Ahoms in the Local Boards has created a great controversy in the Assam Valley. The *Sylhet Chronicle* writes that charges are being levelled against the Congress Party in the Legislature for agreeing to such communal representation for Ahoms in the Local Boards. Emboldened by this success, the Ahoms are now claiming separate representation in the Legislature as well. It is reassuring to note however that the progressive Ahom Leaders have denounced this separatist tendency and the present concession of separate representation in the Local Boards has been very much resented. This is a new thing in the political life of Assam. S. J. Gopinath Bardoloi, Leader of the Congress Party in the Assam Legislative Assembly, has been compelled to issue a statement to clear this position but he does not seem to have succeeded in removing all doubts. He has emphatically said that till the Congress could not function as a lawful body, they must maintain *status quo ante* with regard to questions of a controversial nature of this sort. It is difficult to follow this argument. The last Saadullah Cabinet had no doubt made this mischief in spite of the futile protest of the Congress Party which then was in a hopeless minority. But now that the Congress in Assam has come to hold the balance of power in the Legislature and has entered into an agreement with Sir Md. Saadullah, the repeal of this mischievous measure should have been demanded. But not only that nothing of the sort has been done, Mr. Bardoloi has come forward to support *status quo ante*. Moreover, Mr. S. N. Bargohain, President of the Ahom Association and the chief exponent of this separate representation for the Ahoms, continues as a Minister in the Saadullah Cabinet functioning with Congress support.

It must be noted here that the Congress Cabinet in the Frontier Province has drafted Bills for introducing joint electorates in Local Boards. The late Khan Bahadur Allah Bux had also introduced joint electorates for Local Boards in Sind which was

repealed by the Ghulam Hossain Cabinet which took over the administration after him. The addition of one more separate communal constituency for representation to the Local Boards under Congress patronage certainly detracts from the Congress ideal.

Government Price Control Measures

Mr. J. Humphrey, Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, in his presidential address to the annual general meeting of the Chamber, criticised the Central Government in regard to their price control and trade policy. He said that the systems of controls appeared to have been hastily conceived and introduced, followed by constant additions, amendments and corrections which could not help acting to the serious detriment of honest trading. His Chamber feared that in the measures and methods now adopted, the foundation of normal trade might be so completely destroyed or at least weakened as to seriously imperil its future.

Mr. Humphrey emphasised that the Chamber would view with grave apprehension any suggestion on the part of the Government—Central or Provincial—to become traders. He said: "I mention this because there seem to be indications of this happening."

Intelligent opinion in the country will perfectly agree with Mr. Humphrey in this respect. Ninety per cent of the present-day bungling and mismanagement in the distribution of food, fuel, cloth and other essential commodities have been due to the Government's entry into trade and distribution. Sir Hugh Dow, Governor of Sind, who addressed the Chamber, seems to have admitted the soundness of Mr. Humphrey's views when he said that he would like to see war-time controls over trade and all attempts at Government trading abandoned at the earliest possible moment. When we remember that the Government have been relentlessly planning and preparing for post-war controls over trade and industry, we must take Sir Hugh Dow's opinion as purely personal and indicating no change in the official policy.

Sumner Welles on Asia's Freedom

Mr. Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State for U.S.A., writes in the *New York Herald Tribune*:

This time the desire for freedom will be even more widespread since many people will be inspired by the principles of the Atlantic Charter. If the United Nations Conference fails to deal with this great problem in the same spirit in which this war for freedom has been waged, Mr. Gandhi's prophecy that unless the peoples of the East obtain their fundamental liberties another and bloodier war will be inevitable will bid fair to be realised. . . . The people of the Orient are not going to be satisfied this time with unimplemented promises.

Mr. Welles has suggested international trusteeship for the administration of colonial areas to which countries like India will not certainly agree.

Death for Devotion to Duty

Two incidents of a revolting nature have been reported during the last University Examinations. One happened at Rangpore where a Pandit who had in-

curred the displeasure of an examinee taking unfair means at the Matriculation Examination was stabbed on the street and was removed to the local hospital in a precarious condition. We do not know definitely if he is still alive.

The second one is of much more serious nature and happened in broad day-light in the city of Calcutta. A gentleman named Makhan Lal Chanda, who had been acting as an Invigilator in the University B.A. Examination at the Darbhanga Buildings was murdered. On April 8, according to a report published in the *Azad*, the Bengali organ of the Muslim League Party, his dead body was taken in a rickshaw to the Calcutta Medical College where the two men accompanying the body, desired first aid for the man saying that he had fainted. When his body was being taken in a stretcher, they together with the rickshaw-puller, disappeared in broad day-light. Nothing has since been heard about it during the last three weeks.

We call this incident a disgrace for the police and the University authorities alike. What has so far been done to detect the criminal who is responsible for taking away the life of a man who did nothing more than his duty? If these things are allowed to happen unalloyed *goonda raj* will be established in the country. We refuse to believe that the police is powerless to detect the criminal. Did Chanda incur the displeasure of any examinee? Does the present Controller of Examinations know it? Was that examinee produced before the Controller? Has the police taken serious steps to ascertain facts that led to this murder? Nobody will ever believe that this incident had happened without any history behind it.

We draw the attention of the Governor of Bengal to this incident particularly for two reasons. He is the Chancellor of the University, and it is necessary that to maintain the fair name of the University, he should move to find out the culprit or culprits who murdered Chanda for doing his duty to the University. The other authorities of this body have done nothing during the past three weeks, and it is now necessary that the Chancellor should step in. Secondly, the maintenance of law and order in the entire province is now under his sole charge, and as the Chief Magistrate of the Province we think it is his solemn duty to set the entire machinery of the Executive Government for detecting the foul criminals and bringing them to justice.

Rabindranath as an Economist

The *Commerce and Industry* gives a graphic account of the achievements of Sriniketan. Rabindranath had pronounced economic ideas. He believed in the rehabilitation of rural life and the advancement of the economic condition of the village folk through cottage industries. He differed with Gandhiji in some fundamentals of rural economics. Tagore, unlike Gandhiji, wanted to apply and in fact did apply electric power to cottage industry. He understood the efficacy and usefulness of rural industries but he did not believe that *charka* alone could bring political salvation for the country. Tagore started a centre of rural economy and agriculture at Sriniketan. He did not live to see its complete fruition, but his economic ideas reach us today through his dream centre at Sriniketan. We

give below relevant extracts to illustrate the achievements of Sriniketan:

This is an ideal rural colony in a part of Bengal free from heavy rainfall and from the industrial exploitation that goes on the area not far off. The total number of workers is 456. On the industrial side the following figures of the average monthly earnings per month per head will be found interesting.

1940-41	..	..	Rs. 9
1941-42	..	..	Rs. 13
1942-43	..	..	Rs. 15
1943-44	..	..	Rs. 28

The total sale and production from 1938-39 to 1943-44 was as follows:

Sale	Production
20,000	18,000
40,000	42,000
81,000	82,000
1,40,000	1,50,000
2,90,000	3,00,000

Apart from the abnormal year of the war the figures show a gradually rising level of income as a result of better organisation and better output.

In terms of individual industries the following figures of income per head will be found useful.

Lattice work Rs. 37, weaving Rs. 32, carpentry Rs. 35, pottery Rs. 28, book-binding Rs. 24, paper making Rs. 8. Of high quality is bathick, (hand-printing), some of it is copied from Java, where it had gone from India.

The weaving shed contains some beautiful machinery of the Japanese model and can be used by power which, unlike in Sewagram, is permitted here.

In passing, it might be stated that only forty workers reside in Sriniketan and work regularly, one hundred come every day from the villages around, while in other cases work is taken to the villagers' homes, material being given to them for being converted into marketable products after a period of training.

The Sriniketan farm is the *tour de force* of the planners of the experiment. First-rate sugarcane crops are being grown here and all kinds of experiments of an intensive nature are being made. Special attention is being paid to seeds and cuttings which are supplied to the villages around. Besides the twenty acres under sugar cultivation, 80 acres are devoted to the cultivation of paddy, vegetables and fruits.

Like Tagore's poetry the fruit garden nursery is beautifully varied. Every type of fruit that can be grown in the soil is being tried. Like Tagore's metres, all kind of experiments are being made in grafting one variety to another. Attempts are being made to produce mangoes which if successful would make the farm beat every record in India, for at no single place can you get the *langdas* of Benares and the *bunganapallies* of Madras. In fulfilment of the spirit of exploration the great workers here are trying a unique cotton plant which will also yield flax. They are also trying to grow rubber.

The dairy is a study in veterinary eugenics. Not all experiments are successful but the cross-breeding is yielding valuable results. The *Harianis* have not found a natural home in Bengal, while two *Sindhi* bulls have settled down comfortably to produce a new race.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The last scene in the European theatre is fast approaching with the Russians battering their way across Berlin. The final thrust was delivered at the last barriers, put up by the Wehrmacht across the road to Berlin, with the colossal weight of 15,00,000 men and tens of thousands of mechanized weapons. The defences cracked and the Gargantuan spear-head surged forward until it bit deep into the nerve-centre of the Reich. Fire and fury and carnage followed and the world is now awaiting the news of the finale; the climax has come and history is being written and re-written with fast moving pen of Mars. The warning has been broadcast that this is not the end, and that Germany of the Nazis might yet try to stage another suicide attempt at resistance along the bulwarks of the South. It is true that organized resistance has not yet come to an end and the much-hoped-for sudden cracking-up of the Wehrmacht has failed to materialise. But with the linking-up of the Americans with the Soviets' forces the continuity of resistance measures has been sundered into two and the already desperate odds against which Germany is fighting are likely to be immensely increased in the immediate future. The end is in sight according to Mr. Churchill and he may at last have made a correct prophecy.

The actual course of the battle—or rather battles for Germany is fighting three desperate battles on disjointed fronts—is blacked out under the fire and smoke of war. The occasional flickering glimpses we do get through the news seem to indicate that there is still direction and organisation behind the defenders though their resistance is crumpling up under the vast preponderance of numbers and the weight of arms. The strain is telling, and the resignation of Goering is a pointer, but as yet there is no sign of the defence folding up. The defence has assumed a form of fanatic fury that does not give up till death, and what the Nazis met at Stalingrad and the Americans are meeting at Okinawa may well be duplicated in another form in the several theatres of war into which the Reich is being rapidly split. There is not much to write at this stage beyond indicating that the Wehrmacht is making a last desperate attempt at reconstructing and rearranging its defence strategy in order to prolong the war and to make its costs even heavier to the United Nations than what it stands at for the present. It was stated a little while back that Germany has got about a hundred divisions in Bavaria and the South-Eastern parts of the Reich. Further the defence that is being put up in those areas has not appreciably diminished in fury. It is to be seen whether all these moves at prolonging the war, which is but four months short of the beginning of the seventh year, can be checked in time by the Allied and the Soviets' strategists. The world has come very near absolute ruin, specially where the Western civilizations are concerned, and further prolongation might mean that the Allies would win a Pyrrhic victory. In Italy the Allies have crossed the Po at last and with the approach of summer decisive moves should follow.

In Burma things have started moving with some speed at last. Air opposition by the Japanese has been knocked out for all practical purposes and that has made the matter of supplying the fighting forces by air—and servicing them by the same means—a dependable and very considerable factor. This has substantially solved the main problems that faced the Allied forces and now we see the tempo of advance considerably accelerated. The monsoons are not very far off now in Lower Burma but now there are hopes that the 14th division may beat it in the race to Rangoon. With the freeing of the Arakan coast and the occupation of Lower Burma one of the main headaches of the Allied Command in South-East Asia would be removed. Seaborne expeditions will find some scope and the War for Burma, Malay, the Dutch East-Indies and further beyond, which seems as yet to be merged into the dim distant future might leap in sharp relief in the not-so-distant future.

In the Far East and the Pacific there has not been any sharp change. In China drive and counter-drive of the trans-continental railway is continuing in the same ding-dong fashion as before. The Chinese have achieved some successes but as yet the peril of the Japanese in the areas concerned is still very real as is evident from their latest moves. At Okinawa the Japanese resistance is as furious as ever and it seems to follow the pattern of the defence of Iwojima very closely. Further the defence here is greater force, with considerable air-support and therefore suicide defence to the last seems to be a foregone conclusion.

The most significant point in the war against Japan has been the extreme effectiveness of American air-power. As at Iwojima—and before that in the Philippines—in Okinawa the Japanese have been unable to refit or reinforce the defence forces to any perceptible extent due to the terrific far-flung weight and hitting capacity of the American air forces. Even in Burma the American tactical air force has knocked out the entire supply and refitting organisation of the Japs from the air and has been thus instrumental in isolating the individual garrisons that are opposing the Allied advance. If to this complete supremacy in the air we add the tremendous volume of air-borne supplies that are sustaining the Allied advance in Burma, we get a real and true picture of the main factor in the defeats that have been and are still being inflicted on the Japanese. In no other field has the supremacy been anywhere near as complete, though thanks to the titanic volume of American production the Allies are in a superior position in every sphere where the weight and variety of arms are concerned. With the continuous elongation of supply lines the strain on Allied supply and maintenance organisations is increasing and contrawise Japan's capacity for aerial opposition is increasing and this is the problem that is taking definite shape out of the Pacific campaign for the Allied strategists.

THE insistence of the Sapru Committee on the acceptance of joint electorates is, perhaps, one of the most important decisions arrived at after the bitter experience of many years.

Separate electorates based on communal considerations are a creation of British Imperialism which has found it handy to perpetuate British domination in India. Far-sighted Mahomedans, like far-sighted Hindus had been opposed to separate electorates—even to fixing a number of seats in representative bodies—fixed on communal considerations.

At the second Bombay Congress (1889) an amendment was moved by a Mahomedan delegate demanding an equal number of Mahomedan members on the Legislative Councils. The amendment was opposed by no less a person than Mr. Hamid Ali Khan who claimed that he represented the Mahomedan community as also the Hindus. He first adduced the argument that such a claim was preposterous and said :

"I honestly believe that while no good can come out of demanding or even obtaining an equal number of Musalman members on the Legislative Councils, you will necessarily rouse suspicion regarding your relations with and intentions towards, your Hindu brethren, by attempting thus, without any just cause or reason, to violate the principle of population on which our entire scheme of representation has been based, in furtherance of what some of you suppose to be your own special class interests."

He next referred to a possibility which has, since, become a positive danger :

"Moreover, you directly incite other communities, who are now perfectly satisfied with the scheme as propounded, to make similar preposterous claims. If you disregard the population standard—if you say, no matter if the Hindus number 15 crores and we only 5, we will have as many members in the Councils as they—why, by a parity of reason or unreason, should not the Parsees, the Jains, the Sikhs, the Europeans, the Eurasians, each and all claim to have as many members in the Councils as you or the Hindus? Gentlemen, the thing is absurd."

He paid a compliment to the Hindus when he said :

"The educated Hindus have never,—and all history is my witness—attempted in any way to injure the Mahomedans."

The amendment which Mr. Hamid Ali Khan opposed ran as follows :

"That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils is adopted, and that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh Esq., M.P., with the respectful request that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons."

The Scheme was thus adumbrated :

"(1) The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of Members not less than one-half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to sit *ex-officio*, and the rest to be nominated by Government.

"(2) Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units for electoral purposes.

"(3) All British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.

"(4) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances, at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.

"(5) All the representatives to be thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every 5 millions of the total population of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsis, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsis, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsis, Christians, Hindus or Muhammadans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bears to its total population. Members of both Legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications both of which will be settled later.

"(6) All elections to be by ballot."

The resolution embodying the scheme was moved by Mr. Eardley Norton. Among the speakers who supported the resolution were Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee.

This was the beginning of an important demand by the Indian National Congress; and the Congress rejected the demand made by a Mahomedan delegate to have Mahomedan representation in excess to the numerical strength of the community.

It was a far cry from 1889 to 1906. The intervening period was remarkable for the Swadeshi agitation emanating from the determination of the Government to perpetuate a partition of the province of Bengal. The attempt to drive a wedge between the two major communities of India can be traced to the anti-Congress activities of British administrators in India. And it is worth recalling that when "the ablest work in the anti-Congress literature"—"a pamphlet which bears the name of Oday Pertap Singh, Rajah of Bhinga" was examined by Sir Charles Dilke he remarked :

"The title is 'Democracy not suited to India'—a phrase which in itself seems to have the ring of a Lieutenant-Governor's study."

Though the attempt of the officials to wean away Mahomedans as a community from the national movement in India was not as successful as they wished it to be it certainly acted as slow-poison and its results clearly manifested themselves during the agitation over the partition of Bengal, when the first Lieutenant-Governor of the short-lived province—Eastern Bengal

and Assam—called the Mahomedans of that province his "favourite wife" and a situation created in which the Mahomedans hoped to dominate in East Bengal. Communal passions were played upon by unscrupulous emissaries of reactionary leaders with the result that communal riots broke out in various places and a leaflet was issued in which the following appeared :

"The Government and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca had passed orders to the effect that nobody could be punished for plundering and oppressing the Hindus."

The experiment of dividing Bengal into two provinces against the wishes of the people failed and what Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India called a "settled fact" was unsettled. But the experiment of setting one community against another was encouraging—so encouraging that Lord Minto as Viceroy and Governor-General of India tried to continue the ingenious policy of dividing the people of India into hostile sections. On 28th May, 1906, he wrote to Lord Morley :

"I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible counterpoise to Congress aims."

Thinking soon became crystallized in acting. And on October 1st, 1906, a Mahomedan deputation headed by the Agha Khan presented an address to the Viceroy. It was a "command performance." In the address which was verbose in composition and vacillating in tone it was said :

"We would . . . suggest that local authority should, in every case, be required to declare the number of Hindus and Mohammadans entitled to seats on Municipal and District Boards, such population to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements of either community. Once their relative proportion is authoritatively determined, we would suggest that either community should be allowed severally to return their own representatives."

In the service of the State it urged the rejection of Moslem candidates "on the ground of relatively superior qualifications having to be given precedence."

Lord Minto replying to the address said :

"The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation, whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board, or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organisation, the Mohammedan community should be represented as a community. . . . You justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you."

An entry in Lady Minto's diary on the day is interesting. It is called "a very eventful epoch in Indian history." On that day she received a letter from an official in which it was written :

"I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened to-day, a work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many years. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of seditious opposition."

That this policy of weaning quite a section of Mahomedans from the national movement was success-

"Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions—

Punjab—one-half of the elected Indian Members.
United Provinces—30 p.c.
Bengal—40 p.c.
Bihar—25 p.c.
Central Provinces—15 p.c.
Madras—15 p.c.
Bombay—one-third.

"Provided that no Mahomedan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests."

"Provided further that no Bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the Bill or any clause thereof or the resolution."

It has to be remembered that this resolution was adopted at a session of the Congress in which both sections of Indian nationalists had met after long years of separation. The President referred to the union after the Surat split in his address :

"After nearly ten years of painful separation and wanderings through the wilderness of misunderstandings and the mazes of unpleasant controversies, each widening the breach and lengthening the chain of separation, both the wings of the Indian Nationalist party have come to realise the fact that united they stand, but divided they fall, and brothers have at last met brothers, and embraced each other with the gush and ardour peculiar to a reconciliation after a long separation."

There is no gainsaying the fact that the two wings of the Indian Nationalist party had travelled from widely different points, through the valleys of disillusion and disappointment to meet by the unifying waters of a common suffering but during the period that had intervened between the session of the Congress held at Surat and the session that met at Lucknow the Indian National Congress had lost that vigour which it retained once more at its session at Calcutta the next year. And there will always be room for doubt if the resolution acquiescing in separate electorates would have been accepted without vigorous opposition in a session dominated by leaders like those who had stood for self-government at Surat.

The acceptance of the principle of separate electorates dealt a severe blow at the ideal of nationalism which the Congress workers had suffered sacrifices to foster.

The effect of this blow manifested itself in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms.

As the opinion expressed by Lord Minto was "inspired"—time was not lost to advance the experiment adumbrated and in 1909 the Mahomedans were given especial representation with separate electorates. And the Lucknow Congress made the best of a bad bargain in the hope that with the advance of nationalism the Mahomedan leaders will realise the retarding effect of the system of separate electorates on the making of a nation and reject it.

The signatories to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report indulged in especial pleading when they admitted the evil that must emanate from separate electorates and yet supported its retention in the case of the largest minority community in India. They made the following observations :

"We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of self-government among the nations who developed it, and spread it through the world, is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance; against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself."

They continued :

"Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted."

They even put stress on the serious results of the system which they admitted to be "opposed to the teaching of history" and remarked :

"A minority which is given special representation owing to its weak and backward state is positively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security; it is under no inducement to educate and qualify itself to make good the ground which it has lost compared with the stronger majority. On the other hand, the latter will be tempted to feel that they have done all they need do for their weaker fellow-countrymen, and that they are free to use their power for their own purpose. The give-and-take which is the essence of political life is lacking. There is no inducement to the one side to forbear, or to the other to exert itself."

They even regarded any system of communal electorates "as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing princes." But they only shuddered at the prospect of its extension and not at its "settled existence" in the case of the Mahomedans.

Here they indulged in elaborate especial pleading :

"We must face the hard facts. The Muhammadans were given special representation with separate electorates in 1909. The Hindus' acquiescence is embodied in the present agreement between the political leaders of the two communities. The Muhammadans regard these as settled facts, and any attempt to go back on them would rouse a storm of bitter protest and put a severe strain on the loyalty of a community which has behaved with conspicuous loyalty during a period of very great

difficulty, and which we know to be feeling no small anxiety for its own welfare under a system of popular government. . . . Much as we regret the necessity, we are convinced that so far as the Muhammadans at all events are concerned the present system must be maintained until conditions alter, even at the price of slower progress towards the realization of a common citizenship."

Thus the case of the Mahomedans was placed on a footing different not only from that of nationalism but also of the other minority communities.

The only remark of importance made—"But we can see no reason to set up communal representation for Muhammadans in any province where they form a majority of the voters"—was afterwards conveniently forgotten and subsequently "weightage" was prescribed for this community and the Hindu community divided horizontally by the recognition of the separate rights of the so-called Scheduled Castes, after the division of the nation vertically.

When the time for a fresh move arrived and the Round Table Conference arranged, the experiment of the British keeping India as a subject country by pursuing the policy of "divide and rule" had manifested its possibilities. And when Mr. Garvin wrote a three-column article in the *Observer* on "A Saving Plan for India" he urged the framing of a federal system for the United States of all-India; he examined the demand of 70,000,000 Indian Moslems and remarked that this huge formidable element—"the world's biggest minority", but virtually a co-equal force—must possess in any new system political "weightages" very largely in excess of its numbers. He remarked :

"That this strength of Islam is not a sure support favourable to the British position as formerly is our own fault. If the federation plan is to succeed a 'Moslem Charter' will have to be granted almost to the full extent."

He voiced the opinion of the sun-dried bureaucrats and said to the British nation :

"On all things we must be sympathetic, on many things we must be hardy and even daring in concessions, on some things we must be firm as a rock."

And a "Moslem Charter" was one of the things on which he asked the Britishers to be "firm as a rock."

The history of the so-called Communal Award is too recent to require detailed treatment. But it is an "accomplished fact." That in the interest of nationalism and the progress of our nation we want it to be unsettled goes without saying. But if we are sincere we must be prepared to suffer sacrifices, if need be, to convince the various communities which must coalesce and come together to form a united nation to go back to the old order of the joint electorate and any sacrifice that we may be called upon to suffer will only redound to its glory.

The time will come when experience will convince all communities in India that our political salvation lies in co-operation. Till then we must have patience and cultivate charity even for the weakness which others may manifest through misconception of the ultimate good, and win them over to the common cause of nationalism by preferring the energy of action to the heat of friction to achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves.



En route to the Rhine, a 3rd U.S. Army convoy crosses a tread-way bridge built by U.S. combat engineers over the Prum River



After crossing the Roer River in Germany, infantrymen of the ninth U.S. Army march through a wrecked town
Courtesy : USOWI



The Japanese set fire to the Manila buildings to bar the progress of U. S. troops



U. S. Marines fire at Japanese positions on Iwo Jima

Courtesy: USOWI

RIGHT OF NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION

Its Theory and Practice

By PROF. C. L. GHEEWALA, M. A.

The demand for the right of 'Self-determination' on behalf of small nationalities is one of the most complicated and baffling problem of modern politics. Theoretically almost every nation pays homage to the principle but in actual practice varied and conflicting interpretations, dictated by political and economic considerations, have been put upon it. The history of post-war Europe provides numerous examples of the application of this principle leading to the fragmentation of the middle and eastern Europe into a number of sovereign states in the name of national Self-determination.

The most eloquent exponent and champion of this principle of Self-determination was President Wilson who was responsible for formulating the "War-aims" during the last World War. Emphasizing the "rights of small nations" he laid down "that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful." He further observed in his address to the Congress in February 1918 that "Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which the statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril." However, it is amply demonstrated by the post-war period that these pronouncements that the war was fought for the defence of democracy, justice and liberty, were largely meant for popular consumption and that the Allied Governments utilized the slogan of Self-determination primarily to encourage the disruption of the enemy states.

The principle of Self-determination must be examined in the context of the three important aspects arising in the process of its application. Firstly, the basis of the demarcation of a nation; secondly, the channel for the expression of the nation's will; thirdly, the limits of the national will.

(1) The first aspect raised a number of complicated questions. What is a nation? By which criterion can it be determined? Different writers have emphasized different aspects of group homogeneity ranging from language, race, religion, civilization, and territory. Space does not permit any discussion of the various theories relating to the term nation, but it may be stated that in the contemporary world the demarcation of a nation is based on either the criterion of race or language. It is almost impossible to demarcate a group on the basis of race. Biologists and scientists authoritatively tell us that "pure races" are a myth of the pseudo-scientist. The population of the modern world is so closely mixed through migrations, wars, conquests, and miscegenation that any attempt to establish the racial purity of any group is doomed to failure. The real fact is that under cover of the racial myth, the Nazis and the Fascists have exploited the volcanic forces released by such irrational appeals to the 'blood', for rationalizing their designs of aggrandisement or persecution of certain minorities. Again, hardly any relation can be established between race and language. As Schuman points out, the one is a biological phenomenon and the other is a part of the cultural legacy of the past. If the Swiss nationals can use French, German or Italian and yet be Swiss, the Belgians can speak French or Flemish and yet be Belgians, it is difficult to accept language alone as the criterion of nationality. A nation is a product of a complex of historical forces, and a number of strands combine to produce the sentiment of national consciousness.

A nation in this sense is a very evasive and elusive group claiming a territorial demarcation and political

independence on the basis of unity in regard to race, language, religion and civilization. Numerous difficulties were experienced at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, when a demand was made for translating the principle of Self-determination into a political reality. It became patently clear that in a large number of cases the political boundaries could not be made to coincide with the racial, linguistic or religious boundaries. Central Europe presented the spectacle of a veritable tower of Babel with its numerous intermingling languages. Mr. N. Brailsford gives us the classic example of Macedonians who were claimed by six nations as their nationals! "The question as to which nationality the Macedonians really belonged to was the despair of ethnologists and the nightmare of European Cabinets." Though the Macedonians did not speak the Greek language, they were claimed by the Greek propagandists on the basis of a common Greek civilization. The Bulgarians argued that the majority of them were Bulgarians both in speech and sympathy. Serbians challenging the Bulgarians, asserted that they had much in common with the Macedonian dialects and folk-lore. The Albanians claimed them on the basis of race, whereas the Rumanians discovered affinity in language and civilization with a certain section of the population. And lastly the Turks, like the British in India, claimed to hold an even balance between the conflicting interests of minorities and establish an impartial government! Of course, the principle was applied to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Finland, Estonia and other states, but the new boundaries demanded for these states were dictated more by considerations of political, economic and military strategy and territorial aggrandisement than by purely national considerations. It may be even asserted that where such changes were likely to thwart the power or ambitions of the victors, these very champions of 'Self-determination' in the name of democracy and justice, stoutly opposed such changes. Thus the Germans in Tyrol, Alsace and Polish corridor were transferred under foreign rule without their consent, and likewise, the Hungarians were placed under the Rumanian, Czech and Yugoslav authorities. Self-determination thus became a principle of expediency rather than an imperative principle of action as President Wilson claimed it to be.

Again the U.S.S.R. solution of the problem of nationalities is both instructing and illuminating. The Bolsheviks flung the slogan of Self-determination at a time when Lenin both anticipated and desired what Zimmern describes as 'the break-up of that bourgeois nationalist society which he so detested.' Soviet Russia has evolved a unique constitution which seeks to hold within itself as many as 180 nationalities with 151 different languages. The federal structure of U.S.S.R. has constitutive units which themselves are federal in structure. From the point of view of the application of the principle of Self-determination, it is significant to note that the right to secession as granted by the Article 17 of the Constitution of 1936, applies only to the eleven Union Republics. Here too, the condition laid down is that they must be situated on the frontiers and that secession must be geographically feasible. The twenty-two autonomous Republics are independent only in the management of local affairs, and cannot assert 'Self-determination to the point of secession.' On this issue Stalin frankly admitted that the policy in 1917 was dictated more by "the concrete facts of the international situation and the interests of the Revolution" than by any allegiance to the democratic principle of Self-determination. "This is why," he said, "the Communists fight for the secession of colonies from the

eminent, but they must at the same time fight against the severance of border regions from Russia."

In addition to this, we must bear in mind the character of the Soviet political system which is described by Sir John Maynard, 'as one of intense centralization.' The constituent units of different grades have no right to formulate independent policies in regard to subjects like foreign policy and Defence, and economic programme. All such subjects are to be centrally determined and regulated. What the constituent nationalities actually enjoy in practice is the right to cultural autonomy. In fact any attempt at a declaration of independence or even a movement in that direction, or enacting of any legislation contrary to Bolshevik ideas or the directions of the Communist Party, as was amply demonstrated during the Purges of 1937-38, would be interpreted as 'treasonable' and counter-revolutionary activities' and as such would be ruthlessly suppressed.

The Soviet achievement in this direction and the propaganda carried on most assiduously in countries like India at the present juncture by the Communist party, need to be accepted with considerable qualifications. It must be remembered that the right to secede is a right on paper only. And, further, the exercise of the right of secession is effectively prevented by the structure of the Soviet State and the Communist doctrine that governs it.—(Michael T. Flounsky). Again, the centralisation of power at the centre in important matters and the dictates of Bolshevik ideology through the Communist Party render 'autonomy' of the constituent bodies practically nugatory. What exists in Russia is the recognition of the cultural autonomy of the nationalities involving the freedom to use their languages in the sphere of education and administration, and the encouragement of their literature and cultural institutions.

It is undesirable, nay dangerous to bring about a fragmentation of the world into a large number of small sovereign-states. They had a chance of surviving in the days of Balance of Power and Nineteenth Century economic liberalism. But with the rise of economic nationalism in terms of economic self-sufficiency, the small nation-states have no future. Whereas, when the modern world recognises the need for larger federal unions with a view to minimise national frictions and future wars, the demand for a small independent nation-state represents a revival of an outworn anachronism. It is necessary to pay heed to the warning given by the eminent writer Frederick Hertz "that national Self-determination is intended for nations and not for fragments of nations. It would be absurd to allow every province or town of a State to claim the right of secession. This would lead to a paralysing instability in everything and to political and social disintegration."

(2) With the progress of democracy the method of Plebiscite has received increasing recognition as a means of expressing national Self-determination. The two Napoleons made a successful use of the method for securing popular approval of their capture of power or annexations. Plebiscites were resorted to by the Italian States before their amalgamation in the present kingdom. By virtue of the treaties of 1919 nine popular referenda were held, in Schleswig, Allenstein, Marienwerder, Upper Silesia, Eupen, Malmedy, Klagenfurt, Burgenland, and the Saar Valley. In Schleswig, the population preferred to remain under German rather than Danish and the East Prussians in Allenstein and Marienwerder voted for German rather than Polish control. Eupen and Malmedy former German territories chose the Belgian rule. In Upper Silesia, the League Council divided the area to the disgust of nationalists in both countries; and by the Plebiscite of 1935, Saar territory was restored to Germany. In our days, Hitler has proved himself to be a master in the art of manipulating plebiscites.

The method of Plebiscite presents numerous dangers and difficulties in its actual operation. It is almost impossible to create the necessary conditions conducive for its normal exercise. In order that the people must be free to record their decisions, the atmosphere must be free from pressure, terror and suggestion. Even when an adequate electoral procedure and neutral policing are provided for, as Schoman points out, plebiscite embitters national feeling and leads to bribery, coercion and terrorism on both sides. The method fails to secure the free expression of the genuine national will. Instead the people record through their votes their fears, prejudices and economic interests, in accordance with the dictates of political expediency and the verdict of force. It is well-known that the Nazi method of plebiscites aims at hypnotizing the masses by an extraordinary technique of suggestion, ranging from the use of exciting speeches, intoxicating slogans, clever allurements and sinister intimidations through the press, the platform and the radio. The big drums, martial music, the flood of flags, dazzling illumination, the roar of bombers, all have contributed to the creation of an atmosphere under which critical judgment or intelligence can hardly function. In the light of this, even the most thorough-going democrat will be justified in being skeptical about the utility of plebiscites as a practical basis for the expression of national self-determination. In this connection it may be of interest to note the opinion of the League Council expressed when it refused to approve a plebiscite in the Aaland Islands, occupied by Finland and claimed by Sweden. The Committee observe "that to concede to minorities either of language or of religion or to any fractions of a population the right of withdrawing from the community to which they belong because it is their wish or their good pleasure, would be to destroy order and stability within states and to inaugurate anarchy in international life; it would be to uphold a theory incompatible with the very idea of the State as a territorial and political unity."

(3) The third question refers to the necessity of recognising the legitimate limits to the rights of national self-determination. Nationalism in the post-war world has assumed a bellicose and belligerent character and has found expression in the doctrines of aggressive economic nationalism and military megalomania. As Germany and Italy have demonstrated, such demands for national self-determination merely serve as a facade for advancing their annexationist ambitions. Once the right of self-determination is accepted, other demands emerge in terms of 'historic' frontiers, 'manifest destiny' and economic self-sufficiency. It becomes a basis for national irredentism, a fruitful source of conflict and annexationist policy in the international sphere. Alsace-Lorraine, Upper Silesia, Danzig, Memel were all in one form or other the part of the national 'irredenta' to be liberated or redeemed. As pointed out by Frederick Hertz the militarization of the Rhineland by Hitler in defiance of international law, was no extension of the democratic principle of self-determination but was 'the first step towards his policy of world-conquest and world-enslavement.' In a world of close international interdependence it is imperative to recognise that no nation-state in the name of self-determination can claim to exercise unlimited powers of Sovereignty. The history of Europe after 1919 is full of tragic experiences arising out of the application of the principle of self-determination. Having 'Balkanized' Central Europe, the principle assumed its most dangerous form in the hands of the Nazis and the Fascists. The German minorities became the 'Trojan horses' bringing about the destruction of the very states in which they lived. If the world is to live in peace after this second World War, we will have to relegate 'Sovereignty' and 'Self-determination' to their proper place and recognise the limitations arising out of the imperative needs of a larger world organization and international interdependence.

A REVIVALIST

Our Debt to the Swami Shradananda

PART III*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

XXIV

We fancy one thing. We build another. Often quite another.

Has the love from which sprang the design proved capricious? No. At least not in nine cases out of ten.

Has the purpose changed? We think it has not. In reality, it has, however.

When the image of our fancy is placed upon the anvil of reality and the ten-ton hammer of actuality is striking against it at an interval of every tenth of a second, it begins taking a shape. That shape, whatever it be, fascinates us.

That fascination prevents us from discerning that the forehead has not the protuberance that we gave it in our imagination. We do not see that the eyes are oblique—not almond-shaped. The nose is snub, not aquiline; the chin ends in a point instead of being square, as we had made it in our minds.

But for the purblindness superinduced by our partiality, we may throw away in sheer disgust the figure that comes out of the factory of fact. With the pride of paternity, however, we hug it to our breast. We hiss and spit at critics who point to the flat forehead, the slitlike eyes, the upturned nose and weak chin. We deride these men, for, to us they are fools or knaves, or more likely both.

XXV

I watched this great Punjabi, known as Munshi Ram then and as Shradhanand later, as he was coming to terms with reality in the early years of this century. Watching from a distance—half the world was between him and me most of the time from 1905 onwards—I had the advantage of perspective that I otherwise might have lacked.

Since Drona the Acharya was putting the princes and peasant boys from the Kuru and Pandava kingdoms through the paces, the world had moved on. Knowledge had been accumulating during these thousands of years. Science had been evolving, particularly after the Middle Ages. Art had been finding its way into man's life and giving that life an irresistible lift from materiality towards the upper regions of the senses and even towards the spiritual stratosphere.

Peoples who, in Drona's day, had hardly discarded skins and furs for homespun had perfected mechanical processes that archery, however cleverly practised, or the handloom, no matter how skilfully plied, could meet or match. Distance had been largely abolished. What remained of it was being pushed almost to the vanishing point.

The sky had been invaded—tentatively as yet. The ether was being punched and pushed by waves of Hertz's discovery, popularly known as the radio waves.

* For Parts I and II of this series, please see *The Modern Review* for March and April, 1945.

The aggressive spirit that characterized this transition had invaded every nook and cranny of outer life. This invasion was, however, of little consequence compared with the conquest of the mind and the heavy shadow lengthening against the soul.

XXVI

The vision splendid that Munshi Ram, now the Acharya, brought from the banks of the Beas as it flows near Jullundhar to the forest clearing across Ganga Mai near Hardwar, had, of necessity, to be mated with reality as it had been twisted and turned in the lathe of eternal transition. It was really the child of this duality that he was to wet-nurse, often, I ear, oblivious of the duality.

Ah me! Even this nursling of his was not to be permitted to grow undisturbed. Its eyes were to be extracted and glass eyes put in their place. Its face was to be lined—furrowed—tattooed. One limb was to be lengthened, another shortened. Wholly new feet were to be given it—feet pulled about by wires instead of having the play that Nature gives through nerve-impelled tendons and living muscles.

Worse still was to happen. Acharya Munshi Ram's right to lay down the law as to what was and what was not to be done was to be questioned. He was to be regarded as an amateur in education—indeed, a rank outsider. The respect—even the awe—in which he had been hitherto held was to wear thin. The giants of the forest upon which the axe had not fallen and which stood sentinel over the Gurukula, were to be disquieted with the impatient noise of disruption whereas, not long before, they had heard only the chirrup of birds and the yapping and yelping of their four-footed fellow-dwellers of the forest.

What agony was to be Munshi Ram's portion! How it was to give his life an entirely new direction!

XXVII

All this was destined to happen. It could, however, have been discerned only by a seer. To most mortals the institution had begun under the most favourable auspices.

The boys were the Guru's own, those of his kinsfolk, friends and admirers. It could not have been otherwise. Without faith in Munshi Ram, the risk involved in the Gurukula education could not be taken in the twentieth century.

Fortunately his was known to be a great heart—leonine yet tender as a woman's. Against it youngsters could snuggle. In snuggling they would forget the pangs of parting from their parents. That thought consoled mothers and not merely fathers, more easily consoled.

The bosoms of the helpers swelled with pride for the preceptor. Was he not transmuting an age-old

vision into a twentieth century reality. Each man of them hung upon his words—longed to carry out any and every behest of his with the literalness that is supposed to have vanished from this earth since it rolled out of the Middle Ages.

XXVIII

The path that the boys were to tread was, moreover, made. It was straight, broad and smooth. There was no mistaking it. For years it would need no mending, certainly no adding to or broadening.

The path?

The old Aryan path. Of Munshi Ram's conceiving, to be sure, but that conception quickened by millennia-old tradition. It led directly—inevitably—to the treasures of the ancient arts and sciences—treasures valuable for the body, mind and soul—valuable for this life and for the life everlasting.

In Munshi Ram's estimation, he had planted in the first decade of the twentieth century, the feet of his boys to tread over the foot-prints left behind by boys of India's Golden Age. As they trod it they chanted *mantrams* from the *Veda*—the self-same words and in the self-same intonations of those youngsters of the far, far-away yester years. These verses, he expected, would inspire them in identical fashion.

XXIX

The more tender the age at which he put the boys to learning the Sanskrit, he felt, the better it would be for them—the better for society as a whole. Their minds would be the more receptive—their vocal organs the more pliable and, therefore, their utterance (*uchcharana*) the more perfect.

Persons who had accepted the Mahatma's dictum that education was to be broad-based upon Aryan culture had no difficulty in appreciating, with full force, the emphasis he placed upon the acquisition of the Sanskrit. That language was to be mastered by every pupil, whether he intended, in the course of years, to qualify as a Vedic missionary, or a healing physician, or proposed to obtain only an arts degree, with which to enter the *shastra*-prescribed "householder's stage" that lies next to the *vidyarthi's* (student's).

XXX

Instruction in the *Gurukula* was to be imparted through the medium of what Munshi Ram called *Arya bhasha*. This may be translated as the language in use to-day by us, the descendants of the Aryans.

It was called, in my childhood, *Nagri*—literally of, or pertaining to, the metropolis—the speech of polite (urban) society. Some spoke of it as Hindi.

The effort to popularize it in the Punjab antedated the Swami Dayanand's coming there. The pioneer was an Indian who, even to-day, would be considered remarkable but in the eighteen-sixties and -seventies had hardly any peer in northwestern India.

Babu Nobin Chandra Roy by name, he had been born in Meerut in 1838 A.D. In a circumstance so distressing that it would have disheartened any one less courageous, he, while in his early teens, learnt English. He had already acquired a good working knowledge of Persian. All this the boy did while supporting his mother, who had become demented through her husband—his father—turning away from the world. He taught himself higher mathematics with tattered

books picked up from booths vending cast-off articles; qualified as an engineer's assistant; became an accountant; rose to the top of the accounts service; and in the evening of his life was the trusted Minister of a Maharaja in Central India.

Associated with Roy in the Brahmo Samaj, of which he was, I believe, the first convert in the Punjab, where he served, was a drawing master from what we now call the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Best known as Shri Dev Guru Bhagwan, he spoke and wrote beautiful Hindi.

After the coming of the Swami Dayanand, with his soul ablaze with enthusiasm for Vedic revival, the cult of *Arya Bhasha*, as he styled it, made new converts. It must, however, be remembered that even in the eighteen-eighties, when I first became cognizant of men and matters, the progress made in the Punjab in this direction was slight.

XXXI

The creator of the *Gurukula* was certainly no child of the free institutions of the Golden Age. He had, on the contrary, been bred and born—grown to man's estate—in the era of subordination. He had, in consequence, climbed up the educational ladder manufactured by Thomas Babbington (Lord) Macaulay or by men who, like him, suffered from race and intellectual arrogance. He had not learnt Hindi in boyhood. He had, in fact, had no choice but to study, at first Urdu and Persian and later English. He was taught no Sanskrit. To the end of his days the *Veda* in the original remained largely a sealed treasure to him. Judging him and appraising his work, we must bear such limitations in mind—limitations for which he was in no wise blameworthy.

When Munshi Ram finally saw the light, he took to the *Arya Bhasha* with zeal. This, however, exposed him to the wrath of Punjabis who were keen upon furthering the cause of the language of the province—the Punjabi.

My father, for instance. How many times I heard him protesting to this friend of his:

"My mother-tongue is good enough for me. You may regard it as the language of yokels all you please."

Some work had, of course, been done in manufacturing text-books in Hindi. It had been begun by Nobin Chandra Roy. Under his inspiration and with his help, Bhanu Dutt, a Punjabi Brahman, and others, carried it on with some vigour.

I am confining my remarks to the province of the Five Rivers. Upon going to Benares in the early years of this century and settling down at Sarnath for a time, I found that Pandit Ram Narain Misra, originally from Amritsar, and his colleagues of the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha, were actively and enthusiastically at work.

With the *Gurukula* in being, the endeavour was greatly accelerated and the composition of text-books was taken in hand. It was pushed forward energetically. As the boys advanced in age and studies, they found that their needs in this respect had been anticipated; and their progress was not held up through lack of books.

XXXII

As the original batch of *vidyarthi's* completed the elementary stage of education, a new phase in the life-history of the *Gurukula* opened. It was a phase of difficulty, complexity, contention and contest.

Higher studies must now be taken in hand. Sanskrit and Sanskritic culture must needs be assigned an important place in the scheme for secondary and college education. Even for young men who were to be missionaries in the cause of Aryan revival, these subjects could not, however, be deemed to be wholly adequate. They must learn something of sister systems of logic, psychology, ethics, dogma, exegesis and other branches of culture. Without at least an elementary knowledge of comparative religion, they would be pitched and tossed on the sea of controversy in which they, upon leaving the educational haven, would soon find themselves embarked.

Then, too, there were the others whom the Acharya, with all his enthusiasm for Vedic revival, could not prevent from making for other channels. They would need to acquire intellectual and technical equipment for making a success of their "householder's life."

XXXIII

Impelled by these urgencies as Munshi Ram was, he made a manful effort to hold fast to the past—the past that, to other mortals, was dead and had better remain buried: but to him was alive and life-giving. The other hand, however, he extended to grab the new.

The vision splendid that he had beheld did not blind him to this need. The training to be imparted in the medical faculty serves to illustrate this duality of objective.

The students were to be instructed in the discoveries made by the ancients versed in the science of life (*Ayurveda*). They were to be taught all there was to learn about the simples and herbs, potions and applications, which the physicians and surgeons had found effective during the preceding three millenniums. They were to be instructed in the cures prescribed by *Susruta*, Charaka, and a host of others, and the guides for health and hygiene they, by acute observation in clinics, in hospital, sick room and life in general, and by careful experimentation, had perfected.

The knowledge gained in other lands, particularly in Europe and America, during recent centuries was, however, not to be boycotted. Since the Middle Ages medicine had progressed from witchcraft to science. The advance had been rapid, especially during the nineteenth century and the pace was becoming accelerated.

With a few exceptions, foreign doctors looked superciliously upon *Ayurveda*. Indians who had studied medicine under them had become largely alienated from the past. Aping their teachers and associates, they derided their forbears' achievements. In their view the ancients were merely quacks. What could medical science (to them only the imported system was "science") have to do with quackery?

If ever there was wrong-headedness, it was this. Munshi Ram was fortunate in having at his beck and call Indians who had the eye to perceive it as such. Some of them helped him to work out a scheme that enabled the *vidyarthi's* to derive benefit from both the Eastern and Western schools.

XXXIV

The teaching of history, too, presented a problem, seemingly insusceptible of quick solution. All the books available were written in English by men who suffered from the "superiority complex," or those who had

grown up under their influence and, as a consequence, suffered from the "inferiority complex."

Some of these historians were actually cogs in the administration that held any and every Indian in subordination. One may be a member of the Indian "Civil" Service or may have retired a little earlier. Another may be or may have been a unit in an adjunct of that "Service"—the Education Service. A third may have been connected with a learned body in Britain that regarded India as a market for its living products. No openly commercial interest was more solicitous of keeping to itself a market than these graduate-manufacturing agencies.

When the history texts had been written, moreover, the fires of the Indian Sepoy Mutiny had hardly been extinguished. Passions still burned in the British breast.

Even the men sent out to dig our ruins and to decipher our lithic inscriptions and our numismatic legends, were not free from bias. To them Hellas was the *parens parentis* of civilization. They, therefore, read into our antiquity an imitative impulse.

XXXV

What good opening the *Gurukula* if teaching of history, pre-history and proto-history was to be based upon text-books emanating from such sources?

If, however, the text-books were discarded, what was to be substituted in their place?

Improvisation in a department of research such as this was risky. Yet improvisation was the only means that could serve the institution's purposes during its early years—improvisation plus the spirit with which the students handled the hastily prepared text-books in *Arya Bhasha* under the guidance of the professors.

Upon my shelves repose certain paper-bound volumes in Hindi that were among the products of such improvisation. They are from the pen of Rama Deva, of whom I have already written and to whom I shall refer again in the instalment that follows. Considering the rapidity with which they were compiled and rushed off to press, they are no mean achievement.

The soundness of teaching in history is attested to by the work done by some of the *Gurukula Snataks* (graduates). To this I shall refer in the article that follows this.

XXXVI

What I have said of the "history schools" applied with equal force to the departments of politics and economics. As text-booked and taught in institutions dominated by Universities, themselves not independent of a Government, itself in the Whitehall leading strings, they have been the politics and economics fit only for people in subservience.

The *Gurukula* authorities could not possibly escape that conclusion. Not having escaped that conclusion, could they have rested until they had evolved literature in their own medium of instruction that would nourish the students' minds and inspire their spirits to bring nearer the day when we, too, would walk among the peoples of the world with head held erect and high, like theirs.

XXXVII

Lastly—or was it initially?—was the problem pertaining to the place to be assigned in the scheme of

linguistics and literature to our rulers' mother tongue. Firstly, was it to have any place there at all?

The Acharya Drona and his contemporaries could never have been bothered by that question. If they had heard of it at all, they would have quickly dismissed it from their minds, as a language insufficiently developed to be of any great use for the purposes they had in view.

Had not Macaulay, however, boasted, in 1835 :

"... The claims of our language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminently even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature, with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisdiction, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of men. Whoever knows that language, has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which 300 years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together."

To quote Macaulay further, he declared :

"... I have never found one among them (Orientalists) who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."

And again :

"It would hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature in which the Eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanskrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But, when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say, that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical and moral philosophy the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same."

XXXVIII

There seems to have been method in Macaulay's madness. The reader may judge of the real *raison d'être* from this extract made from a letter he wrote his father a little later :

"... The effect of this (English) education on the Hindoos is prodigious. No Hindoo who has received English education, ever remains sincerely

attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy; but many profess themselves as Deists, and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that, if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without efforts to proselytize; without the smallest interference with religious liberty; merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection."

Macaulay's brother-in-law, Sir Charles Trevelyan, put the copying stone on these statements when he wrote, in a memorandum he submitted to the Committee set up by Parliament in 1853 to enquire into Indian affairs :

"... Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youth almost cease to regard us as foreigners. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same pursuits with ourselves, they become more English than Hindoos, just as the Roman provincials became more Roman than Gauls or Italians."

"As long as the natives are left to brood over their former independence, their sole specific for improving their condition is, the immediate and total expulsion of the English. ... It is only by the infusion of European ideas that a new direction can be given to national views. The young men brought up in our seminaries turn with contempt from the barbarous despotism under which their ancestors groaned to the prospect of improving their national institutions on the English model. ... they have no notion of any improvement but such as rivets their connection with the English and makes them dependent on English protection and instruction."

The comparison between our culture and theirs was as odiously phrased as it was inaccurate in substance. Despite the lapse of time, it stinks. I make no comment concerning the political motive behind the educational effort. The language used is plain. It stands in no need of gloss.

XXXIX

Though the references to the treasures created by the Sanskritists and Arabicists emanated from one completely ignorant of those languages, and litterateurs, Macaulay knew something of the creative effort of his own people. Since his time that effort has continued.

It would have been madness for any Indian to have turned a blind eye towards this acquisition of knowledge. I am glad that the creator of the *Gurukul*, who himself spoke English fluently and wrote English effectively, did not display such perversity.

He fitted it into the scheme of studies much as a carpenter would put an adze from Europe into his tool chest. This was, in my view, the right course to pursue.

To ignore English would have been as fatuous as to set it up as a fetish. I am glad that either extreme was avoided.

(To be continued)

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

Britain's Responsibility and Duty

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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III

THE DECLARATION OF AUGUST, 1940

I have dwelt above upon the question of separate representation through communal electorates and some of its evil effects. I shall now refer to the second factor which has contributed to the complication of our communal problem and the consequential intensification of communal bitterness in this country. This factor is the Declaration issued by the Governor-General of India on 8th August, 1940, with the authority of His Majesty's Government—popularly known as the Declaration of August, 1940—and the explanatory speech which Mr. Amery made in this connexion in the House of Commons on 14th August, 1940. Among other things, that Declaration contained the following statement :

"It goes without saying that they (i.e., His Majesty's Government) could not contemplate transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government."

On the face of it, this statement is very innocuous, and apparently breathes a flattering sympathy with minorities. But in effect it has, in the peculiar circumstances of India, materially contributed, together with what Mr. Amery said in the House of Commons on 14th August, 1940, by way of its explanation and justification, to inordinate ambition, communal or sectional fanaticism, and political intransigence on the part of some of our minorities. Moreover, it has practically invested them with the power of "veto" on even all reasonable proposals for the solution of our constitutional problem. "Apart from Congress," said Mr. Amery in the House of Commons on 22nd April, 1941, with reference to the Declaration of August, 1940, "the Government's major policy for the constitutional future may be said to have relieved the anxieties of the various elements which compose India's national structure." This was only natural, in view of the power of "veto" which the said policy in effect placed in the hands of some of these elements, on all proposals for constitutional reform to which they were opposed.⁵⁶ But it should not be forgotten in this connexion that in a subject country, particularly on the eve of its attaining freedom, conflicting sectional interests do naturally tend to emerge, or are even sometimes, unfortunately, made to emerge by interested parties. We all know what is happening today in the "liberated" countries of Europe. And I really feel tempted here to ask the British Government whether it is prepared to act upon the principle embodied in the statement quoted above from

the August Declaration, in relation to those "liberated" countries, and also to what extent it has so far followed the same principle in practice in France, Belgium, Yugoslavia, and specially in Greece.

Further, although I do not support all that the Congress has done in India since 1937, yet I cannot help feeling that what Mr. Amery said, in the course of his speech in the House of Commons referred to above, with regard to the position of "the great Moslem community, 90,000,000 strong," to quote his own words, *vis-à-vis* the Congress, is open to criticism and challenge. The same thing also applies to his statement in the speech, with regard to the Scheduled Castes. Considerations of space, however, do not permit me to go into details here. "Agreement, consent," said Mr. Amery in the course of the speech, "is, indeed, the foundation of all free government, of all true democracy." True, but what is to happen if a fanatical section of the population of a country, intoxicated by the spirit of exaggerated egotism and the lust of power politics, is determined to pursue a course of policy which is based upon unreason, which is definitely anti-national, and which is certainly destructive of the future peace, prosperity, and security of the country? How to deal with men in such a state of political intoxication, who will not even listen to the voice of reason? And what value is to be attached to their views either? And what policy, I ask again, has His Majesty's Government itself pursued in "liberated" Greece with regard to such men? I would, therefore, earnestly request His Majesty's Government to think over these points in a *dispassionate* and *unprejudiced* mood. And I would, in particular, request Mr. Amery, *author* of the famous speech on "India First,"⁵⁷ seriously to reflect upon them, also in a *passionless spirit*.

IV

THE DRAFT DECLARATION OF 1942 OR THE CRIPPS OFFER

The third factor which has contributed to the present situation in India is what is popularly known as the "non-accession" or "non-adherence" provisions⁵⁸ in the Draft Declaration embodying the "conclusions" of His Majesty's Government with regard to the future Constitution of India, which was published on 20th March, 1942, together with the Prime Minister's statement in the House of Commons on 11th March, 1942, foreshadowing the said Draft Declaration. These non-accession provisions have undoubtedly given a great fillip to the partitionist movement in India. Among other things, they declared that with such Province or Provinces of British India as were "not prepared to accept" the proposed new Constitution for India, His Majesty's Government would, if the Province or

⁵⁶ See Amery, *India and Freedom*, Appendix I and pp. 66-76.

⁵⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 85.

⁵⁸ See in this connexion the Proceedings of the meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, held at Nagpur in December, 1941.

⁵⁹ See Amery, *India and Freedom*, pp. 34-39.

⁶⁰ See clause (c) of the Draft Declaration as published on March 30th, 1942. According to Professor Coupland (*The Cripps Mission*, p. 27), the Draft Declaration was first announced by Sir Stafford Cripps at his fourth Press Conference on 29th March, 1942.



Provinces in question so desired, "be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as the Indian Union."⁶¹ Now let us see the full implication of this declaration.

During his Press Conferences at Delhi on March 29th and 31st, 1942, certain questions were put to Sir Stafford Cripps, and he gave his answers to them, obviously as the spokesman of His Majesty's Government.⁶² Among others, there were the following questions and answers⁶³—

"Will the Indian Union be entitled to disown its allegiance to the Crown?"

"Yes. . . . The Dominion (i.e., the Indian Union) will be completely free either to remain within or to go without the Commonwealth of Nations.

"Will the Indian Union have the right to enter into a treaty with any other nation in the world?"

"Yes.

"Can the (Indian) Union join any contiguous foreign countries?"

"There is nothing to prevent it. Canada can join the U. S. A. tomorrow if it wants to.

"Can it?"

"Of course it can.

"Exactly at what stage does the British Government propose to leave this country?"

". . . . the moment the new constitution comes into operation, the change-over takes place."

And in reply to another question Sir Stafford stated⁶⁴ that the Indian Union would "be free to take all measures which are open to a sovereign State to take."⁶⁵

Now these were to be some of the rights and privileges of the Indian Union as envisaged by the Draft Declaration. And, as we have seen before, a non-acceding Province of British India, say, on the North-East or the North-West of India, was to have, under the terms of the Draft Declaration, "the same full status as the Indian Union", and, therefore, all the rights and privileges of the proposed Indian Union. That is to say, it would be entitled to take all measures open to a sovereign State. It might, for instance, "go without the Commonwealth of Nations"; might "enter into a treaty with any other nation in the world" and even join any contiguous foreign country; and might not have, if it so chose, any relationship with the Indian Union itself, although located within the geographic unity of India. If we now put all these things together, what really we obtain, as a result, is a partition of India—and I am, for the time being, leaving out of consideration the question of the Indian States—pure and simple, into two or more sovereign, independent States. This is exactly—if not, in some respects, more than—what Mr. Jinnah had demanded. I am, therefore, not at all surprised to find that "the reaction of Mr. Jinnah and the Moslem League to this part of the scheme (i.e., its non-accession provisions) was naturally favourable", and that "it apparently contented Mr. Jinnah."⁶⁶ It is, however, a thousand pities that some of our foremost leaders claiming to be nationalists, concentrated, in their shortsightedness their opposition

more to the not-very-important, interim constitutional provisions in the Draft Declaration than to the fundamental change insidiously proposed to be introduced by it into the body politic of India by its non-accession provisions—a change fraught with incalculable danger not only to the unity and integrity of our Motherland, but also to its future peace, prosperity, and security. And in so far as His Majesty's Government was concerned, I really wonder how it could, with a clear conscience and a full knowledge of what was implicit in it, recommend an innovation which went against one fundamental principle in all the past declarations of British policy towards India! These declarations, it is well-known, had never envisaged anything other than a unified—although not necessarily a unitary—political system for the whole of this country. "We have spoken of unity", said the Parliamentary Joint (Select) Committee⁶⁷ on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1933-34, over which the Marquess of Linlithgow presided, "as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India." And in 1942 His Majesty's Government decided to destroy this "greatest gift" of British rule in India, thus completely undoing the work of generations of British statesmen in the past. And did not this decision amount to a great betrayal of the trust which the latter had left behind as a sacred legacy to the former? And what was behind this decision? I sincerely trust that it was neither Congress-phobia nor League-mania. Was it the presence of the enemy "at the gates of India"? "The crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance," said the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on 11th March, 1942, "has made us wish to rally all the forces of Indian life, to guard their land from the menace of the invader". If that was the objective behind the proposed change, then His Majesty's Government, I am constrained to say, betrayed a deplorable lack of imaginative insight by trying to "save" India by dividing India—by destroying its unity and integrity and, thus, endangering its whole future. It should have had political foresight enough to see that it would never be able to enthuse nationalist India and rally its forces to face the crisis in front of India, by pursuing a policy destructive of the future peace, prosperity and security of this country.

It has been insinuated by some people that the Draft Declaration was an astute piece of Machiavellism on the part of His Majesty's Government; that it knew beforehand that the constitutional scheme embodied in it, would founder on the rock of its non-accession provisions; but that the British Government would take credit before the whole world that, although it had offered full self-government to India immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, yet nothing came out of this generous offer owing to its serious internal differences. I do not know how far this insinuation is based upon facts. I can only hope that this is not true. But I cannot, having regard to the past attitude of the British Government towards the aspirations of the Indian people, account for the undue—and almost unseemly—haste it showed in 1942 in trying to meet the particular demand of the Muslim League, namely, its demand for the partition of India. This Muslim-League demand for the partition of India had been made by a resolution adopted at Lahore on 26th March, 1940, and before even two years had elapsed the British

Government resolved to concede to it, in defiance of the opposition of nationalist India and in total disregard of the principle of unity which it had consistently followed with regard to the governmental system of this country ever since 1773. It should not also be forgotten in this connection that only in August, 1933, the spokesman of the All-India Muslim Conference and the Muslim League had declared before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform that the scheme of "Pakistan" was "only a student's scheme", and that another member of the Muslim delegation had said before the same Committee: "So far as we have considered it, we have considered it chimerical and impracticable."⁶⁸ Thus what had been considered in 1933 by responsible Muslim opinion as "only a student's scheme", "chimerical and impracticable"—and the whole scheme of "Pakistan" is really nothing else than that—received in 1942 the solemn approval of His Majesty's Government. This is, indeed, strange, if not mysterious!

In a speech⁶⁹ delivered before the House of Commons on April 28th, 1942, Mr. Amery tried to defend the "solution" offered by His Majesty's Government through the Draft Declaration as one "which struck as fair a balance between contending points of view as it was possible to attain," and also as one which was "essentially sincere and fair." But what had the same Mr. Amery repeatedly said before as the responsible spokesman of His Majesty's Government in his capacity as the Secretary of State for India? In the course of a speech on "Our Indian Record" made before the English-speaking Union on November 21st, 1940, he said:⁷⁰

"India, within the rough quadrilateral of her mountains and seas, has no natural internal frontiers. That is the fundamental historic and political feature of the Indian problem. . . . Only in political unity can India find peace and stability."

Also, in the course of his speech on "India First" on 12th December, 1940, at Foyle Luncheon Club:⁷¹

"Once broken up into separate independent entities India would relapse, as it did in the decline of the Mogul Empire, into a welter of contending powers, in which free institutions would inevitably be suppressed, and in which no one element would have the resources with which to defend itself against external attack whether by land or by sea."

Also, in the course of his speech on "the Indian Constitutional Problem" on 19th November, 1941, at the Manchester Luncheon Club:⁷²

"Beneath all the differences of religion, of culture, of race and political structure, there is an underlying unity. There is the fundamental geographical unity which has walled India off from the outside world, while at the same time, erecting no serious internal barriers. There is the broad unity of race which makes Indians as a whole, whatever their differences among themselves, a distinctive type among the main races of mankind. There is the political unity which she has enjoyed from time to time in her history, and which we have confirmed in far stronger fashion than any of our predecessors in a unity of administration, of law, of economic

development and of communications. I would say, indeed, that if some sort of Indian unity had not existed it would have to be invented."⁷³ If India were broken up and reverted to chaos tomorrow, Indians would have to set about trying to invent for her at any rate some minimum of unity against the dangers from outside. Why then should they not take her over now as a going concern, though one remoulded nearer to their own heart's desire?"

Again,⁷⁴ in the House of Commons on 22nd April, 1941, with reference to the Muslim-League demand "for the complete severance from the rest of India of the north-western and north-eastern zones . . . and their establishment as completely independent states controlling their own defence, foreign affairs and finance":—

"I am not concerned here to discuss the immense practical difficulties in the way of the so-called Pakistan project, stated in this its extreme form. Nor need I go back to the dismal record of India's history in the eighteenth century or to the disastrous experience of the Balkan peoples before our eyes, in order to point out the terrible dangers inherent in the break-up of the essential unity of India in its relation to the outside world, a unity of whose achievement we have every right to feel proud."⁷⁵

And lastly,⁷⁶ in the House of Commons on 1st August, 1941, with reference to the League demand "for the complete breaking-up of India into separate Hindu and Moslem dominions":—

"I need say nothing today of the manifold and, to my mind, insuperable objections to such a scheme," at any rate in its extreme form. I would only note this, that it merely shifts the problem of permanent minorities to somewhat smaller areas without solving it. It is a counsel of despair and, I believe, of wholly unnecessary despair."

In spite of these declarations, Mr. Amery had no hesitation in defending in 1942 the proposal of His Majesty's Government for the partition of India in certain circumstances! In his Essay on "Self-Reliance" Emerson has said:

"A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines. With consistency a great soul has simply nothing to do. He may as well concern himself with his shadow on the wall."

I do not know how far Emerson is right in this view, or whether Mr. Amery belongs to this category of great souls. One thing, at any rate, is true: A politician is perhaps above this foolish weakness of consistency and Mr. Amery is a politician.

In this connexion, I should like to touch on another point. The persistence of the Muslim League in unreason and intransigence has naturally provoked a serious reaction in a powerful section of the Hindu community, and it has begun to insist that since India—and, particularly, the northern half of it—has been known for centuries and centuries together as Hindusthan—the Homeland of the Hindus—and inhabited by the Hindus from times long, long before the birth of Mahomedanism in Arabia, it should be governed by the Hindus alone. May I ask Mr. Amery, and through

61. The italics are mine.

62. See R. Coupland, *The Cripps Mission*, Oxford, pp. 25-32.

63. See *ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

65. The italics are mine.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

67. Para. 26.

68. See Coupland, *Indian Politics*, 1936-1942, Oxford, pp. 199-200.

69. See Amery, *India and Freedom*, p. 104.

70. *Ibid.*, 21.

71. *Ibid.*, 36.

72. *Ibid.*, 48.

73. The italics are mine.

74. See *ibid.*, p. 80.

75. The italics in this quotation are mine.

76. See *ibid.*, p. 92.

77. The italics are mine.

him His Majesty's Government, whether they are prepared to pay any heed to this demand on the part of these Hindus—a demand as absurd and as unreasonable in the present circumstances of India as the demand of the Muslim League for the partition of India into Hindusthan and Pakistan? We know what the answer will be, and should be, to this question.

V

CONCLUSION

I have analysed above the factors which have primarily contributed to the present political deadlock in this country. I am quite prepared to admit that some of the policies pursued by the Congress "High Command" and some Congress Ministers during the period from 1937 to 1939 may have given the immediate provocation to a section of the Muslim community in India and accentuated communal bitterness in it. But these policies in themselves could not have led to the suicidal demand by the Muslim League for the partition of India but for the seed of separatism carefully and deliberately sown, as we have seen before, by Lord Minto in 1906, and then duly watered and nurtured into a big tree by some other Britishers in responsible position. And the action of these people has been endorsed and confirmed by the British Government and the British Parliament. Britain, therefore, is primarily responsible for the present situation in India. It itself has created the monster of communalism through the institution of communal electorates, and then duly fed and nurtured it with the August Declaration of 1940 and the non-accession provisions in the Draft Declaration of 1942; and the consequence is the present deadlock. How can it, honestly speaking, disown its own responsibility in the matter and shirk its duty to India at this stage? It has created the tangle and it must conscientiously do everything possible to unwind it. Otherwise it will be guilty of a serious dereliction of duty, and may legitimately be charged with political insincerity, hypocrisy, and dishonesty. Mere professions of sincerity of purpose or intention on its part are not enough: They must be so translated into action as to convince others of this sincerity. At the same meeting on 26th October, 1943, at the Caxton Hall at which Mr. Amery spoke, Sir Alfred Watson also spoke. And what did he say? "Speakers that afternoon", Sir Alfred has been reported to have observed,⁷⁸ "had fallen into the too common error of saying that responsibility for the future was wholly Indian. The British could not divest themselves of responsibility. The present uneasy balance of parties in India created conditions in which India in the future might become the centre of another world war. Our responsibility was the greater, inasmuch as we had imposed upon India a form of constitution which was utterly out of touch with democratic principles. When we consented, unwillingly (?), to communal representation we clamped upon India a form of government in which there could not be an alteration of parties in power such as there was in this country. Practically the composition of the Legislatures was settled before a vote was cast by the electorate. The system of communal representation was not confined to the Muslims and Hindus. . . . This system had to be got rid of if progress was to be made. There (then?) we could say that the responsibility for change rested

upon India and not on ourselves. . . . This is, on the whole, an honest and straightforward attitude. In a more or less similar vein spoke Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, M.P. when he said at the same meeting: "Either India was our responsibility or it was not; the answer was that it was our responsibility; we could not escape it by saying to India, 'You must work out your own constitution'."⁷⁹ This remark may have been a little blunt and forthright; but it is at any rate refreshing, compared with the sanctimoniousness we often notice in some of the speeches of Mr. Amery and some other British politicians.

In conclusion, I should like to say that if Britain means well by India, as it always professes to do, it must, in the first place, bring under control the Frankenstein monster of communalism which it has itself created and, if this monster is not amenable to logic, reason and persuasion, it must either take steps to destroy it, or, if this is not feasible, ignore it altogether. And I believe that Britain can do any of these things if it wants to. It must, for instance, make a categorical and unequivocal declaration that it will not destroy with its own hand its own child of "unity" upon which it often prides itself as its "greatest gift" to India; that, speaking geographically, economically, politically, ethnologically, and strategically, India is a single unit and does not, consistently with its true interests, permit of any division into two or more sovereign independent States; that the maintenance of the unity and integrity of India is one of its primary obligations; that it will, therefore, never be a party to any partition of India as contemplated by the Muslim separatists; and that it stands by the Cripps offer minus its non-accession provisions. It is true that, since this offer was made, Britain has in a way done this through some of her responsible representatives. The parting message⁸⁰ of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester to India in 1942, the speeches of His Excellency Lord Linlithgow and His Excellency Lord Wavell before the annual meetings of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, on 17th December, 1942, and 15th December, 1944, respectively, the speech of His Excellency Lord Wavell before the Indian Legislature in February, 1944, and, lastly, the speech of Mr. Amery himself in the House of Commons on 28th July, 1944, have all laid stress on this geographical unity of India and on its economic, political, and strategic implications. Yet, what is now necessary is not any further policy of drift and temporization but a firm and unequivocal declaration by His Majesty's Government that the future Constitution of India must duly recognize this fundamental unity of India and respect it in its provisions.

Secondly, His Majesty's Government must reaffirm its faith in, and its adherence to, the ideal of an All-India Federation as the only proper and legitimate solution of the Indian problem, and must declare that it will henceforth stand by this ideal and do everything possible in its power to hasten its realization within the shortest possible time. If words have any meaning—and there should be no shilly-shallying about it on the part of His Majesty's Government—, then the message

79. The italics in this quotation are mine.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

81. "India 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."

78. See *The Asiatic Review*, January, 1944, pp. 32-33.

of His Royal Highness and the speeches of their Excellencies Lord Linlithgow and Lord Wavell and Mr. Amery referred to above, unmistakably point to the imperative necessity of the establishment of an All-India Federation composed of autonomous constituent units, with adequate statutory safeguards for all racial and religious minorities in India, in respect of their language, religion, culture, traditions, and other reasonable rights and privileges.

Lastly, pending the final settlement of the Indian constitutional question on the lines of the Cripps offer minus its non-accession provisions, Part II of the Government of India Act, 1935, popularly known as the Federal Part of the 1935 Act, must be immediately brought into operation after a few such minor amendments in it as may be considered absolutely necessary for its smooth working. In particular, sub-section (2) of Section 5 of the Act which has laid down an almost impossible condition for the establishment of the Federation of India, should either be altogether deleted with consequential changes in the preceding sub-section, or so amended as to make the establishment of the Federation easy. This may entail one or two other minor amendments in the Act. Besides, a few healthy conventions in regard to the constitution and powers of the Federal Executive and its relation to the Federal Legislature may be agreed upon so as to ensure the harmonious and successful working of the Federal Part of the Act. Let the nucleus of an All-India Federation be once brought into being, and it will, in the course of its working and accretion, gather sufficient momentum and then everything will be all right. It was to my mind a sheer stupidity on the part of some of our leaders to have opposed the introduction of the Federal Part of the Act of 1935 in spite of its defects and anomalies, and it was a serious error of judgment, if not an exhibition of moral cowardice, on the part of His Majesty's Government to have yielded to this foolish opposition in 1939. Perhaps it was hoist with its own

petard, and paid the penalty for its folly in framing sub-section (2) of Section 5 of the Act in the way it had done. More than once in recent years Mr. Amery has characterized the India Act of 1935 as "a remarkable feat of constructive statesmanship", and I, therefore, sincerely hope and trust that he will have courage enough to bring the most important part of this Act, namely, its Federal Part, into immediate operation, notwithstanding any opposition on the part of the irreconcilables in India or elsewhere. A diseased system sometimes requires a drastic remedy as the only cure. This is as much true of the body politic as of the body natural. His Majesty's Government should not again try to make, as a plea for inaction, a fetish of "consent" or "agreement" on the part of this party or that in India. How often in the past did it wait for the consent of parties in India for bringing into operation constitutional Acts? And did it wait for obtaining the consent of parties in India when it involved it in this present War? And we all know what this involvement has meant to this country! If His Majesty's Government acts as I have suggested, there may be a little squealing here, a little frothy ebullition in another place, or, at most, a few paper shot in the form of wordy and angry resolutions in a third place. But we shall be able to stand all this *brutum fulmen*. The central body of opinion in this country will support the action of His Majesty's Government out of sheer disgust at its present situation, and there will be no difficulty whatsoever anywhere. What is now really needed on the part of His Majesty's Government is true sincerity of purpose and a genuine determination untainted by any selfish or Imperialistic considerations, to end the present deadlock in India. Perhaps His Excellency Lord Wavell who has already made a good name in this country for his well-meaning frankness and realism may play a great role in this connexion.

(Concluded)

A POPULAR FOLK-SONG OF BUNDELKHAND

By AMBIKA PRASAD VARMA 'DIVYA', M.A.

"Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought."

Bundelkhand, though a beautiful parlour of nature, is not wanting in sad things. Each nook and corner of this land has, rather, a certain tale of woe to tell.

By the side of the river Betwa, a few miles away from Jhansi, stands the deserted city of Orchha, the ancient capital of Bundelkhand. Although the city has now dwindled into a village, the few palatial buildings, which have not yet surrendered to the ravages of time bear testimony to its past glory and grandeur. The splendid Jahangir Palace, the majestic temple of Ram Raja, and a few other historical monuments standing here and there, yet present exhibits to a visitor worth his toil. The fresco paintings in the Rajmahal and Laxminarayan temple afford a curious subject for study and an interesting pastime as well. The natural scenery which the city has about it, will not fail to attract even a layman, little gifted with aesthetic sense.

Last, when I had the occasion of visiting the city, I was dolefully reminded of a folk-song, which I had

heard long before from the women folk of my house at the time of my marriage. It related an event which had happened at Orchha during the reign of Maharaja Jujharsingh, a contemporary of Shahjahan, the Moghul king.

Jujharsingh had a younger brother named Hardol. Jujharsingh's wife, the Maharani had, as ill luck would have it, conceived some motherly affection for Hardol and used to meet him very frequently. Some mischief-mongers of the court thought ill of their relation and informed the Maharaja accordingly. Jujharsingh became suspicious of the Maharani and subjected her to a very severe ordeal. She was asked to invite Hardol to a dinner and serve him poison in the food. The Maharani pleaded her innocence as best as she could, but the Maharaja was adamant.

She had at length to yield to the dictates of her husband and poison Hardol to death. Hardol who had come to know the will of the Maharaja bravely accepted

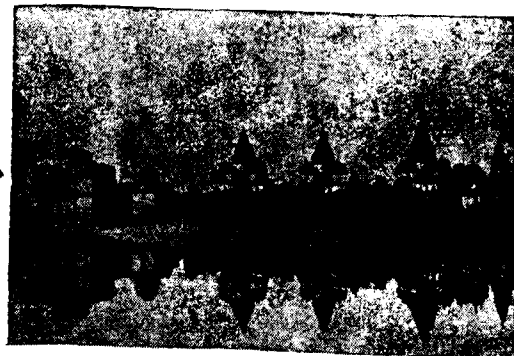
poison at the hand of the Maharani and died the death of a martyr. The song runs thus:—

Lala! rest you ever before my eyes,
 You were born at Airach,
 You are known far and wide,
 You sojourned over the world's domain
 As you have blessed me with your Darshan, bless all.
 You loved me as people do their mother,
 Nothing foul betwixt us there was.
 No social laws we violated,
 As you have behaved hitherto, behave on.



A general view of the city of Orchha wherein still haunts the spirit of Hardol

Beloved! carry home to your heart my advice,
 Cook the food with such skill,
 As may prove your worth aright.
 Your Lala is from his birth my enemy, poison him off.
 My Lord! lend me your ears please.
 How have you harboured this evil thought,
 Who is it that led you astray,
 Let not your wing be broken off.



A side-view of the river Betwa which still bemoans the death of Hardol

Oh Lala! please bless me with your Darshan,
 Your Khawasin² has come to invite you,
 Your Bhabhi³ is bewailing aloud.

Wherefor does she, asked Hardol,
 Let me know the cause Khawasin,
 Her own sons may prove disloyal, not I.
 Be it: what she has been advised to do

1. Lala: Younger brother of the husband.
2. Khawasin: Female brother.
3. Bhabhi: Wife of the elder brother.

Will descend on me as my fate.
 Hence you go back Khawasin,
 And console my mother thus.
 Lala! you are invited to dinner.
 How may I serve you a separate dish.
 Ill omens forecast evils,
 Take care of your life hence,
 So saying the Bhabhi fell down in a fainting fit.
 All his paraphernalia went with him,
 His pigeons, his parrots and Mainas,
 All breathed their last with him.
 As to you, you reached heaven, take care of me too.
 Kunja wept to hear the sad news,
 She struck her forehead against the ground,
 Let the living ones go to their doom, she said.
 Hardol though dead will stand by me.
 She sent for a bullock cart,
 And loaded it with all necessities,
 She undertook the marriage of her daughter,
 And at Datia she invited Hardol.
 When Hardol made his appearance,
 A great tumult was there afoot,
 Kunja ran to accord him a welcome.
 The marriage post cracked by his mysterious approach



A part of the fort which witnessed the great tragedy

Kunja beheld him come.
 Harold served the marriage party so well
 That all talked very highly of.
 The bridegroom persisted on having his Darshan
 Hardol had to accede to his request at last.

The theme of the song is worthy of notice. It is not simply a narrative of facts beginning and ending like a fable. All that can touch the subtle human feelings has been wisely accumulated and put effortlessly in sweet homely language. The final is a tragedy and we reach it without limping with the burden of superfluity.

Hardol and his Bhabhi, the Maharani, are accused of unlawful morbid relations, which are not uncommon and unbelievable. Really it is very hard to prove oneself innocent of such accusations, for people on such occasions generally become indiscriminate and revengeful and leave no room for reason and sympathy.

But Hardol uses the word "Mother" for his Bhabhi. No person however bad is supposed to misuse it. Thus Hardol instantly wins over our unshakable sympathy and is spared all pleadings against the charges. Our anger rebounds upon the accusers themselves for fabricating such base and hateful allegations against an innocent person.

The pleadings of the Maharani are no less appealing and striking. They have a simplicity, only characteristic of guiltless souls. Thus she too wins over our hearts and we feel inclined to share all her impending sorrows.

Thus the words which she utters at the time of serving poison to Hardol, inject in our minds all the restless agitation which she was subject to. Between motherly love and womanly duty we too fail to determine which way to turn. Resignation to fate seems to be the alternative. Thus when the Maharani finds herself helpless, and the mother in her overwhelms her, she gives a desperate warning to Hardol to save himself from the poison, and falls down in a fainting fit. Here we reach the climax and cannot help our tears.

With Kunja, the sister of Hardol, another chapter of our sorrow begins. Brothers and sisters, as we all know, have by nature a certain well-marked affinity. More so in Bundelkhand where the girls think it a great curse to have no brothers at all. To see their brothers at their husbands' houses coming to fetch them is an unparalleled joy to them. On the occasion of their sons' and daughters' marriages their brothers' presence is supposed to be even an indispensable necessity. The bereavement of a brother is an untold misery on such an occasion. What a melancholy fate Kunja had. Her brother died just when her daughter's marriage was going to be celebrated. The news fell upon her as a bolt from the blue. She struck her forehead against the ground and began to weep. Hardol, it is said, had given her word, when alive, to look after her daughter's marriage personally as a token of special affection to her. How this word must have now tormented Kunja, one can hardly imagine. In the heat of agony she made a vow not to celebrate the marriage at all, if Hardol did not keep his promise. Our faith in the omnipotence and immortality of the soul is so strong that we cannot but give credence to even the greatest of absurdities. Kunja had her victory. Hardol's spirit, it is said, appeared before her and served the wedding party incognito according to his promise. But it could not pass off as a secret. The bridegroom came to know of it and persisted upon having Hardol's Darshan. In

Bundelkhand it is supposed to be a holy precept with the Hindus to accede to the requests of the bridegroom and Hardol did not forget it even after his death. He blessed the bridegroom with his Darshan and made the occasion ever memorable. Since then he has come to be worshipped in Bundelkhand as a presiding deity of the wedding festival.



A view of the fort where Hardol used to see the Maharani

Notwithstanding the historical value of the song it has something most enjoyable. It has so impressed my memory that Orchha seems to me to be resonant with it. Each dome and turret of the mysterious buildings, each splash of the waters of Betwa, each breath of the moaning breeze tunes with the song in a vibrating symphony. Sadness seems to reign supreme. But it is not so painful. My very inner self, transcending above earthly limitations feels free from all worldly pangs. Be it the magic of the song or the place surrounded all around by the emblems of mortality, or of both combined, it has a very soothing affect upon my mind.

But as I left the place all the outlines of its picture grew faint in my memory. But the song still rings in my ears fresh with all its sweet and soothing sadness.

THE MAN WHO MADE COAL MINING SAFE

By DAVID THURLOW

On looking back through the records of achievements in the scientific field, one will find endless examples of inventors who, being presented with a problem, never rested content until they had found the answer to it. These were not men to whom some precious revelation, some flash of inspiration came to dispel the gloom through which they were groping in their normal course of study. They were men who applied themselves to a task and found the answer to it—an answer which, perhaps for generations, had eluded their fellows.

Such a man was Humphry Davy, the British author of a score or more of the most important scientific discoveries, who will always be remembered for his invention of the miners' safety lamp.

Coal is Britain's most valuable natural resource, so soon to fail him, was even then not of the best,

but Britain's coal mines, like all coal mines throughout the world, face the almost constant risk of explosion.

On an August day in 1815, Humphry Davy, who was already famous for his inventions and discoveries, received a letter calling his attention to the distressing loss of human life due to explosions in British coal mines. The problem which confronted Davy was this: how was it possible to provide miners with a light which could be guaranteed not to explode the firedamp which is present in every mine?

DAVY SETS TO WORK

In spite of the fact that he was burdened with a great deal of other work, and that his health, which was

Davy set to work on this new task. If he could find the answer to it, it would mean that countless thousands of his fellow men would, in the course of succeeding generations, be saved from almost certain death.



Sir Humphry Davy, as he appears in a contemporary print

Within three months Davy was able to reply to that letter saying that he had discovered a lamp which would be safe to use in mines. He had discovered that if a piece of metal-gauze were placed between a flame



Sir Humphry Davy examines the safety lamp which he devised and which still forms part of the lamp used in modern mines

and an explosive gaseous mixture, the heat of the flame would be absorbed and conducted away so that the gaseous mixture, or firedamp, would not explode. At the same time he found that firedamp would not explode in tubes or feeders of small diameter. At first, glass tubes were used in the experimental lamps, but

Davy discovered that tubes of wire-gauze equally resisted the passage of flame, so he surrounded the flame of his lamp with wire-gauze. That, reduced to simple terms, is the principle of the Davy Lamp.

In its original form this lamp consisted of a small cylindrical oil burner covered with a tube of wire-gauze about six inches long and 1½ inches in diameter. Across the top of the tube was a flat piece of gauze of double thickness as a precaution against the metal being worn into holes by the combustion. The gauze was mounted in a simple frame, the upper part of the frame carrying a handle for the miner to hold, the lower part being fixed to the oil container at the bottom of the lamp. The flame of the lamp, thus encircled in its tube of metal-gauze, could not escape at a temperature high enough to fire the explosive mixture in the mine.

ACCIDENTS REDUCED EIGHT TIMES

That lamp was devised by Humphry Davy nearly 130 years ago. It has seen many developments and refinements since then, and the number of accidents due to explosions in British coal mines has been reduced from an average of as many as 80 a year to only ten or a dozen a year.



Michael Faraday assisting Sir Humphry Davy with his work on electrolysis

British miners' lamps now not only provide the men with light, but act also as gas detectors. By watching the appearance and size of the flame in their safety lamps today, British miners can calculate to a very fine degree of accuracy the amount of firedamp present in the seam where they are working. With this knowledge it is infinitely easier to take the necessary extra precautions in the more dangerous sections of the mine.

Humphry Davy, strangely enough, was a poet as well as a scientist. The poet Coleridge said of Davy that if he "had not been the first chemist, he would have been the first poet of his age."

Humphry Davy was born on December 17, 1778, at Penzance, at the extreme end of the Cornish toe of England. He went to school in Cornwall, but he did not show any indication then of his later scientific ability; this was not revealed until he was apprenticed to a surgeon-apothecary at Penzance. It was when he was 19 that he first began to specialise in the study of

CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT IN INDIA

chemistry and mathematics. He was astonishingly keen, and nothing would keep him away from his experiments which he conducted with any materials and odd bits of apparatus he could find.

FARADAY AS ASSISTANT

When he was 30 his health broke down, and he had for some time to take a rest from his concentrated research work. When he was only 34 he was knighted for his services to science. In the same year he was married, and then soon afterwards went with his wife on a tour of Europe, taking with him as "assistant in experiments and writing" that other famous scientist, Michael Faraday, who had been helping Davy in the laboratory at the Royal Institution.

It was a few months after his return to London in 1815 that Sir Humphry Davy, as he then was, invented the miners' safety lamp which brought him still greater fame.

His fame and reputation spread quickly. He was soon appointed lecturer and professor. His chief interest at the Institution was the study of electro-chemistry. His paper on "some chemical agencies of electricity" won for him from the French Institute the medal offered by Napoleon for the best experiment made each year on "galvanism."

Davy, for all his wisdom and success, was at heart a youth, and his cousin, who was his laboratory assistant, recalls how Humphry Davy used to dance about on a spring day in 1829.

CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By RAMNIK V. SHAH

BALKAN-JI-BARI is a Sindhi phrase which, according to solutions of all problems connected with children up to Kaka Sahab Kalelkar, has been adopted in Hindustani, the age of sixteen years. The Association has been and it means "children's garden". It is the name of a progressing slowly and steadily, and it is hoped that it wellknown Association, the chief aim of which is to will be able to achieve its aims in no time.



Mr. B. G. Kher, Chairman, Balkan-ji-Bari, The All-India Children's Association



Miss Sheila Motwani, Child-Editor of "Pushpa—The Children's Own Paper", a monthly organ of Balkan-ji-Bari

keep children as happy as possible and to let them develop by themselves. According to our President Shri B. G. Kher who recently spoke about it, Balkan-ji-Bari should become a body which could be referred to for

Balkan-ji-Bari was started in 1926 by a brother in Sind who prefers to be known as Dada (an elder brother). He felt that as we grow older in years we become more selfish and hence we begin to

lose our real happiness. He thought that children who were already happy should be able to retain their happiness even as and when they grow old. Thus happiness which everyone is after, which everyone yearns for, would come to stay. With that idea in view he first started writing for children, then collected a few of them and arranged programmes for and by them, and later their provincial and all-India gatherings were held. Children who did not know even one another's language felt happy in one another's company. And Dada's expectations of children of all castes and creeds forming into one great brotherhood were going to be realised.



Children's Guard of Honour to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu during her visit to Balkan-ji-Bari

At present Balkan-ji-Bari has provincial organizations only in two provinces, Bombay and Sind. Its branches, however, are spread almost all over the country, including Bengal, Bihar, U. P., Delhi, South India, and the Punjab, totalling more than 120, and its membership is nearly 24,000. At Bombay there is a network of local branches at Vile Parle, Santa Cruz, Khar, Bandra, Matunga, Ghatkopar, Tardeo, Chowpatty and Marine Lines. Boys and girls meet in these centres once a week at least, and oftener at certain places, and arrange different programmes every time. Besides, the Association has a Pen-Friendship Section which brings children of different places in contact with

one another. It has also its own children's schools, two in number, one at Karachi and another at Sukkur.

Balkan-ji-Bari has two Children's Own Libraries at Khar and Karachi, which comprise books for children in different languages. They, however, are small libraries,



Shrimati Parvati T. Gidwani, President, Sind Provincial Balkan-ji-Bari

and need to be expanded. It also has a Poor Children's Fund, out of which study scholarships are awarded to its poor deserving members. It contributed last year about Rs. 500 each to the Sind Flood Fund and



Balkan-ji-Bari children "out in the fields with God"

Bengal Famine Relief Fund respectively, and about Rs. 4,000 to the Kasturba National Memorial Fund. The Association conducts its own four monthly journals: *Pushpa*, in English and Gujarati, *Hamare Balak* in Hindustani and *Gulistan* in Sindhi, as well as Children's Corners in *Bombay Chronicle* and *Free India* (English),

Yugantar (Gujarati), *Swadeshmitran* (Tamil) and other papers.

Balkan-ji-Bari has been holding its periodical excursions and tours, as well as Workers' Camps. During the last year the biggest children's excursion for Bombay and Suburban children was arranged at Uran in which nearly eight hundred boys and girls took part. The Workers' Training Camps were held at Kandivlee,

tion—a pointer both to the parents and schools. Over and above all this, this organization will, in short, try to supplement the home and school activities with a view to directing the children's emotions in a proper channel.

The organization has a desire to start an All-India Children's Volunteer Corps and thereby to increase the children's physical and mental efficiency. Then it wants



Balkan-ji-Bari children on a boat excursion

Borivli and Ghatkopar. The last time that children were taken on a distant trip was in 1941, when a party of forty Bombay children went as far as Sind and toured round Karachi, Hyderabad, Larkana, Mohen-jo-Daro, Sukkur and other places. At that time an All-India Balkan-ji-Bari Workers' Conference was also held. During the present abnormal times, owing to difficulties of travel and food, it has not been possible to hold all-India gatherings of children or workers.

What concrete results the Association intends to achieve with a view to fulfilling its aims and objects is narrated here. First of all, it wants to educate children in such a manner that they may grow up to be patriotic and self-reliant Indian citizens having power of endurance and self-sacrifice. To achieve this, undoubtedly the process would be a very long and sustained one, but our organization will continue to put forth its efforts. However, whatever it is able to do will more or less be symbolic, inasmuch as education is the concern of parents and homes first and then of schools and wholtime institutions.

Balkan-ji-Bari, at present, is able to do some work only for about ten or twelve hours spread over one whole month, as it is active only on Sundays, and that too for not more than two hours. Within such a short time the work that the organization would be able to do, could just be symbolic and a directive type of work. Wherever the organization has a centre or a branch, it will do only such work as is necessary in the interests of the children, and which will be a sort of pointer in that direc-



Teaching the Balkan-ji-Bari children to spin

to become for all-India children a single common platform bringing about unity—cultural as well as social—irrespective of class, creed, religion, condition, and provincial difference. Besides, it intends to establish a Children's Mutual Aid Centre in each of its branches. Balkan-ji-Bari aims at becoming an organization whose branches will be ready, willing and able to solve any difficulty or problem for parents, society or the Government in relation to children.



Balkan-ji-Bari boys have their own music band

The Children's Own Library of the Balkan-ji-Bari will contain all kinds of books meant for and relating to children. Its All-India Children's Own Museum will contain whatever the boys and girls might collect for hobby or as their aesthetic sense directs, as well as things and materials which interest and educate them. It will establish study classes on Child Psychology and on legislations regarding children of the country and also of other countries, and whenever necessary the orga-

nization will agitate for their betterment. It will try to have a network of Children's Schools on idealistic lines everywhere. To sum up, it will establish an All-India Children's University.

I would like to remind the readers at this stage, after having enumerated a number of things—both as a realist and as a visionary—that the Balkan-ji-Bari will work along the lines indicated above, only with a view to so educate children, that they may become patriotic and self-reliant Indian citizens with enough power of endurance and self-sacrifice for the toughest days that are still ahead of us. To-day the organization works on these lines but on a very small scale. Nonetheless, it is the Bari's ambition to show that all these things are realised and not merely visualised.

I need not stress here the necessity of a large number of sincere workers for the cause in every town and every village of India. One can well understand that if the vision set forth herein is to be realised, work—hard and genuine work—as well as faith, courage and hope, is of the utmost importance. Children are the hope of the future and as such need to be so trained that they may be able to acquit themselves well when

the heavy burden of duties falls on their shoulders. Take our own case, have we done really what is expected of us? Let the Balkan-ji-Bari try to infuse into the



A group dance by Balkan-ji-Bari boys and girls

children the spirit of freedom and love for our country, so that they may be able to bring about a thorough change and an improvement in the economic, moral, material and cultural condition of India. Let thus Balkan-ji-Bari step forward on the path of progress!

THE MALAYAN LESSON FOR INDIAN STATES

By A. N. ROY CHOWDHURY, M.A., B.L.

THE resignation of the Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor and members of the Standing Committee of Princes early in December, 1944, brings to the fore the question of joint administration of smaller Indian States which is supposed to be one of the major issues over which this dramatic step was taken.

It will be realised that the separate resources of smaller States are infinitely slender and an all-round administrative machinery is not always within their individual means. Even so, functioning on modern standards is considered to be the criterion of their political existence and they have therefore been the source of perplexing constitutional and administrative problems. The essential features of present-day administration include High Courts, efficient police force, popular education and transport facilities, and the question as to how the smaller states could afford an administration with such equipment had engaged the attention of the authorities concerned.

As a matter of fact, the semi-jurisdictional or non-jurisdictional estates or taluks of Western India and Gujarat have been merged by Parliamentary legislation in a large State. But the solution generally outlined with regard to comparatively larger units, is their co-operative grouping and the pooling of their resources. "In no case is the need for co-operation and combination", observed Lord Linlithgow, "more potent, more pronounced and more immediate than in the case of smaller states. Those states whose resources are so limited as virtually to preclude them individually from providing for the requirements of their people in accordance with modern standards have indeed no other practical alternative before them. I would take this opportunity to impress on Rulers of such states with all the emphasis at my command, the wisdom of taking the earliest possible steps to combine with their neighbours in the matter of administrative services so

far as this is practicable." In a similar vein wrote Sir Stafford Cripps that "the first step for smaller states should be to get into groups or into federal relations among themselves and for this purpose the spirit of the scheme for co-operative grouping should be extended to wider units."

Though new in India, the process of co-operative grouping had before now been introduced in one other part of the British Empire, and as borne out by facts its ultimate usefulness is dependent not so much on theory as on its actual working. It will be appreciated that a system of joint administration necessitates a central administrative authority, and the extent of powers exercised by this authority is chiefly the determining factor for the success or otherwise of co-operative grouping consistently with the distinct sovereign entity of the individual state. The demarcation between federation and centralization is rather fine, and what is *prima facie* a federation may under certain circumstances, turn out to be really nothing different from de-facto unification or a merger.

The suggestions made by Lord Linlithgow and Sir Stafford Cripps had received the consideration of the regional political authorities, and it seems that the idea in this respect is to divide the administration of a group of states into various branches, each branch being assigned to the care of a joint officer designated as adviser. The Rulers are expected to accept the advice of the joint officer who in all matters relating to a group is also to have more or less direct access to the crown political authority concerned. The position of the advisers vis-a-vis an individual state is therefore likely to be somewhat anomalous, since, though virtually exercising jurisdiction within the states, the adviser is not ordinarily subject to the sovereign authority of any of the states which each state is supposed to retain. In the circumstances, there is no denying

the fact that joint administration involves some adjustment in the status of both the Rulers and the people and it does not seem that the scheme in its broad sense has received general approbation of the princes and the chiefs. Sometimes, there is even hardly any scope for disapproval, for, as in the case of Eastern States, the "advise clause" in the Sanads makes it mandatory on them to agree to any such changes initiated by the authorities.

On the whole, however, the scheme for joint administration in some form or other has gone ahead and the spheres of administration that have been considered to be of prior importance are Police and Justice. Thus, joint police forces have been formed or are already functioning in certain groups of states. In Northern India, the states council of a certain group has a scheme of affiliation of administration, in which even leading states have joined and which embodies reciprocal arrangement for mutual assistance in relation to Police, Finance, Justice, Revenue, Education and Medical relief. In Eastern India, some states may avail of a board of medical officers in the agency to inspect and advise the state at their request in matters medical and Public Health. Also, the states in this group which had not got adequate veterinary facilities can make use on a basis of voluntary co-operation, of opportunities provided by the neighbouring states having suitable arrangements. In Central India, certain states have informally evolved a scheme which provides for the formation of regional groups for specified subjects, while other subjects of general applicability are reserved for the whole of Central India States groups. Yet another group of some small states has a scheme of employment of expert advisers in such spheres as may be found suitable, and of a common District and Sessions Judge. The Control of Advisers is to vest in one Ruler at a time by rotation, who will act in consultation with other Rulers. The appointment of the advisers is also to be allotted to different Rulers of the group by mutual agreement.

As has been mentioned above, in Western India and Gujarat, the problem of some small states has been met by their merger in a large state for the reason that "there has arisen in this part of India geographical, administrative and economic fragmentation on a scale unknown anywhere else in the country." It may be remembered in this connexion that the purpose either of co-operative grouping or merger is "not only remedying their administrative deficiency but also facilitating their inclusion in any federal arrangement applicable to India as a whole."

To ascertain how far this object is likely to be met by any mere process of co-operative grouping or merger, it is perhaps relevant to examine the evolution of the Federated Malay States. These States in Malaya were a confederation of some four states with a common administrative service and a principal administrator designated first as Resident-General and later as Chief Secretary. The States were thus made one for all administrative purposes. Their early history reads: "The Malay States were at first only places whose nominal Rulers had so failed to keep their house in order that the unruly subjects had become a danger to neighbouring British settlements and the Queen's

Government sent advisers to strengthen the hands of Malay States and assist them in establishing peace and good Government. Of course, Malay States were not British possessions and could not be so treated but as matters settled down and the States began to prosper, they required many servants and much material which could best be supplied from England."

The idea about Malaya entertained at the beginning will be more apparent from the following words of Lord Curzon: "If I were asked to sum up what were the lessons which Eastern States had given me I should say they were these: In the first place remember always that you are not in India or in any foreign dependency for the benefit of what is called your own nationals."

Despite these ideas, however, as the federation grew the Resident General came to exercise in the words of Swettenham, "a very large control over the protected states and from that date (1896), the Colonial office in some important matters made its authority felt." Thus the system though suitable as regards cost and efficiency vested very large powers in a person other than either the legal ruler or the representatives of the people. To be more explicit, writes Mills, "The evolution of the federated states has been very different and by the twenties federation had become amalgamation. . . . The four Sultans were dignified figure heads and indirect rule had become a little more than a facade. The Chief Secretary, the principal British Official, had become an uncrowned ruler who paid little more attention to his nominal head, the Governor and High Commissioner at Singapore, than the four legal rulers. The situation had neither been expected nor desired by the Government of Great Britain which had an unhappy feeling that the Sultans had been reduced to a position which had never been intended when the federation was established in 1896. The whole development had been so inevitable and gradual that the result was hardly appreciated until it was *fait accompli*. Reform was extraordinarily difficult owing to the need for uniformity which had created excessive centralisation; and for the past twenty years the problem of State rights versus federal control had been the chief political question of the federated Malay States. . . . Direct orders took the place of advice and the final and perfectly logical result was that control became centralised in the federal departmental heads and the Chief Secretary at Kuala Lumpur while the four Residents joined the Sultans as the essentials of the Federated Malay States."

Sir John Anderson, at one time the Governor and High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States likewise felt "that the Rulers had lost more than what they had anticipated when they agreed to the treaty of Federation." A Federal Council was established in 1909 by an agreement signed by the four Sultans but the vague and careless draftsmanship of this agreement surpassed that of the treaty of 1896: it created a Federal legislature and referred only incidentally to the grant of legislative powers. The problem of over-centralisation at Kuala Lumpur was however discussed on various occasions from 1922 onwards and there was

3. Swettenham: *British Malaya*, 1907, p. 280.

4. Quoted in Swettenham's *British Malaya*, 1907, p. 304.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 338.

6. Mills: *British Rule in Eastern Asia*, 1942, pp. 5-7.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

1. Government of India communique, dated April 16, 1943.

2. *Ibid.*

a growing feeling that the Sultans and the Malays had been overlooked in the rush for economic development. The Chief Secretary and even the unofficial members of the Council cared mainly for the tin and rubber industries and the principle that "whatever is best administered is best" blinded the eyes of the authorities to the substance of the form of the Federated Government originally in view. The result was that neither the Rulers nor the Malays were happy and a time came when the Malays gradually felt for changes which admit them to Government employment and authority. In an article in the *Malay Times* of November 12, 1931, a small politically-minded group referring to the Council, pointed out that the members of the Council were usually relatives or favourites of the Sultans and urged Malays to show themselves capable of using new powers through State Council. The question had ultimately drawn the attention of the Home Government and the result was a visit to Malay in 1932 of Sir Samuel Wilson, the then permanent Under-Secretary of State for colonies. Decentralisation was considered, and Sir Samuel reported that "from a purely economic point of view, it would no doubt be advisable in a country of the size of Malays to have one central Government administering the whole territory." Decentralisation in his view was however necessary due to the discontent and uneasiness of the Sultans. His views about the people were not much positive since he thought that "encouragement of indirect rule will probably prove the greatest safeguard against political submersion of the Malays which would result in the development of popular government on Western lines."

The recommendations of Sir Samuel Wilson did not consequently fit in with the growing political outlook of the Malayan public, for, the *Times* correspondent in Malaya wrote thus in the issue of the paper of October 17, 1933: "When the report was first published it was clear that it had done nothing to reassure the antagonists to decentralisation or to justify its supporters. The minority who looked upon it as the inevitable and just recognition of the rights of the Malays found little support of their views in the report itself." About the attitude of the authorities the writer goes on to say, "What more do the Malays want, it is asked. The prosperity is solely due to the activities of Europeans. Chinese and Indians who developed their country. If the powers of the Rulers had been limited it is because of the speed with which development had taken place. The Malays had neither the experience nor administrative machinery to cope with it; or those responsible for opening up the country had themselves set up the necessary political machinery. The point of view of Malay Rulers that indigenous Malays were in danger of being swamped numerically and politically in their own country by the impact of new prosperity is equally true. The non-indigenous people are not averse in theory to the ultimate assumption of political power by the Malays but it is always referred to some vague and distant date when the Malays have proved themselves capable of it."

In this background came the war in the Far East

and the fall of Malaya with amazing quickness. For a time, public attention was focussed on the internal conditions of Malays prior to the fall and it was suggested that the disaster was in part due to the apathy and indifference of the local people. As remarked by Lord Cranborne on December 3, 1942, in the House of Lords, "There had been people here and abroad who had drawn the hasty conclusion that we had lost Malaya because the local inhabitants had not been fully associated with the Government of the country." On April 3, 1942, Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., also said in the House of Commons "that a number of people are seriously concerned at the fact that we have never won the loyalty of the native population."

One view was that the British administration had established no roots in Malaya and about the colonial policy in general, a *Times* correspondent commented as follows in the issue of the paper of August 1, 1942:

"Whenever large issues were at stake, the uncertainty of road ahead made for official timidity. The Colonial Government was inclined to shy away from the important problems which raised political issue even when postponement meant accumulation of later difficulties both perceivable and formidable."

Thus, the joint administration and the federation set up at Malaya has ultimately been open to criticism obviously on the score that this was a process which conceded no actual powers either to the people or the rulers.

While initiating the merger of Western India and Gujarat States, the Government of India remarked that "the ultimate test of fitness of survival of any state is in his (Crown Representative's) opinion the capacity to secure the welfare of its subjects, and he regards the forthcoming qualified merger of these small states as a justifiable solution of any conflict in his obligations towards the rulers and the ruled".¹⁰ The underlying principle of this view is apparently the evolution of a contented Indian India suitable for Federal arrangement.

It will be seen that the schemes in respect of the co-operative grouping of the small states of India, introduced or suggested so far, chiefly relate to administrative efficiency. The question of the people or their part in a changed system does not figure much in this connection, while, as regards the princes themselves and their Government, some adjustment of individual authority in favour of the joint advisers is an important feature of the proposals. In effect, necessarily, substantial authority is likely to vest in a machinery which is neither based on popular participation nor is under the absolute control of hereditary Rulers. The Rulers are divested of their hereditary rights though remaining responsible to the ruled. The joint advisers, on the other hand, are to enjoy all their powers without any responsibility to the rulers or the ruled.

That the schemes may not, therefore, take the shape of the Malayan Federation and hinder federal arrangement or the desired solution of any "conflict in his (Crown Representative's) obligations towards the ruler and the ruled"¹¹ is a matter which deserves adequate consideration by the States concerned. One wishes they could profit betimes by the Malayan lesson.

WHY THE 'GANDHIAN PLAN'?

By Dr. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D.

PRINCIPAL Shriman Narayan Agarwal of Seksaria College of Commerce, Wardha, has brought out a most timely publication under the title *The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for India*. The worth of the work and of its author is attested by the Foreword contributed to it by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi himself, whose economic thought and scheme it seeks to represent. Mahatma Gandhi himself certifies that the writer has not misrepresented him in any place. In his own inimitable words he explains thus the scope and aim of the work:

"It claims to be a comparative study of the Charkha economics based on non-violence and the industrial economics which to be paying must be based on violence, i.e., exploitation of the non-industrialised countries."

I may add that the modern mechanised and industrial economics is based on exploitation not merely of economically less organised, and "non-industrialised countries" like India, but also of non-industrial classes within the same country, and, in the case of India, such classes form by far the vast majority of her population, her dumb-millions, and inarticulate masses, as they are tragically, but rightly designated, in view of their colossal illiteracy, and depth of degradation and poverty, rendering them incapable of self-defence against scientific exploitation.

There are many plans of economic reconstruction in the air such as the non-official Bombay Plan and the official plans of the Government of India, which are being fashioned and hammered into shape by so many of its Post-War Reconstruction Committees. In my opinion, no plan is more suited to the conditions and realities of India's Economics as established through the ages than the Gandhian Plan. Most other Plans overshoot the mark and become unrelated to the grim realities and the crying needs of India's economic situation. An economic plan to be effective must root itself in these realities instead of ignoring them and seeking to build on other foundations. Besides, a people's economic system is a part and product of its whole Scheme and System of life, its fundamental view and philosophy of life. The Indian way and outlook in life must determine the economic. Economic life is not an end unto itself but only a means of subserving the fundamental and higher ends and values of life. As Gandhiji states in his *Hind Swaraj*, the characteristic of modern civilisation "lies in the fact that people living in it make bodily welfare the object of life," inspired by a "mad desire to destroy distance and time." But this is not the Indian ideal of life which believes in limiting wants, luxuries and pleasures, and in economic self-sufficiency for every individual achieving it as far as possible through his own manual labour, leading up to the economic self-sufficiency of every individual rural unit, or village, functioning as a self-governing Republic, as every village was constituted in the indigenous scheme of Indian Polity. A graphic picture of this indigenous political scheme and of the working of her untold number of rural republics and democracies which made Ancient India has been given in a

work which I wrote more than twenty-five years ago under the title *Local Government in Ancient India*, and was published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford. It gives a picture of the system by which India was able to preserve her culture and her soul against the vicissitudes of her political fortunes and changes in sovereignty. India must recapture this political and economic heritage for purposes of her coming reconstruction. As Lord Haldane put it in commenting on the work, "The life of a nation consists in growth and not in external causation, and that organic growth solves questions that are not capable of treatment from any mechanical point of view alone."

The fundamental and unalterable fact of India's economic life is that more than 300 out of 400 millions of her total population are on land, pursuing agriculture, and its allied occupations, and that these agricultural millions have to remain out of work in enforced idleness for more than half the year in the off-seasons of Agriculture. This I discovered, to my utter dismay, as a Member of the Bengal Land Revenue (Floud) Commission investigating rural problems of every description in typical regions all over India. Thus the main problem of economic reconstruction is to feed these starving millions by giving them work when they remain without work, and this work has to be brought home to them. They cannot find it out of their homes and native villages. The nation in India still lives in the village and in the cottage from which they cannot be easily divorced. This hard economic fact is as old as India's hills and rivers, and is as unalterable and fixed as her geographical features. No amount of centralised industrial planning can reach these dumb-millions in the villages where lie the roots of India's life. India's whole civilisation has been built up as a rural and not an urban civilisation. India has thought out her best and highest in her woods and wildernesses, away from the stir and strife of the city, in the silence and solitude of her hermitages and sylvan schools which count as their products the Vedas and the Upanishads, the record and repository of the highest thought ever evolved by mankind. Even now, as shown in the last Census, India still means, as she has been through the ages, a country of about 7 lacs of villages as against only about 40 towns of the Western standard, with a population of a lac and above. The only difference is that whereas in Ancient India, in the days of her national government and planning, every village was a centre of life and light under its suitable government as a self-governing republic, the present-day villages of India are dead institutions without a spark of corporate life left in them, and are centres of decay and degradation with the indigenous scheme of life and government being swept away by the onrush of a Western system of centralisation and over-government to which they were not used and were not able to accommodate themselves. The only way to reconstruct and revive these dead or dying villages is to make them self-governing once more so that the social tissues by which their corporate and communal life can be sustained may be restored by their exercise.

8. Report of Brig.-Gen. Sir Samuel Wilson on his visit to Malaya (Part Pap-Cmd 4296, Vol. X, 1932-33), p. 11.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

10. Government of India Communique, dated April 16, 1943.

11. *Ibid.*

The planning experts cannot but themselves admit that large and heavy industries located at centres and cities here and there can absorb and employ only a fragment of the vast agricultural population of India. It has been estimated that "90 per cent of India's total population are employed in agriculture and allied occupations, 10 per cent in industry of whom only about 2 million (or less than 1 per cent) are working in large-scale industries." On the most optimistic estimate these industries at their best cannot absorb more than 5 per cent of India's rural millions in less than 25 years. But these starving millions are already on our hand. We must feed them at once and cannot leave them to feed on the hopes of the future.

The only possible programme of economic reconstruction in India is to promote the good of its greatest number by a scientific planning of those handicrafts which they can ply to profit in their homes and villages. Such a planning must start with the plying of the *Charkha*. It has been rightly called '*Charkha Economics*' as distinguished from the other types of centralised and mechanised industrial economies of the capitalist, socialist, or communist variety, or American, British, or Soviet systems. *Charkha Economics* is the indigenous Indian system of Economics, the economics of the small industry, of the cottage and home handicrafts.

In the Gandhian Plan, there is a comparative study of the *Charkha-Economics* and the other systems of mechanised and scientific Economics. It rightly points out that Economic planning should mean the least amount of control and coercion by the State. That Government is the best "which governs the least". The maladjustments of the prevailing economic systems are well brought out by Professor G. D. H. Cole :

"And what are we to say of the World in which a farmer, when he sows his crop, has to pray for a bad harvest in order to rescue him from financial difficulties?"

The Fascist Plan involving the totalitarian control of the individual by the State is totally foreign to India's tradition. It has established "the most dangerous idolatry of all ages, the deification of the state."

The British Planning has been a planning of drift, of piece-meal and un-coordinated planning. It has recently produced the Beveridge Plan seeking to guarantee to every citizen the Minimum of the necessities of life by means of Employment Insurance, Disability Benefits, Old-age Pensions, Children's Allowances and Medical Services by taxing the rich and the *have's* for the benefit of the poor and the *have-nots*, thus dividing the country, as Dean Inge puts it, into 'two nations of the tax-payers and the tax-eaters'. After all, earning a living by honest and honorable means is preferable to these artificial devices for securing it by doles and unemployment insurances.

Much has been made of the Soviet Plan on account of its ideals, but in practice it is falling far short of its ideals. Soviet society was planned as a classless society, where the State alone will count and own the factors of production. But the difficulty is as to the ownership of the State itself which under totalitarian control has passed automatically to a Dictator and a new managerial class. The complete regimentation of the people in regard to their political and economic affairs has crushed out individual initiative and freedom. The list of fundamental rights granted to its citizens by the

Stalin Constitution does not include the most fundamental and elementary of such rights, the right of freedom of moving from place to place, freedom of circulation, or free choice of one's place of residence. The Constitution assigns everyone to a given domicile, and a place of work to which he remains tied, the factory or the warehouse, which he cannot leave except by permission of its managers. A citizen cannot be absent from home even for 24 hours, without first securing a passport and a special visa. The Soviet System is even producing inequalities of income which it was out to abolish. These inequalities are daily growing, showing a difference of as much as 80:1. A more human, natural, and scientific system will be that based on decentralisation and self-government, if we are agreed as to the ultimate values of life and not making mere well-being of the body, by feeding, clothing, and housing it, as best as possible, the chief aim of life and civilisation. Civilisation should not be reduced to mere Matter and Motion. There is no point in conquering Space and Time if it is only for the benefit of the body, and not for Mind and Soul which are left to be starved. There is no point in going in for labour-saving machinery if it only degrades labour. As Bernard Shaw puts it :

"Those who try to make life one long holiday find that they need a holiday from that too. The best definition of hell is perpetual holiday."

That is why the Bible says that "man must earn his bread by the sweat of his brow."

In this new Economics, production will be for immediate consumption and not for distant profitable markets. As Gandhiji puts it, it will be still production by masses instead of mass-production. Under his system, it is the labour that is the current coin, not the metal. It does not taboo machinery as such. "The spinning wheel itself is a piece of valuable machinery." Only, as he says, dead machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machinery represented by the villagers scattered in the 7,00,000 villages of India. As he further states, "The problem with us is not how to find leisure for the teeming millions inhabiting our villages. The problem is how to utilise their idle days which are equal to working days of six months in the year." Labour-saving machinery is out of place in this situation. Man is more important than machinery. He must be fed by work. Already the number of workers employed in the domestic industries is about five times that employed in large-scale production, while the percentage of workers in the large-scale industry is also on the decrease. In 1941 it was only about 4 per cent of India's total population.

In the *Gandhian Plan* instead of mass-production on a large-scale, it is production by masses on a small scale in the people's own homes. The system will, however, "welcome the machine that will lighten the burden of crores of men living in cottages."

As my brother, Professor Radha Kamal Mookerji, puts the case :

"The object of planned economy for India is neither economic autarchy and national aggression as sought in the Fascist countries nor economic imperialism based on the power and prosperity of a small capitalist and directive class, as in the democratic countries, nor again, a bare materialistic and regimented culture as in Soviet Russia. The ideology behind economic planning in India is the broadening of the economic

base of a peaceful agricultural civilisation for the purpose of national defence, on the one hand, and the full and free expansion of her ancient, moral and social virtues in the changed economic world, on the other."

I may conclude this note by referring to the observations made by that great administrator and historian, Colebrooke, towards the end of the 18th century with reference to the economic conditions then prevailing in Bengal and are even now prevailing all over agricultural India :

"To a Government as enlightened as British India, it cannot be a trifle consideration to provide employment for the poorest classes. No public provision now exists in these provinces to relieve the wants of the poor and helpless. The only employment in which widows and female orphans, incapacitated for field-labour by sickness or by their rank, can earn a sub-

sistence is by Spinning, and it is the only employment to which the females of a family can apply themselves to maintain the men, if these be disqualified for labour by infirmity or by other cause. To all it is a resource which, even though it may not be absolutely necessary for their subsistence, contributes, at least, to relieve the distresses of the poor.

In this view, it appears essential to encourage an occupation which is the sole resource of the helpless poor."

Colebrooke thus stands out as the champion of *Charkha Economics* as the most suitable Indian economics, on the success of which he bears the following testimony :

"India has in all times been the country most celebrated for Cotton Manufactures, and even now the finest Muslins of Bengal remain still unrivalled by the fabrics of Great Britain."

CHEMICAL FERTILISERS VERSUS COMPOST

By "CHITTAGONIAN"

BEFORE India is irrevocably committed to the expenditure of large sums of money on the erection of plants for the manufacture of chemical fertilisers it may be of interest to examine the history and potentialities of chemical fertilisers and to compare the result with the possibilities of compost manuring.

The obvious object of applying fertilisers to the soil is to increase production from the soil. Up to about a hundred years ago chemical fertilisers were practically unknown. Farming all over the world was carried on in small units, the soil being worked by hand, by the farmer and his family, with a varying amount of hired labour at sowing time and harvest time. The cultivators had an instinctive knowledge of the soil, its characteristics, its moods, and its possibilities. They knew, above all things, of the necessity to conserve the different components in the soil and achieved this by maintaining a correct balance at all times between woodland, arable land, pasture, water supply, fallow land. They developed the right rotation of crops, never growing a crop of the same species on the same land two years in succession and they returned to the soil everything they took off it, in the form of farmyard manure or compost. They knew the soil was a living organism requiring culture and care like every other living organism.

The rapid advance of Physical Science in the nineteenth century created a school of thought which made the cultivators' conception of the soil appear to be "old-fashioned." Physical Science reduced the soil to its component parts, mineral ingredients, water, organic matter from living plants, organic and inorganic substances originated from the decay of roots, leaves or even entire plants. The purely mineral components in themselves are unfertile. Fertility is determined by the quality and amount of humus present. Humus is organic and has so far defied Physical Science to evolve an exact chemical formula for it. All that is known is that in humus we have a mixture of the products of disintegration, more or less rich in carbon, nitrogen and oxygen. Soil bacteria and earthworms are the chief factors in the formation of humus. Bacteria also assist in setting free phosphoric acid already in the soil. Usually only very small amounts of phosphoric acid are

present in an available free state in any soil, so bacteria perform invaluable services by helping to release it. Bacteria also assist in the process of nitrogen-fixation, equally invaluable to the cultivator. When Physical Science had established these facts the theory was postulated, and accepted with enthusiasm by many, that if you found out by analysis what amount of nitrogen, phosphorus or other component a particular crop had extracted from the soil and replaced that component by its equivalent in the form of chemical fertiliser you re-adjusted the balance in the soil and could, with impunity, grow a similar crop on the same soil the following year. From this it was a short step to applying chemical fertilisers not only to replace components extracted by crops but to change the very composition of the soil so that, for instance, wheat could be grown on the same soil year after year, or sugarcane, or tea. When applied first, it was found that chemical fertilisers increased yields. Coming at the time when the industrial revolution was increasing the cry for cheap food chemical fertilisers were widely welcome. America with its vast provinces just being developed, particularly welcomed them and farming there rapidly became scientific. Wheat was in demand overseas. The small, hand-cultivated farm of the old world rapidly gave way to big, intensively cultivated areas operated solely with an eye to yielding the maximum number of dollars from the minimum expenditure. Woods were cut down, single trees torn out by the roots, pasture ploughed up, nothing allowed to remain fallow. The Biblical injunction to Moses, "For six years you may sow your land and gather in your crops, but every seventh year you must let the land alone, to lie fallow", if ever read, was considered out of date. "It might have been all right," Kansas thought, "for the Israelites in the desert, but it doesn't apply to us." Statistics as to the quantities of chemical fertiliser poured in to the soil in U.S.A. within recent years are not available, but there is no reason to suppose they would not be comparable with statistics for the European continent. There, it has been established, the consumption of chemical fertilisers increased by something like three hundred per cent between 1914 and 1937. The yield of barley from an acre in the same period went down from just over 2,100

pounds to under 2,000 pounds. So the era of diminishing returns seems to have been reached. What has been established in the U.S.A. is that lands very fertile even twenty years ago are now desert. In postulating the theory of returning minerals to the soil by means of chemical fertilisers science forgot that the soil is alive and is not composed of lifeless mineral ingredients only. The theory is all right so far as laboratory research goes but it fails in the same way as a theory to the effect that if you took the known mineral ingredients of the human body and fed a person on those ingredients in the form of synthetic chemicals only the person would continue to live. Few people would accept that theory as applicable to the human body. Yet they accept a similar one as true when applied to the soil, without question. They forget that the soil is a living organism, just as the human body is. The human body stands a lot of bad treatment in the form of wrongly balanced or insufficiently nourishing food. So does the soil. Some of the world's greatest men have been invalids. Many bumper crops have been taken off soils artificially stimulated by the application of chemical fertilisers. But sooner or later, the invalid dies. So does the sick soil. The brilliant invalid leaves his mark on the civilisation of his time. The soil, unfortunately, is gone for ever. Taking the once fertile prairie lands of the middle west of America as an example, the following is what happened.

Accumulating living soil at the rate of something like one inch in five hundred years Nature built up the prairie. The Red Indian inhabitants respected Nature and pursued "old-fashioned" agriculture. As the United States developed commercial farming spread westward, ousting the Red Indian and his methods. First the prairie was extensively over-grazed by cattle, then, in more recent years, large crops of wheat have been taken off it in addition. Such crops were only made possible by increasing quantities of chemical fertilisers. But as the quantities of chemical fertilisers increased, so the humus content of the soil decreased. Humus, it will be remembered, has defied science to produce an exact chemical formula for it. The soil bacteria and the earthworms, the main manufacturers of humus, left the prairie soil in exact relationship to the quantities of chemical fertiliser poured in. Deprived of its humus manufacturers, who are also its aerating agencies, the soil developed a hard crust. This, because of its inability to absorb moisture as well as before, started soil erosion and disintegration. High winds came along, the now much dreaded "dust storms" were created, as much as an inch of topsoil was lost in a single year (that Nature with so much patience had taken five hundred years to prepare), the prairie is now in a fair way to becoming desert. This is in no way an over-painted picture. Many tens of thousands of homesteads have been abandoned within recent years. In thirty years the nitrogen and the humus-content of the soil in Missouri have fallen about thirty-five per cent as compared with the original prairie. How much nitrogenous chemical fertiliser has been poured in in that period is not known, but it must have been a very large quantity indeed. The region being devoured by dust storms is moving steadily eastward and it is estimated at least a third of the cultivated area of the United States of America is on the way to becoming useless. Chemical fertilisers alone are not responsible

but the very important point for India to appreciate is that chemical fertilisers are symbolic of the unnatural methods of agriculture which have created these conditions in America. Without the extensive and ever-increasing use of chemical fertilisers the wheat-growers of the prairie could not have abandoned rotation farming to the extent they did. The worms would not have gone away, humus would have been produced, the wind would have fulfilled its traditional function of adding small quantities of beneficial dust to the soil.

Yes, even the wind's functions are effected adversely by the excessive use of chemical fertilisers. Winds, blowing over mountain areas with a sufficient humus content, whip up invisible particles of dust and deposit them on the plains below. These dust deposits help to restore the exhausted bases in the cultivated areas and add soluble salts such as calcium, iron, potassium, etc. The soil of Alpine meadows is largely formed by dust particles from the neighbouring mountains. The Swiss peasant does not use chemical fertilisers. He knows their use would crust his soil, then the wind, which brings him invaluable dust deposits from the mountains, would become an enemy and whip away all his soil, in "dust storms" in a few years. At no place in the world, it is reckoned, is humus-containing soil deeper than twenty-four inches. So we see how short a life agriculture has when one inch is lost in a year as it has been recently in America. As a direct result of the loss of prairie lands the United States this year is being compelled to import wheat. With that example before us are we in India to blindly follow them in the adoption of chemical fertilisers? If we do we shall create conditions which will inevitably lead to crop failures in a few years such as will make the famine of 1943 appear small in comparison. Millions yet unborn will curse our blindness.

Protagonists of "scientific" agriculture allege that chemical fertilisers are harmful only when used in excessive quantities and say they should always, and only, be given in the correct proportions in accordance with soil analysis. Like medicine to an invalid. How completely impractical this is, is shown when we consider how many variations can be found in analyses of the soil of one single field, let alone a farm or district. A practical farmer walking along the furrows of a newly ploughed field can see with his knowledgeable eye at least a hundred variations in soil composition in a hundred furrows. Laboratory analysis confirms this. "Weathering" action, through sun, rain and wind, assisted by soil bacteria and earthworms help to produce conditions suitable for sowing by the time seed-time comes round. Soil analyses taken then would give different results from analyses taken at ploughing time. Analyses taken after a shower of rain give different results to analyses taken in dry weather. Truly, the practical farmer may wonder on which analysis he to base his calculations for the application of chemical fertiliser.

Another very strong objection to chemical fertilisers lies in the fact that many contain soluble salts such as potassium or ammonium sulphate or highly corrosive substances which quite definitely injure and destroy the micro-organic activity in the soil, to such an extent that soils intensively treated with chemical fertilisers for a number of years lose entirely their former biological activity. The number of years before this stage is reached depends upon the

humus content when the first application of chemical fertiliser is given. In parts of India where it is proposed to apply sulphate of ammonia extensively, the humus content already is low, so complete cessation of biological activity would not be long delayed. Are we prepared for that with all it implies?

It is not only the soil that reacts unfavourably to excessive use of chemical fertilisers. The cow does too. "Scientific farming" is not content with allowing the cow to produce the quantity of milk, Nature intended she should. So she, in commercialised dairy farms in Europe and America nowadays, is fed excessively on certain proteins and salts, in order that her milk output shall be increased. Here too, a factor not amenable to test-tube analysis has been encountered, the fact that milk production is a part of the animal's sexual activity. By over-straining the production of milk inevitably the organs of re-production are weakened. The result has been such an increase in diseases attendant upon the birth and rearing of calves that scientists are now being asked to intensify their investigations in the possibilities of test-tube calves. Could Nature be outraged more? The quality of milk output increased in this manner, similar to the quality of outputs from soil stimulated by chemical fertilisers, is often of very doubtful quality. Hence the increasing insistence by Public Health Officials on the need or pasteurisation.

Compost manuring, with all it implies, is the very antithesis of chemical fertilisers treatment. Compost, being itself alive, assists in the rejuvenation of the soil whereas chemicals artificially stimulate it. Again comparing a sick soil to a sick person, who does not know that a cure eventually depends on a rejuvenation of the patient's system? Chemicals prescribed by the Doctor help but the medical profession itself is the first to admit that overdoses are definitely harmful. Yet India's sick soil is being prescribed doses of chemicals in quantities such as no sane doctor would ever prescribe for his patients! Compare the action of compost. To understand its action correctly it is necessary to remember, we do not feed plants when we apply manure of any description. We feed the soil. (Plants actually obtain most of their sustenance from the air, which is another factor overlooked often by advocates of chemical fertilisers). Nature maintains the vitality of the soil by humus-developing activities, bacteria, earthworms, roots that break up the soil, and weathering. Well-prepared compost supplies additional quantities of humus-developers, bacteria and earthworms in an active, living, organic form. These merge in the soil naturally and help Nature in the maintenance of the soil's vitality. The underlying idea is to return to the soil everything which comes out of it. The aim is to develop in compost heaps a controlled fermentation which allows only a minimum loss of nutritive elements and provides the maximum quantity of humus. Often haphazard attempts result in disappointment. Complete success can only follow experience in the preparation of compost heaps, including a knowledge of what is being attempted. But our cultivators know what is required and there need be no fear of them failing India if encouragement of a proper nature is given to them to take up compost-manuring on an extensive scale.

To prepare compost it is first necessary to dig a shallow pit, not more than ten inches deep. The pit should not be longer than twenty-five feet nor wider

than twelve feet. When material is plentiful it is better to have numerous comparatively small heaps than one big one. First a layer of cowdung is placed on the bottom of the pit, as fresh as possible. Then all sorts of plant refuse, straw, chaff, kitchen garbage, egg shells, fish remains, village sweepings, tank cleanings, leaves, hedge trimmings, wood and charcoal ashes, slaughter-house refuse, horn and hoof remnants, in fact anything that will disintegrate into humus, are systematically placed on top. It is essential to keep the heaps covered while in preparation. Banana leaves, spread daily immediately after the kitchen garbage, are ideal for the purpose. Farm-yard manure should also be deposited daily. When the heap is about twelve inches high a layer of earth should be deposited, not more than two to three inches thick. Remembering that the fermentation which will now be going on inside is a living process, the deposit of earth should be such as to form a skin, just thick enough to hold the heap together, yet thin enough to allow it to breathe. Care should be taken to see that the soil covering is not taken from land which has been treated with chemical fertilisers which are hostile to bacteria. The process of layering, with a covering of earth at every foot in height, should be continued until the heap is five feet high. The heap should slope gradually inward as it grows in height and should not exceed six feet in width at the top. This form of structure is convenient to work and also helps in aeration. Along the top a shallow trench should be cut, not so deep as to expose the highest layer of compost material. In this water should be poured daily from a tub into which cowdung and urine has been deposited. It is necessary to keep the heaps moist. An effective way of assisting in this is to insert a few bamboos through the trench at the top. After about a month the heap should be turned, the outside of the original heap being put inside, the bottom at the top. Over-dry sections should be mixed up with over-damp. Experience teaches perfection. Soon a composter becomes proficient. After another month another turning is necessary. In most parts of India fermentation is complete in about three months though this varies somewhat with the seasons.

The final result is a fine sweet-smelling powdery earth. It can be applied to the soil at all times in quantities great or small. The cultivator knows when he applies compost he is assisting the soil's rejuvenation and is adding to the humus content, that invaluable factor in crop production. The process of fermentation in the heaps attract large numbers of soil-bacteria and earthworms, a certain indication that the work is proceeding on the right lines, Nature's way.

As farms exist to-day in most parts of India, denuded of trees and not using correct rotation of crops, it is probable there would not be available sufficient material for compost-making to successfully rejuvenate the soil quickly and we cannot expect the cultivator to put his farmyard manure in a compost heap so long as we impose conditions on him which compel him to use cowdung for fuel, or die. This aspect is not insoluble. Given the will on the part of the leaders of public opinion to solve it, it could soon be solved. Compost from the villages can be supplemented by compost made in the smaller municipalities and by fertilisers of a very similar nature made by passing corporation refuse through sludge plants in bigger towns and cities. The process is exceedingly

simple and the sale of the resultant fertiliser at a nominal price per bag would bring in large sums of revenue from departments at present causing considerable strain on municipal budgets. The benefit to the soil would be incalculable.

The results from using compost are not so spectacular as from chemical fertilisers. Being a natural method and Nature's law being gradual, it takes some years before an appreciable change is noticeable.

In five years or so both the quality and the quantity of crops are quite definitely increased, and, what is equally important, the humus content of the soil has also increased. Animals as well as human beings fed on crops from compost-treated land improve in health. The crops are so nutritive that smaller quantities suffice, another important aspect, and one which should appeal to India in her present position. It is on record that cows in Bavaria reared on crops grown on compost-treated soil refused to eat when transferred to a farm where chemical fertilisers were used.

How long will it be before descendants of the present-day cultivator's half-starved cow in India are in a position to do that?

That the benefits to be obtained from widespread compost farming are real and not merely matters of theory is well illustrated in Pennsylvania, U.S.A. There

peasant farmers of Dutch descent adhere to it, the traditional method of their forefathers. The result is they are still a healthy, happy, prosperous community, little affected by booms and slumps in the commercial world. They are very nearly self-contained, most of their wants apart from food (which they grow themselves) coming from nearby villages. In the depression in the early thirties none of the people in this community required State relief whereas people on neighbouring sugar farms (where rotation farming is ignored and chemical fertilisers used extensively) required very large sums in State relief. The financial aspect is serious enough but the mental, moral and spiritual one is worse.

The choice before India is clear. To elect to follow the example of the unbalanced farming of the prairie lands assisted by chemical fertilisers and thereby bring certain tragedy and desolation or to return to Nature's way of developing Nature's bounty by encouraging widespread compost farming (including compost made from municipal refuse), thereby starting India on the road to that rejuvenation of her people, through rejuvenation of the soil, which is the first essential in preparing the country to take its proper place in the world of the future.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ TO HINDU RENAISSANCE

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

PROF. D. S. Sharma of Madras in his recently published monumental work entitled *Renaissance of Hinduism* devotes one chapter to the study of Rammohun Roy and Brahmo Samaj and considers in his book, first of all, their contributions to the modern Hindu Renaissance which is still in progress. Raja Rammohun, the illustrious Father of Modern India, was born on 22nd May, 1772, in the village of Radhanagar in the Burdwan district of Bengal and passed away on 27th September, 1833, at Bristol, England. Rammohun was the first reformer of Hindu society and religion, and the pioneer of the present Hindu Renaissance. Rammohun, observes Prof. Sharma, is the morning star of the New Day which dawns with Ramakrishna Paramahansa and reaches its noon in Mahatma Gandhi.

The reaction of Hinduism to the impact of Western civilization first made its expression in and through Rammohun, and took the form of Brahmo Samaj founded by him in 1828. Brahmo Samaj that has in the course of full one century ramified into four branches, namely, Adi Brahmo Samaj, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Bharatvarshiya Brahmo Samaj, and Sammelan Brahmo Samaj—has creditably worked out its mission of liberalising Hindu society and religion. Brahmo Samaj, principally a reform movement, has greatly succeeded in removing from Hinduism superstitions and orthodoxies that accreted in the medieval age. The Hindu society is so liberal to-day that it is indistinguishable from Brahmo Samaj. A Hindu is as liberal today as a Brahmo. That the modern Hindus have a broad outlook on religious and social matters is due to the liberalising influence and activities of the Brahmo Samaj for about a century and a quarter. Brahmo Samaj is no longer separate from Hindu society. It is an important part, an advanced section, of Hindu

society. Rabindranath the poet, Jagadish Chandra the scientist, Prafulla Chandra the chemist, Deshbandhu the patriot, Brojendranath the scholar, and a galaxy of great men, all of whom belonged to the Brahmo Samaj are the pride of the Hindu nation. Ramananda, the founder and late editor of *The Modern Review*, is known all over the world as a Hindu journalist. "Though Brahmo Samaj," remarks Prof. Sharma, "is a pent force now, it has rendered useful service to Hinduism in three ways: It popularised social reform, it prevented conversions to Christianity by creating a halfway house, and it roused the orthodox Hindus to organise themselves and work for a revival of their religion." Historically speaking, as the Arya Samaj of Swami Dayananda saved Hinduism in West India from Muslimisation so Brahmo Samaj saved Hinduism in East India from Christianisation. Hinduism, being originally based on the Vedas, is rightly called Vedic religion. When Buddhism exerted its influence on Hinduism and was about to make it soulless and godless, Sankaracharya appeared and revived the Vedic Dharma and saved Hinduism from Buddhist pressure. In the modern age, the Vedic foundation of Hinduism was strengthened and upheld by the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj—the former revived the Vedic Jnana Kanda or the Upanishads, and the latter the Vedic Karma Kanda or the Samhitas.

There are ignorant Hindus (now even among the educated section) who are unaware that Rammohun was born a Hindu, was brought up a Hindu and died a Hindu. It is said that one of the last words the Raja was heard to utter in his death-bed at Bristol, was the sacred syllable 'Aum', so dear to the heart of a Hindu. He was as much proficient in Hindu scripture as in Christian and Islamic scriptures. Rammohun

was the first prophet of renaissance Hinduism and was in the words of Prof. Sharma "a zealous Hindu, proud of India's past . . . proud of the achievements of his race and was eager to conserve all that was good and great in his ancestral religion." He himself says in his autobiographical sketch that the ground which he took in all his controversies was not that of opposition to Brahmanism (Hinduism) but to a perversion of it. He made himself bold and came forward to fight the battle of Hinduism against the insolence of the Christian missionaries of Serampore who attacked Hinduism at the time in their Bengali organ called *Samachar Darpan*. But for the defence of Brahmo Samaj and its reforming zeal, a large portion of the Hindu society would have been converted to Christianity as evidenced by the fact that Madhusudan Dutta, K. M. Banerjee and other leading Hindus of the day embraced Christianity and was lost to Hindu Samaj. The Hindu philosophy of Vedanta was first revived by Rammohun, who during 1815-19 published his *An Abridgement of Vedant* and his translations of Isha, Kena, Katha and Manduka Upanishads and two papers on Defence of Hindu Theism. He was a profound Sanskrit scholar and is reported to have established a Vedanta College at his own expense. He started with his own money, for the free education of the Hindu boys, an Anglo-Hindu School, where Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, the second leader of the Brahmo Samaj, got his early education. It is a thousand pities that the great reformer was misunderstood by his people in his life-time as he is today by some biased and perverted minds. In 1816 he with his friend, David Hare, made suggestions to Sir Hyde East, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for the founding of the Hindu College which later became Presidency College of Calcutta. The idea was originated and sponsored by him but unfortunately for us he had to resign his membership from the Managing Committee of the College as the Hindu members resented his presence there. The orthodox Hindu leaders said that they would rather be reformed by anybody else than him!

By the adamant efforts of Rammohun, the crude and brutal custom of 'Sati' was abolished and declared illegal in 1829 by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India. He agitated against polygamy, an extensively prevalent evil of Hindu society in his days and showed that it was contrary to Hindu Law except under certain specified circumstances like barrenness or incurable sickness of the wife. He studied the Smritis with their commentaries and quoted from twelve Hindu law-givers to prove his contention. Rammohun was the first Hindu who went to the West with a Mission. In England he was highly honoured and royally entertained. It is wrong to think that the Raja had any intention of going against the best traditions of his country or breaking away from the religion of his ancestors. The mission of his life was to brush away some of the nasty impurities that had gathered round the Hindu traditions in decadent days, as well as to restore Hinduism to its original purity and develop its social and political aspects according to the needs of the times. In order to make his appeal authentic and supported by Hindu scriptures, he took his stand on the Upanishads and Brahma Sutras, the foundational scriptures of Hinduism. He regretted that the current system of religion adhered to by the

Hindus was not calculated to promote and protect their political and social interests. He therefore thought it proper that necessary changes should take place in Hinduism for the sake of our political advantage and social uplift. He never contemplated radical reform of our religion or radical reconstruction of our society.

The Brahmo Samaj as conceived by Rammohun preserved its Hindu character throughout. The original meditation of the Samaj he founded consisted in the repetition of the Gayatri Mantra, and chanting of the Upanishadic Texts, followed by a *stotra* taken from the Mahanirvan Tantra. He was not an advocate of idolatry, but never was against it. Like a true and enlightened Hindu, he laid down in the trust deed of the Brahmo Samaj that "no object animate or inanimate that has been, or is, or shall hereafter become or be recognised as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled or slightly or contemptuously spoken of or alluded to." He correctly defines the Hindu attitude of image-worship when he says, "It will also appear evident that the Vedas although they tolerate idolatry as the last provision for those who are totally incapable of raising their minds to the contemplation of the Invisible God of Nature, yet they repeatedly urge the relinquishment of the rites of idol worship and the adoption of a purer system of religion on the express grounds that the observance of idolatrous rites can never be productive of eternal beatitude."

The Brahmo Samaj during its second period which begins with the entry of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore as the leader, practically retained its Hindu character. It was not he but a section of his misguided followers who in their iconoclastic followers widened the gulf between Hinduism and Brahmoism. The Brahmapasana he conducted in the Samaj was almost the same as that of Rammohun. It consisted in reading selected texts from the Upanishads and collective chanting of a *stotra* of the Mahanirvan Tantra, of course, in an altered form. He sent four students to Benares for the study of the Vedas, so that they might serve the Samaj with their Vedic knowledge. The Maharshi and most of his adherents retained their sacred thread in spite of the opposition of Keshab Chandra Sen, the third Brahmo leader and his party. For the use of the Samajists, Debendranath compiled a series of extracts known as "Brahmo Dharma" from the Upanishads, the Smritis, the Mahabharata and other Hindu scriptures. "In spite of all his rationalism", rightly opines Mr. Sharma, "Debendranath was a conservative Hindu, whose spiritual life was nourished by the Upanishads and who was for introducing reforms in the Hindu society slowly but cautiously." Seceding of the Brahmo Samaj from the parent community and its rejection of the Vedas alienated the Hindus from this movement and this separatistic spirit dealt a death-blow to it. Pandit Sitanath Tattabhusan, a leader of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and the learned author of *The Philosophy of Brahmoism* rightly observes as follows in his *Autobiography*, published in 1943: "The discarding of Vedantism by the Brahmo Samaj under the Maharshi was a great mistake—one which had done and is doing a good deal of harm to the Brahmo Samaj. It had led to a neglect, on the part of the Brahmos, of our ancient scriptures and was thus discouraging scholarship and causing spiritual sterility. It had also created



Book Reviews



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

WHY PAKISTHAN?—AND WHY NOT? : By K. T. Shah. Published by Pratibha Publications, Peoples' Building, Sir Phirozsha Mehta Road, Bombay. Pp. 284. Price Rs. 5.

Recognising the fact that nearly all discussions of the Pakistan proposal as laid down in the 1940 Lahore resolution of the Muslim League have come either from those who stand for it or those who are opposed to it, and that they are all characterised by the lack of that detached outlook which only can bring about a solution, the learned author has gone back to a long disused form, the Socratic dialogue, in order to place all points of view before his readers. This has been done because he believes, and that rightly, that no problem whatever its nature, has ever only one side and that a scientific treatment presupposes the examination of all points of view.

It is therefore that Prof. K. T. Shah who already enjoys a unique reputation as one of our foremost economists and political thinkers has presented his thoughts on the Pakistan problem in the form of a round table conference lasting for six days in which representatives of all shades of opinion find a place. These discuss the ethics, economics and politics of the proposed homeland of our Muslim brethren, and examine not only the Pakistan resolution in all its implications but also such definite proposals as the Punjabis, the Aligarh Professors', the Latif and the Sikandar Hyat schemes. Some reference is also made to the Ambedkar proposal.

Though it cannot be said that the discussions lead to any final agreement among those participating in them, there can be no doubt that the unbiased examination of every aspect of the problem has admirably clarified the issues.

While the nature of the form adopted has prevented the learned author from giving any definite solution of his own, those who read between the lines will not experience much difficulty in finding at least the outlines of what Prof. Shah seems to regard as a more or less satisfactory way of solving this problem.

This is one of the very few books which has attempted, and that successfully, to treat this vexing problem and the success attained has been due only because the author has handled his subject without prejudice and without passion. It is recommended as a thought-provoking work which should set every lover of his motherland thinking furiously.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

DARKENING DAYS : By Ela Sen. Published by Susil Gupta, Calcutta, 1944. Pages 179. Price Rs. 4-8.

Pen-pictures of familiar scenes of the Bengal famine—pictures of the threatening clouds, the bursting of the storm, the human and social wreckage left behind and the general aftermath—pictures drawn by a deft and

skilful hand, constitute the subject-matter of this book. The authoress has not devoted much space to the assessment of the total human loss or to the apportionment of responsibility for the Bengal disaster of 1943. That remains a wide field of controversy. She has been more concerned, and rightly so, with the disastrous consequences of the impact of famine on the frail structure of Bengal's economic and social life. The bodies of children and the honour of women have sold cheaply, and human greed no less than human cruelty has deepened the tragedy, the ominous shadows of which have not yet disappeared from our midst. Admittedly, the book has been written from a woman's point of view and the entire tragedy has been seen through the sufferings and humiliation of women trapped in the meshes of famine. That does not, however, mean that the sufferings of men have been overlooked. The short stories which make up the major portion of the book bring back to life all those poignant scenes that have been imprinted on our memory for ever. Lakshmi, Juthika or Sukhi are not imaginary characters; they are real, so are their tragedy and humiliation. If rehabilitation is to have any meaning, it must secure, before everything else, the salvage of this human wreckage and the resurrection of their sense of honour and self-respect. Ela Sen rightly focusses the attention of her readers on the extreme urgency of this aspect of the rehabilitation problem, even though in places the striking realism of her narration is clouded by the vapours of sentimentality. The sketches of Zainul Abedin have added to the realistic as well as artistic quality of the book. Abedin's treatment of the pariah dog and the scavenging crow is something unique in the entire gallery of artistic representation of this dismal tragedy. Frankly, I failed to appreciate the printer's choice of the crimson background for Abedin's sketches, and without being dogmatic, I might say that a pale blue background would have perhaps been more in consonance with the theme of the book as well as the spirit of the sketches.

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

KEATS'S CONCEPTION OF THE POETIC VOCATION : By K. B. Roy, M.A. Messrs. Ram Krishna & Sons, Lahore. Price Rs. 3-8.

Mr. Roy, while a research scholar in the University of Lucknow, undertook the study of Keats's conception of the Poetic Vocation as revealed in his letters and poems. Prof. Amaranatha Jha introduces the results of that study embodied in the volume under review as a valuable monograph. Certainly there is still scope for much fruitful work in this direction. Dr. Takeshi Saito broached the subject twenty years ago and his chapter on the function of poetry deserves wide publicity even to-day.

Throughout his letters Keats had scattered numerous observations on the poet and his vocation,

and they have been liberally laid upon contribution by all students of Keats ever since their publication. Some of them have been quoted in the book, but one feels that Mr. Roy might have used them more freely. Keats who found that he could not exist without poetry, who declared 'there is no greater sin after the seven deadly than to flatter oneself into an idea of being a great poet', thought a good deal on the greatness of his vocation and made strenuous efforts to advance towards his ideal. In his verses he says, with reference to poetry :

A drainless shower

Of light is poesy; 'tis the supreme of power;
'Tis might half slumbering on its own right arm.

Most of the chapters are descriptive and some of them are interpretative. But it is difficult to understand why there is duplication of matter. The *Odes* and *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* are both fondly dwelt upon again and again. Pages 145 and 167 may be compared. This might have been easily avoided. The interpretation of *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* appears also to be a little fantastic. Selincourt had no doubt referred to its conception as 'invested with a sense of tragedy' and Saito commented : "Sympathy could not be deeper." But that is a far cry from Mr. Roy's interpretation (?) of the 'hero' (the Knight) as 'self-effacement and self-annihilation and throwing one's lot in common with fellow-sufferers.' There are also certain typographical errors, in fact, too many of them. There is also a peculiarity (?) in the printing, the last word of a page is repeated in the next page just as they carry it on in typing. This unusual 'feature' might have been avoided without any loss of contents, and with some gain in space, etc.

P. R. SEN

UNITY : Hamara Hindostan Publication, Bombay. Pages 79. Price As. 8.

This is a very timely publication being a collection from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the late Mahadevbhai Desai, Khwaja Ahmed Abbas and Sriji K. G. Mashruwalla on Hindu-Muslim unity and other allied subjects with Gandhiji's interpretation of the Gita and Moulana Azad's interpretation of the Quran in the Appendices.

India in spite of differences of religion, race and languages is one and undivided and the same ancient civilization is claimed by all as their own. It is the third party i.e., the alien rulers who are responsible for the gulf of the differences that divides the Hindus and the Muslims. So long the third party controls the political destiny of India there is hardly any possibility of a united India growing undisturbed. Almost all the political leaders and thinkers are of opinion that the Constitution of India must be drawn by Indians themselves and so long the British Parliament retains its sovereignty and the English nation refuses Indians the right of self-determination, the unity between the Hindus and the Muslims and a compromise with other minorities and interests cannot take place. It is almost a vicious circle between Unity and Independence—which to come first.

A book of this nature deserves wide circulation among the politically-minded people of the country.

WAGE-LABOUR AND CAPITAL : By Karl Marx with an Introduction by Frederick Engels. Published by Central Publishing Union, Lucknow. Pages 32. Price As. 8.

The original essays criticising the then classical Economists by Marx appeared in the form of leading newspaper articles in 1849. Subsequently Marx changed some of his views and these articles in a modified form

(as Marx would have himself done) were edited and published by Engels from London in 1891.

This publication is a cheap reprint meant for the students of Marxian literature.

A. B. DUTTA

THE BROTHERHOOD OF RELIGIONS : By Sophia Wadia. With a foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Second Edition. Published by International Book House Ltd., Ash Lane, Bombay. Pp. 288. Price Rs. 3.

The learned authoress is the distinguished editor of that high-brow journal, the *Aryan Path* and *Indian P. E. N.* as well as the leader of the Theosophical Movement, Bombay. Though English is not her mother-tongue, yet she is a charming speaker in English. She has devoted her life to the establishment of Brotherhood of religions in India, her adopted motherland. Deeply she loves India and her eternal wisdom and says that she is inspired by India, the modern heir of ancient Aryavarta whose immemorial wisdom has made India the motherland of all those who love the path of the spirit.

The book, under review, is a compilation of lectures "chosen from among many delivered at different places and under different auspices during five years" on almost all religions. These lectures, observes Mahatma Gandhi, in the foreword, "show at a glance how much similarity there is between the principal faiths of the earth in the fundamentals of life." Madame Wadia examines all religions with reverence and brings out pointedly the essential unity underlying them. She rightly distinguishes the essentials of religions from their non-essentials and emphasises the need of following the former and setting aside the latter as the *sine qua non* of true religious living. The root of all religious quarrels is an appalling ignorance of the essentials of one's own faith as well as other faiths. This ignoble ignorance will be dispelled and our religious outlook broadened by a comparative study of various faiths to which this book will serve as an excellent introduction and dependable guide. An elaborate index and a glossary of Pali and Sanskrit words used in the book are appended.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

DOCTRINE OF KARMA : By Swami Abhedananda, Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19/B Raja Rajkrishna Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

This is the second edition of Swamiji's lectures on Doctrine of Karma and philosophy of work; and to these have been added two other lectures on Delusion and Heart and Mind. These are fascinating studies on Karma in all its aspects—on its nature, on laws governing it as well as on Karma Yoga. The lecture on the law of compensation will remind the reader of Emerson's lecture on the same subject and both should be read together.

ISAN CH. ROY

BENGALI

BANGLA SAMAYIK SAHITYA (Bengali Periodical Literature) : By Brajendra Nath Banerji. Visva-Vidya-Samgraha Series No. 33. Visva-Bharati, Calcutta, 1945. Pp. 86.

Any work from the industrious and careful pen of Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji hardly requires a recommendation but speaks for itself. The present sketch, included in the well-known Visva-Vidya Series, which has already popularised itself by thoughtful contributions of eminent writers, is a short and clear version, within the limits of some eighty pages, of his more elaborate and fully documented History of Bengali Periodicals; but it does not lose its importance on that

an unnecessary gulf between the old and the new society, leading many Brahmos to call themselves non-Hindus and cease from taking a just pride in the glorious and spiritual achievements of the Hindu race."

As Maharshi orthodoxly maintained some Hindu customs and usages in the Samaj such as 'Upanayan' rite, Keshab Chandra left him and started a new branch of the Brahmo Samaj. Keshab and his followers became more Christian than Hindu in their belief and outlook. They were in the beginning so influenced by Christianity that it gave rise to a popular saying that Brahmoism is Christianity minus Christ. But later on he gave a cosmopolitan character to his Samaj as evident from *Sloka Sangraha*, a book prepared for use in the divine services of the Samaj and containing passages from scriptures of all religions—Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, Christian, Muslim and Chinese. Next to Rammohun, Keshab went to England and spent there six months preaching his message of religious synthesis.

Keshab came of a staunch Vaisnava family, hence he could not get rid of the Vaisnavite bent of his religious tendencies. He, therefore, introduced in the services of the Samaj, 'mridanga' and 'cymbals', the musical instruments used by the Vaisnavas in their Bhajans. In spite of the passing of the Civil Marriage Act in 1872, the marriages of Keshab's two daughters took place with the two Hindu princes of Cooch Behar and Mayurbhanj according to Hindu rites. Though he adopted some Christian rites, he retained the Hindu rites of 'Homa' and 'Arati' and some festivals. The banner of his Samaj bears the Christian cross, Islamic crescent and Hindu trident. "His religion", remarks Prof. Sharma, "was a sort of conglomerate of Brahmo rationalism, Vaisnava emotionalism, Christian supernaturalism and Vedantic mysticism." His colleague, Gour Gobinda Roy, was a great Sanskrit scholar and wrote a Sanskrit commentary on the Gita and an interpretation of Vedanta in Sanskrit. He met Sri Ramakrishna Paramhansa in 1875 and frequently visited him with his party at Dakshineswar Temple garden. The close contact with this Hindu saint Hinduised Keshab gradually and consequently he introduced the formless worship of God as mother in his Samaj. Sri Ramakrishna loved Keshab dearly and used to come to him to his Calcutta house. Ramakrishna's influence gave a Hindu turn to the Samaj. Keshab's adoption of Hindu rites brought him perilously near justifying idol-worship which was abhorrent to the Brahmo Samaj from its very inception. He wrote at one time in the *Sunday Mirror* thus: "Hindu idolatry is not altogether to be rejected or overlooked. As we explained some time ago, it represents millions of broken fragments of God. Collect them together and you get the Indivisible Divinity. Their idolatry is nothing but the worship of a divine attribute materialised."

Ananda Mohan Bose, the first leader of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, became the President of the Indian National Congress held in Madras in 1893. Sitanath Tattabhusan of this Samaj has published good translations of some Upanishads and popularised Vedanta in the Samaj. According to Pandit Sitanath, the main contribution of Brahmo Samaj to the religious development of India is that, it has given a negative and antithetical turn to the old theism of our country. The late lamented Ramananda Chatterjee, another Brahmo leader, took active part in the Hindu Mahasabha and devoted his long life to the protection of

the political rights of the Hindus. Rabindranath Tagore, characterised by Prof. Sharma as the Leonardo da Vinci of our renaissance, has played a very important part in the modern renaissance of Hinduism. He was the youngest son of the Maharshi and was once the Secretary of the Adi Brahmo Samaj of which his father was the head. Like a Rishi, he was saturated with the spirit of the Upanishads. The poet quotes freely from the Upanishads and his message is a restatement of the ancient Hindu wisdom to meet the needs of modern times. His 'Sadhana' which contains a series of lectures delivered at the Harvard University, U.S.A., shows "how deeply he pondered over the sacred texts of the Upanishads and how clearly he pointed out their significance to the modern mind." Prof. Radhakrishnan who has written an interesting volume on the philosophy of Rabindranath rightly says that the writings of the poet form a modern commentary on the Upanishads and that the soul of ancient India is mirrored in them. The publication of his *Gitanjali* in 1912, the award of Nobel Prize to him in the following year, the founding of his Visva-Bharati in 1921 and his delivery of the Hibbert lectures in 1930 are memorable events in the history of the present Hindu renaissance, as these epochal events have made Hinduism known throughout the civilised world. Though Tagore was an opponent of Hindu orthodoxy, he was undoubtedly a prominent leader of Hindu renaissance. The Upanishads, the Himalayan source of the Upanishads, were the scriptures of his spiritual life. Like his father, he never considered himself as being outside the pale of Hinduism. His novel *Gora* contains an impartial criticism of the Brahmo Samaj as well as the Hindu orthodoxy. Tagore has broadcasted to the distant corners of the globe the age-old message of Hinduism through his poems, stories, novels, and dramas, which are now read almost in every country of the world.

In the light of history, Brahmo Samaj may be described as a Neo-Hindu movement, a protestant sect of Hinduism, like the Arya Samaj. Lala Lajpat Rai, a great patriot and leader of the Arya Samaj, says: "The Arya Samaj is a champion of Hinduism in more senses than one. Its members are proud of Hinduism. They have no hesitation and will never have any, in staking everything they possess in defence of the Hindu community. Hinduism created the Arya Samaj. Hinduism has vitality enough to save itself by other means, if the Arya Samaj should fail it." Miss Adrienne Moore in her thoughtful book *Rammohun Roy and America* observes that though Rammohun during his life-time was more esteemed by the West, yet after his death he has been more appreciated by India which now acclaims him as the Father of her Renaissance. "If Rammohun was more influential during the generation after his death," concludes Miss Moore, "it was Rammohun the Hindu, shorn of Christian embellishments, who lived on."

From the above short study, it is clear that the line of demarcation between the Brahmo Samaj and Hinduism is nothing but imaginary and that the Brahmo Samaj has made substantial and significant contributions to the Hindu Renaissance in which we live. None can deny that the Brahmo Samaj has broadened and broadcasted, widened and intensified, forwarded and fostered the modern Renaissance of Hinduism in all possible ways.

MENACE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

By SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

It is reassuring to note that Mahatma Gandhi has advised Indian businessmen not to co-operate with British capitalists on fifty fifty basis. We are of the opinion that this and similar proposals would not have been made by responsible men like Professor A. V. Hill had not the Bombay Planners invited foreign capital specially from America to the amount of Rs. 700 crores. Speaking in 1916 on the resolution which led to the appointment of the Industrial Commission Sir William Clarke, the then Commerce Member, said, "The building up of industries where capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians is the special object we all have in view." He deprecated the taking of any steps which might "merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries." It is an irony of fate that exactly this has happened and sections 111-116, Government of India Act incorporating what is known as commercial safeguards for Britons run counter to the views expressed by the Commerce Member. In protected industries like paper and cement Britons hold the superior position. A Czecho-Slovak shoe factory is throwing millions of Indian shoe-makers out of employment without having to bear the burden of unemployment relief which in other countries falls mainly on industry. Two motor tyre factories, one near Calcutta owned by the British and the other at Bombay owned by Americans, can meet the needs of the country and, therefore, make Indian venture in this direction not only superfluous but impossible in view of the fierce competition that will follow. In soap, since the establishment of a British factory in the country, indigenous concerns find it difficult to maintain their existence. These are only a few instances. In old established industries like jute and coal the foreign concerns hang like a mill-stone round the country's neck. Indian-owned jute mills have been forced against their vehement opposition and under a Government Ordinance to obey the mandate of the ring of the British jute mills in the matter of working hours. Otherwise each such mill would have served the purpose of three or more such establishments and the position of Indians (which is negligible now) vis-a-vis the British in the industry would have improved. Indian colliery proprietors with their limited capital can not generally buy screening plants and coal-cutting machines with the result that their cost per ton of coal raised is higher than that of British-managed collieries. Judged by the pre-war wagon basis of each colliery Indian-owned mines have been getting very much less wagons than the British-managed since the beginning of the war. The same thing happened during the last war. Soft coke used by the poor and middle classes in cooking food has been placed down in the list of priorities. Otherwise Indian colliery proprietors who generally manufacture soft coke would have fared a little better. Foreign capital so much dreaded by Gopal Krishna Gokhale has become the greatest menace in modern India. The situation is more serious than we generally comprehend. Vested and sectional interests are being created in the country and fissiparous tendencies carefully promoted and financed. A section of the nationalist Press drawing a substantial part of its revenue from advertisements of foreign concerns no longer carries on, as in the days of Surendranath Banerjee and Matilal Ghose, the ceaseless propaganda against goods produced by foreigners but devotes most of its leading articles to Mr. Leopold Amery, which is rather a safe

thing to do. The news of police shooting of strikers of an European concern near Calcutta could not be published until after 3 days' agitation culminating in a bonfire of certain newspapers. It is our considered opinion that in spite of Mahatma's warning Indian big business will ultimately form an alliance with foreign capital specially American if not on 50:50 at least on 70:30 or 75:25 basis. This fresh invasion in addition to what already exists will mean parcelling out India to different nations of the West and creating a second China. At this critical hour of the country the Indian National Congress which is the salt of this earth has lost its savour and become capitalist-ridden. The future historian will describe the entertainment of Mahatma and the Viceroy in different parts of the same house and at the same time as the first nail in the coffin of Indian nationalism. Our veneration for Mahatma is boundless but the serious danger that faces the country leaves us no alternative to presentation of truth in all its nakedness. History and literature, as in the case of Shakespeare's Brutus, provide examples of high-souled patriots being made tools in the hands of designing men who did infinite harm to society. The Radical Democratic Party whose leader is declared to be in the pay of the Government has very strong words against Indian big business but nothing against British industry which sets the pace of exploitation. The Communist Party about which searching questions should be put in the legislature tries to fasten all blame on profiteers whose nefarious career of crime would end in no time if high officials were not their partners. In the recent Kishan Sabha Conference at Netrakona, Bengal, it sowed seeds of discord between the peasants and the landlords keeping mum over the exploitation of jute-growers by jute mills mostly under British management. The annual income of landlords whose number is 783,000 does not exceed Rs. 12 crores while the undue gain made by jute mills in a year is at least Rs. 40 crores. Foolish criticism has been made of moneylenders. The Bengal Money Lenders' Act and the Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Act made it impossible for anybody to advance loan to agriculturists who had to sell their land outright during the last famine. The condition of rayats in Khas Mahal areas and in provinces not under Permanent Settlement is not better but far worse than in Zemindary tracts. At least 20 crores of rupees are allowed to fall into arrears in Bengal by Zemindars and may thus be considered as agricultural loan at a low rate of interest. This is inconceivable elsewhere. The speeches of the President and Swami Sahajananda at the recent Krishak Praja Conference at Rajshahi follow much the same lines of uninformed criticism. Now all these parties designed to vivisection India are gaining in strength only because the Congress does not dissociate itself from Indian big business which should be neither exterminated nor petted. The entire forces of the country should be marshalled against foreign capital within or outside the country. This can not be done until rural people get industrial goods like cloth at a cheap price, which means curtailment of profits at the top. Eire would not be a free country now if the Irish did not spurn the repeated offers of British capitalists to industrialise that country and boldly declare that they were content with their potatoes and sprat (fish). A strong movement should immediately be started in India for the boycott of goods even made with 5 per cent foreign capital. The technique of the Swadeshi movement of Bengal in 1906 may be followed.

account. Meant chiefly though it is for the general reader, no pains has been spared to make it complete, accurate and interesting; but the specialist also will find in it some matter which is new and valuable. No better work can be recommended to the busy reader who wants to have a short but reliable account of an extremely interesting subject.

S. K. DE

KHELAR MATH : By Jogendra Nath Gupta. Published by the Author from P.551A, Mahanirban Road, Calcutta. Pages 256. Price Rs. 2.

Mr. Gupta as Editor of the *Sishu Bharati* (the Children's Encyclopaedia) is well-known among the juvenile readers of Bengal. He has contributed a good number of books to the Bengali literature and not a small number for the young readers. *Khelar Math* or the Play Ground—when it was being published in instalments in the *Kaishorak*, kept young readers anxious from month to month till the story was concluded. It is a fascinating tale with tit-bits of juvenile adventure—all around the game of cricket. School students, teachers, villagers all meet and part full of life and reality and the hobby of adventure to find the missing foreign stamps is really exciting and keeps the young minds in suspense. We shall not be surprised if some young readers fail to go to the play ground being absorbed in its study.

This is an innocent story of adventure for the young and as such deserves wide circulation among those for whom it has been written.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

SHILINDHRA HAMARE MITRA TATHA SHATRU : By Kameshwar Sahaya Bhargava. Allahabad University, Allahabad. Pp. 29. Price not mentioned.

This is a pamphlet which deals with Fungus and its several uses in medicine, industry and food as well as some of its indirect uses. It traces the history of Fungus from the earliest recorded times both in East and in West. On striking the balance of its advantages and disadvantages, the writer—whose capacity for research is quite evident—comes to the conclusion that Fungus is at present more a foe of man than his friend.

PRAKASH-CHIKITSA : By Dr. Sudhir Kumar Mukerji. Allahabad University, Allahabad. Pp. 72. Price not mentioned.

This is a Hindi translation of two chapters of Dr. Nilratan Dhar's *New Conceptions in Bio-Chemistry*, dealing with the value of sunlight in curing certain diseases and in increasing the "vitaminness" of a number of edibles. Had the style been simpler, the usefulness of the book to the lay reader would have been enhanced considerably.

G. M.

CANARESE

CHARAKA SAMHITA-CHIKITSA STHANA Part I : Edited and published by Ayurveda Teertha Adya Anantacharya, Bijapur. Price Rs. 6.

The book under review is a Kannada rendering of the original Sanskrit work of the same name. Charaka and Sushruta are the two important works extant on the ancient lore of Ayurveda. Charaka is regarded as the most ancient and authoritative work on Ayurveda and as such is held in very high esteem. Its very ancientness has lent scope for variations in readings and interpolations. The editor has tried his level best to consult different texts available and determine the correct readings. He has further added a few prescriptions of medicines in the light of his own experienced practice ranging over a lengthy period. The translator has done a very useful work in appending the Kannada

equivalents for different herbs and drugs. Sjt. Adya deserves well-merited praise for putting such a useful work on the market for the benefit of Kannada Ayurvedic students and public.

V. B. N.

GUJARATI

HRADAYANJALI : By Mrs. Indumati Desai, Broach. Printed at the Patidar Printing Press, Kadi. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 84.

These are rhapsodies in the vogue of Miran Bai's devotional songs addressed to Krishna. They are both in prose and verse, and show a good command over language. She is a disciple of Arvind Babu of Pondichery and a genuine believer in the following verse which she prints on the last cover, "With the Divine all is bliss."

NAVIN KAVITAVISHE VYAKHYANO : By Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S. (Retd.). Printed at the Sadhana Press, Baroda. (1943). Pp. 189. Price Rs. 2.

The Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, has opened a Post-Graduate class, before which Prof. Thakore delivered lectures on the New or Modern poetry of Gujarat. The lectures are divided into four sections and embrace almost every phase of recent poetry, as represented by numerous young and rising composers. The lecturer writes that the period is one of transition, and is bound to give rise to "Revolutionary" writers. The reviews are so thorough and couched in such trenchant and fearless language that they have become a milestone in the path of criticism or review in the literature of Gujarat. It is not as if the reviews are unsympathetic or harsh : on the other hand, at numerous places one finds words of encouragement, and appreciation, which go to hearten the young composer.

K. M. J.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS



My Pictures

We give below the first part of the article, as published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, on "My Pictures" by Rabindranath Tagore, written in London on July 2, 1930:

When, at the age of five, I was compelled to learn and to repeat the lessons from my text-book, I had the notion that literature had its mysterious manifestation on the printed pages, that it represented some supernatural tyranny of an immaculate perfection. Such a despairing feeling of awe was dissipated from my mind when by chance I discovered in my own person that verse-making was not beyond the range of an untrained mind and tottering handwriting. Since then my sole medium of expression has been words, followed at sixteen by music, which also came to me as a surprise.

In the meanwhile the modern art movement, following the line of the oriental tradition, was started by my nephew Abanindranath. I watched his activities with an envious mood of self-diffidence, being thoroughly convinced that my fate had refused me passport across the strict boundaries of letters.

But one thing which is common to all arts is the principle of rhythm which transforms inert materials into living creations. My instinct for it and my training in its use led me to know that lines and colours in art are no carriers of information; they seek their rhythmic incarnation in pictures. Their ultimate purpose is not to illustrate or to copy some outer fact or inner vision, but to evolve a harmonious wholeness which finds its passage through our eyesight into imagination. It neither questions our mind for meaning nor burdens it with unmeaningness, for it is, above all, meaning.

Desultory lines obstruct the freedom of our vision with the inertia of their irrelevance. They do not move with the great march of all things. They have no justification to exist and therefore they rouse up against them their surroundings; they perpetually disturb peace. For this reason the scattered scratches and corrections in my manuscripts cause me annoyance. They represent regrettable mischance, like a gaping fool crowd struck in a wrong place, undecided as to how or where to move on. But if the spirit of a dance is inspired in the heart of that crowd, the unrelated many would find a perfect unity and be relieved of its hesitation between to be and not to be. I try to make my corrections dance, connect them in a rhythmic relationship and transform accumulation into adornment.

This has been my unconscious training in drawing. I find disinterested pleasure in this work of reclamation, often giving to it more time and care than to my immediate duty in literature that has the sole claim upon my attention, often aspiring to a permanent recognition from the world.

Yeats on India

In the case of Yeats, the "superhuman" or "supernatural", in short the non-rational, played

an exceedingly important part in his evolution as a writer and poet. Dr. Alex Aronson writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Yeats was not the first to discover that poetry is born out of a mystical experience, a kind of super-natural trance where all earthly conflicts are solved and the subconscious itself is transformed into artistic creation. Many before him had experienced a similar spiritual awakening.

The fact that, from his childhood onwards, he felt attracted towards things Eastern, and particularly towards India, indeed proves that not only intellectually, but also temperamentally he was drawn towards the subconscious of the human mind. And more than once he found in India what was so sadly lacking in the West: an intuitive approach to life, a religion born of an inner need, a challenge to materialism.

Yeats was a dreamer and more than once he deceived himself into believing in an India of his own creation, the India of the Romantics; indeed, as to so many other European thinkers and poets before him, India was to him a wish-fulfilment rather than a reality. And first and foremost it was an escape, a looking back rather than a looking forward, an India coloured by the nostalgic emotions of a dissatisfied European poet.

Yeats's discovery of India can hardly be called an intellectual and even less an academic achievement.

His poetry, indeed his love for all that is primitive and simple and rooted in the soil quite naturally led him towards India.

Yeats, in his early manhood, was intensely pre-occupied with the past, that dim and primeval darkness of ancient times. "There are two ways before literature," he says, "upward into ever-growing subtlety . . . or downward, taking the soul with us until all is simplified and solidified again." (1906). This was written six years before Yeats discovered Tagore's English rendering of *Gitanjali*. And it was quite in the nature of things that he found in *Gitanjali* just those elements of poetry which were lacking in the West: the living tradition of the past, a continuity in the life of the people whose roots are deep down in the soil.

It is from this time onwards that we find Yeats definitely turning towards the East for inspiration. Sometimes, indeed, Yeats feels that Europe has outgrown her past, that every seed has borne its fruit; " . . . it is now time to copy the East and live deliberately."

A poet's approach to a foreign civilization must necessarily imply a valuation. In the case of Yeats we may safely say that many of his values, both literary and cultural in-general, were derived from that revivalist movement which he himself helped to create and which was by no means determined by purely literary considerations. It was a return to the primeval simplicity of the past, the unsophisticated civilization of the "people." There is no doubt that India was to him the fulfilment of many of his dreams, a vision of the final harmony in human life.

The Rhine Front

The New Review observes :

It is important to note that the Allied offensive could not get well under way earlier than one month ago. As the Ardennes counter-offensive was petering out in early February, Marshal Montgomery passed to the attack, but was stalled by the German skilful defence. Crerar's Canadians fought bravely through mud and water, hopping from dry spot to dry spot and from dike to dike, pushing their way across minefields in a murderous frontal assault which reached the Rhine. The American Third Army bored through the West Wall, painfully inching forward in the Eifel forest. But in the centre the American First and Ninth were stopped. The dams of the Roer and Urft rivers had been blown up by von Rundstedt, and let loose a flood which widened the Roer up to one thousand yards and barred the access to the Cologne plain. The Americans captured the Urft dam but had to wait for the ground to dry before resuming their advance. It was only by the fourth week of February that the Allied offensive could develop on a large-scale.

Then things went well, and in three weeks the Allies had taken 150,000 prisoners, many more than the Russians in their well-publicized Warsaw-Oder drive. Crerar's troops went on slithering through slime, slush, sludge, and pushed from the Maas-Rhine corner southwards up the Rhine valley. The American Third plodded on east of Ptum. The American First and Ninth jumped the Roer, broke through in the centre, on and on, to Cologne, to Bonn, to Coblenz and even sprinted across the Rhine at Remagen. Then Patton's Third took on, rushed down the Moselle, leaped across the river, swerved south and hemmed in the German northern flank whilst the Seventh forced back the southern flank so as to squeeze and crush the German pocket. The west bank of the Rhine was clear of the enemy. The manoeuvring had been brilliant and the victory complete.

Several points stand out in a retrospective view of the last months. The first is the failure of the German High Command to gain the time they wanted. For three months they delayed the Allies by the Ardennes' counteroffensive, by timely flooding of valleys, by desperate delaying tactics. The delay partly worked against them since it meant a more thorough and prolonged bombing of their communications and war plants, but it was considered imperative since they relied on a turn of the war in April. By April, they hoped new secret weapons would be ready, and they knew that in any case a new class of 17-year olds would supply a number of fanatic divisions.

Lastly one remarkable development of last month's operations was the sudden appearance of an American Fifteenth Army and disappearance of the British Second. The American Fifteenth has no special feature, but the British Second is a very mobile weapon. It was the British Second under General Dempsey which, at the close of the Battle of France, made the spectacular rush to Brussels and Antwerp. Along with our Parachute Army, it was rested and refitted for the coming break-through.

The Way the Political Wind is Blowing in India

In the course of an article in *The Hindustan Review* under the above caption, 'An Onlooker' observes :

Islam is, on a correct interpretation of its teachings, embodied in the Quran, a religion of concord and

tolerance, and of goodwill towards all human beings, and it is not limited in its scope to Muslims alone.

It was in this very sense that the greatest Muslim, born in India, under British rule, Sir Syed Ahmad (the founder of the great educational institution at Aligarh, which had long since developed into the well-known Muslim University) interpreted the true spirit of Islamic teachings when, applying them to the political conditions of India, he observed, in the course of a speech, at Gurdaspur, in the Punjab, made in 1884, as follows : "From the oldest times the word 'nation' is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their own. Hindu and Muhammadan brethren, do you people any country other than Hindustan? Do you not inhabit the same land? Are you not burnt on, or buried under, the same soil? Do you not tread, and live upon, the same ground? Remember that the words 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' are only meant for religious distinction, otherwise all persons—whether Hindu, Muslim, or Christian—who reside in this great country of ours belong to one and the same nation. As all the different sects in this country can only be described as one nation, they must each and all unite for the good of the country, which is common to all."

Indeed, in a later speech, at Lahore, Sir Syed went further, and declared: "I call both these communities which inhabit India by one word, 'Hindu', meaning thereby that they are inhabitants of Hindustan."

One year earlier, addressing a public meeting at Patna, Sir Syed Ahmed had spoken to the same effect :

"Both my Hindu brethren and my Muslim co-religionists breathe the same air, drink the waters of the sacred Ganges and the Jamuna, eat the products which God has given to this country, live and die together. Both of us had shed off our former dress and habits, and while the Muslims have adopted numberless customs belonging to the Hindus, the Hindus have been vastly influenced by the Muslim habits and customs. I say with conviction that in all matters of every-day life the Hindus and the Muslims really belong to one community as children of the soil, and not two. I grieve at the sight of those who do not understand this basic point, and inculcate views which would ultimately lead to a permanent cleavage between two sections of the Indian community. I have always said that our land of India is like a newly-wedded bride, whose two beautiful and luscious eyes are the Hindus and the Muslims; if the two live in concord with one another, the bride will remain for ever resplendent and becoming, while if they make up their mind to destroy each other, she is bound to become squint-eyed and even one-eyed."

He was equally eloquent when speaking at Lahore, a little later, he expressed himself as follows: "In the word 'nation' I include both Hindus and Mahomedans because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it. We inhabit the same land, are subject to the same rule, the fountains of benefits for all are the same, and the pangs of famine also we suffer equally. These are the different grounds upon which I call both those races which inhabit India by one word, i.e., 'Hindu', meaning that they are the inhabitants of Hindustan."

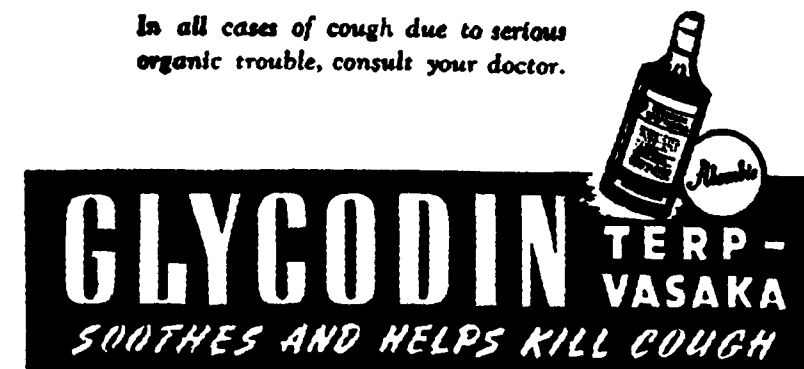
Contrast the above noble sentiments—inspiring to a degree—with those expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah in his discussions with Mahatma Gandhi, in September last year, and the effect is a mental depression which looks irremediable.



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An Account of Piracy During the Reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb

The neglect of sea-power by the Mughals cost them much. They were never able to secure their seas from pirates. Prof. S. P. Sangar writes in *The Calcutta Review* :

Their ships were not well-equipped to repel the onslaughts of the pirates, who were ever on the look-out for Indian vessels laden with riches. They would seem, on the other hand, anxious to seek help from the European East India Companies. Every sort of pressure was brought to bear on their Presidents, resident at Surat, to grant passes of safe conduct for Indian ships sailing to other countries. Even the attitude of the English at Surat could not be sympathetic towards the nefarious activities of the pirates. In view of the mental and physical hardships in prison and the financial losses they had to undergo, including the serious menace to the safe prosecution of their trade, they themselves thought it essential to take measures to stop the robberies on the seas. The system of issuing passes was considered the best, though these passes were not always a guarantee against piracy. The pirates belonging to the English nation were requested not to molest the Indian ships furnished with English passes as that was likely to produce an injurious effect on their (English) interests. Moreover, expeditionary ships were sent by the English both from India and England to search out the haunts of the culprits, encounter and extirpate them.

The Mughal authorities did not, however, yield to the situation easily. If they were not strong on the sea, they were not weak on the land. They did not sit idle after a ship belonging to India had been subjected to the pirates' raids. They were not slow to inquire about the nationality of the culprits. This known, the government compelled the members of that nation in India to compensate the sufferers. If a ship was looted by some Englishmen, the President of the English East India Company at Surat had to face a difficult situation. The merchants concerned demanded justice from the Mughal authorities. The latter at once ordered a guard to be placed over the English Factory. The President was taken into custody and asked to make up the loss. Sometimes, the members of the Council as well had to suffer imprisonment. If this proved unavailing, they would threaten the English trade throughout India. The English factors at Agra, Ahmedabad and other places were imprisoned and their goods sealed.

The pirates, almost all of them, belonged to European nations.

They were English, French, Dutch, Portuguese and Swedes. Besides these, there were the Maratha warships which cruised about their newly built forts in the sea opposite the island fortress belonging to the "habshis." Then there were the *Sakans*; they were also notorious for their acts of piracy. But the Maratha and Sakan pirates were not so dangerous as the European ones. The piracy in the Indian seas grew with a corresponding growth of Indian trade.

Two Mughal vessels, one of whom had a pass from the Surat Factory, were looted in 1635 at the mouth of the Red Sea by Gobb, the captain of a ship licensed by Charles I of England.

The looting of a Surat merchant-vessel early in April, 1636 put the English to great trouble. As soon as the news of the piracy was whispered into the ears of President Methwold, he went to see the 'governor' (customs-officer). There he had to face the angry looks of the persons who had suffered losses. He returned home and soon found that his house had been placed

under guard. A quarrel with the guard was followed by its being redoubled. A few days passed in efforts at compromise. The President, then, went to the 'governor's' durbār. At the end of the proceedings he and his companion found themselves prisoners. They were removed to a close and inconvenient room where 'chindus', a common vermin, allowed them no rest. Their most terrible experience was the 'clamorous swarms of the offended multitude of pretenders' which they brought upon us. These people showered upon the two a whole tirade of contemptuous epithets. Meanwhile, the *Taufiki*, the looted vessel, arrived. Methwold was called before the 'governor' in the darbar where he cross-examined the *nakhuda* of the junk.

The English President was not prepared in any case to acknowledge the fault of his own countrymen. But he was helpless to make a stand against the facts.

To put further pressure, certain English goods from Agra and Ahmedabad were taken possession of and the English at Surat complained to the Company that unless the goods at Ahmedabad were released, the *Discovery* must sail partly empty. The outcome of all this was that the company had to pay the huge sum of Rs. 1,10,000 to satisfy the demands of the robbed merchants. The President and Council at Surat decided to send the *Blessing* to search and seize the offenders.

Just upon the heels of this incident came the news of another act of piracy. A *Dieu* junk was looted by some pirates and the charge was levied against the English. The merchants at Ahmedabad became clamorous for the satisfaction of their demands. The *Dieu* affair brought about, first of all, the imprisonment of the factors at Ahmedabad. They were not to be released until they found sureties. Then came the order forbidding them to go outside the city walls. They found, moreover, their effects sequestered. At Agra their house was seized and their broker kept under surveillance. They had to suffer in Sind as well; the goods and money there were confiscated. The *Dieu* merchants had petitioned the Viceroy for justice and the latter was making enquiries. Matters lingered on in this way for over a month, when the king ordered the release of their persons and goods at Agra, Ahmedabad and Thatta.

In October of the same year some English pirates again looted an Indian vessel. The departure of the interested parties for the court of justice frightened the English at Surat.

In 1638, Indian vessels were plundered and their crews tortured by an English Captain. The English at Surat had to suffer for these misdeeds of their fellow-countrymen. They were kept in prison for two months and could not secure their release before the payment of Rs. 1,70,000 as compensation.

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The Niagara Falls

Dr. H. L. Pasricha writes in *The Indian Review* :

Six million horse-power stampeding in wild waste over a 165-foot precipice—that was Niagara Falls up to a generation or two ago. Countless generations of Red Indians wove the "Thunder of Waters" into their myths and legends. French missionaries of the 17th century, venturing through a wilderness, brought back amazing tales of wild waters leaping down a mountain-side.

It was an obscure fur-trader, Chabert Joncaire by name, who first saw both power and beauty in Niagara Falls. Sometime in 1757 he dug a little circular ditch just above the American Falls. With a six-foot fall he ran a saw-mill that may have used 20 horsepower. The lumber thus produced was used in building ships to bring down furs from the Upper lakes.

Modern methods in the Niagara power industry began in 1852 with the digging of what is known as the Hydraulic Canal. This canal was part of a project to take water from a point about a half mile above the American Falls and bring it across the city of Niagara Falls to the cliff wall of the gorge below the Falls. By letting the canal water flow over the cliff, power could be developed on a far greater scale than had ever been undertaken before. As in 1852 electricity had only been recently applied to telegraphy, the dream of the Niagara power pioneers of that generation never went beyond water wheels directly connected with machinery.

Even so, it was a great dream.

Some pioneers sacrificed careers and fortunes to a dream they never saw come true.

Walter Bryant and his friends struggled against unexpected obstacles until they had lost \$300,000. Horace H. Day and others who then took up the challenge sunk \$700,000 in the project before they confessed failure.

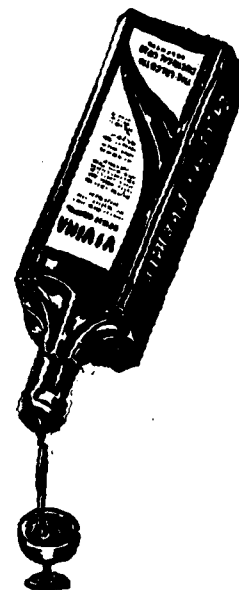
But the hour produces the man. In 1877 Jacob F. Schoellkopf and his associates bought the canal property at public auction and set doggedly to work, building, experimenting, testing, perfecting. They struggled and persevered. Soon a flour mill was using 900 horse-power developed from the canal water.

Then came electricity which revolutionized the entire Niagara power industry. In 1879 Prospect Park in Niagara Falls was lighted by arc-lamps fed by Niagara power. By 1881 water wheels of 2,000 horse-power capacity were connected with dynamos by rope-drive, and the electric power developed was sold for commercial use.

Others came to share in the great power development. The trial had been blazed. Capital was slowly obtained for the necessary experimental work. Great electro-chemical industries spread about the Falls. Constant and dependable low-cost power in the quantity production of ferro-alloys, chlorine and alkalis, electrodes, graphite phosphorus compounds, sodium, potassium, aluminium, and a score more basic products was the magnet that attracted them.

New water-ways, tunnels, receiving basins, grew to mammoth constructions of cement and steel and stone. Improved electrical machinery continuously increased in size, efficiency and power, until units of 70,000 horse-power were reached and a vast web of transmission lines radiated from the Falls to serve wide country-sides and multitudinous populations.

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Scientific Co-operation

A. L. Poole and I. E. Coop, both of whom are New Zealand scientists, discuss the need of 'scientific collaboration between the United Kingdom and New Zealand in war and peace' in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

The term scientific co-operation is axiomatic. Scientists the world over consciously or unconsciously assist one another in so far as they work upon and develop the accumulated knowledge of other scientists. It is true to say that the flow of scientific knowledge is free because of the practice, and indeed the necessity, for scientific workers to publish their results. Some work might remain hidden for a time, but eventually it finds its way out.

The importance of this scientific knowledge to a community cannot be gainsaid. It will be appreciated that any country, if it is to give a good account of itself in a world rapidly changing under the impact of science, must develop the science of those industries which are its main livelihood and keep abreast of scientific development in other fields. In times of war this becomes a matter of the utmost urgency.

New Zealand has attempted to do this: but with a population of only some 1,600,000 in a country a little larger than England, Scotland and Wales, she cannot have scientific services on the scale of larger countries; she must necessarily lag behind these, with their better equipped laboratories, in the development of fundamental science, as well as of much applied research. She endeavours, however, to keep abreast of this, particularly of applied research, by specialised co-operation, and has given much thought to the development of this service.

The foundation of wider scientific co-operation was laid in the early days of the history of the Dominion, when the University of New Zealand was established. The first teachers were recruited from Britain, and the University itself was modelled along the lines of British Universities. The practice of recruiting British scientists into the New Zealand University still goes on, and so keeps it abreast of the most recent British teaching.

The custom has also grown up of many New Zealand graduates in science coming to Britain, either independently, or as holders of scholarships, to further their training and experience. These graduates are not compelled to return to the Dominion and many remain in Britain. Those who do return take back with them the advanced learning of British Science and those who remain frequently impart a freshness of outlook acquired from a young country.

In medical sciences it is the practice for a number of graduate doctors to proceed to the great English hospitals to specialise in some branch of surgery or medicine.

When we look beyond the sphere of university training to the field of research, we again find the closest co-operation with Britain. The exchange of literature and the personal exchange of views and information between scientific workers in both countries is proceeding all the time. Moreover, visits of scientists from one country to the other are frequent, and scientific representatives from both meet at imperial and international scientific conferences.

All the above methods of scientific co-operation have become common between many countries. But because New Zealand is a small and isolated country she has deemed it wise to build up more highly-specialised scientific co-operation in the form of scientific liaison services. This is being done under the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research.

War Artists of the USSR

Vsevolod Shevtsov writes:

In Stalingrad, in the Crimea and now in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Prussian territory, among tankmen, sappers and tommygunners you will come across people with a sketch book in their hands and knap-sack across their shoulders. They are war artists from the Moscow Studio called after the well-known Soviet battle scene painter Mitrophan Grekov.

Fifty studio artists have made it their goal to depict in their pictures the grandeur of the Patriotic War which the Russian people are conducting against the Nazis. In order to attain their goal they have selected front line surroundings to be their "workshop." All the artists in the Grekov Studio have been at the

front as soldiers or commanders. They have seen quite a bit of fighting as tankmen or tommygunners. Some of them were in partisan units. They have had extensive experience in battle and they all have good knowledge of the technique of the war and people fighting it. For them the front has become a kind of "art academy". Many artists were awarded orders for their bravery and courage. Nikolai Obrynba, an excellent painter, destroyed 37 Germans with his tommy-gun while he was fighting in a partisan unit. When he was not fighting Nikolai Obrynba was busy in painting. During the three and a half years he spent in the partisan unit he painted ten pictures depicting the life of his friends, people's avengers.

Nikolai Zhukov, an outstanding Soviet graphic artist and Stalin prize winner, is at head of the studio. Together with studio artists he tours the front making drawings and collective materials for large canvases. In the last year and a half he has made more than 300 sketches at the front. Sketches cover a wide variety of themes.

In his poster-leaflet "Lebensraum" we see an endless snow-covered field dotted with upright crosses crowded with German helmets. Over the field a crow hovers menacingly. Another fine example of Zhukov's work is the series "Soldier's Slang." The word "In Order" is popular among fightingmen and is applied in a great variety of meanings. The artist created a series of sketches under this title. A picture showing a dead German is entitled "In Order," a soldier shaving in a trench "In Order" and so on. In the series "Frontline Lyrics" is the sketch "Frontline Vase". It depicts a soot-covered soldier's pot with a bouquet of field flowers. At the front artists portrayed heroes of the Patriotic War, Nazi war prisoners, trophy material, and events of the frontline life. Recently Zhukov returned from the front having marched with the troops of the

Belo-Russian Front from the very beginning of its offensive to the banks of the Nieman.—(*Tass News Agency of the U. S. S. R.*)

Canada

In an article in *The Catholic World*, C. J. Eustace notes the conflict of interests in Canadian politics between the English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians:

It is an interesting fact that, according to the latest Canadian census (1940), Canadians of British stock ceased to be a majority. Today less than 50 per cent of the Canadian population is of Anglo-Saxon origin. The three major ethnic groups in Canada are the English, the French, and the European Canadians. The numbers of those of British stock are slightly in the majority amongst the three groups, but while the birthrate of the French and European Canadians is increasing, that of the British Canadians is on the decline.

Canada today is a melting-pot, in which the various racial and religious groups are attempting to find a *modus vivendi* which will allow them to develop, each according to their religious and cultural peculiarity, although welded together by the common federal basis of Canadian politics. This process of "becoming Canadian" is not achieved without difficulty, nor without bitter recriminations from the different interest groups, which attempt to exert pressure on the social structure, chiefly through the instrumentality of provincial politics.

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Discovery of the Central Temple of Tlatelolco

In *Mexico News* Martinez Del Rio tells us about the archaeological discovery of the central temple of Tlatelolco in Mexico City :

The majority of the writers of the daily press in Mexico are already acquainted with the archeological discoveries which have been made during the past few months in a big vacant lot which extends to the west of the old church of Santiago Tlatelolco. By a rather cruel irony of destiny, the territory just mentioned, so active in prehispanic times and during a great part of the colonial period, is today one of the most quiet and peaceful districts in Mexico City. It takes quite a bit of imagination to picture that the garden with its luxuriant trees and its green lawns which are so inviting, coincides (as has been proven) with the busy market place and the noisy fairs, as described by the conqueror Bernal Diaz del Castillo, and that the place was, without doubt, the greatest centre of all the New World.

The history of Tlatelolco can be summed up in a few sentences. Its date of founding is still far from being precisely figured out, even though there exists a sort of tradition that it was older than the twin city of Tenochtitlan. It is certain, however, that both cities were founded during the times when they were subject to the hegemony of Azcapotzalco. Much later, on the downfall of the political power there, conquered by the forces of Ixcuatl of Tenochtitlan. Nezahualcoyotl of Texcoco and his colleagues, around 1428, Tlatelolco was made free and independent and was kept that way for about half a century when, in 1473 it was conquered by Axayacatl, master of Tenochtitlan, who took away its independence and made it part of his city. During the Spanish Conquest, Tlatelolco put up its final resistance, presented by Cuauhtemoc and his noble fighters. Shortly afterwards, on the ruins of the buildings of the old sacred temple (which lay in front of the market to the west and which coincide in general terms with the block today occupied by the church of Santiago, the Military Prison, and the adjacent barracks) there

appeared a magnificent convent in which worked Sahagun, Torquemada, and other distinguished men.

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Viceroy shaking hands with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

← Mahatma Gandhi surrounded by pressmen and members of the public after his interview with H. E. the Viceroy on June 24, 1945



Viceroy shaking hands with Mr. M. A. Jinnah

About 70 per cent of the Anglo-Canadian population is now born in Canada, so that although the first generation of immigrants spend most of their lives looking back to the "Old Country," to the soil of which they remain attached, their children become Canadians without much difficulty. On the other hand, the French-Canadians are 95 per cent Canadian born, and inherit the specifically French-Canadian culture of their forefathers, of which they are extremely proud and jealous.

French-Canada is solidly Catholic, and today, amidst the uprush of secular humanism which has in common with the other secularized countries of Western civilization, seized hold of the Dominion, Quebec is amongst the few Catholic nations that remain in the world.

Mutual recriminations between French and English-speaking Canadians have been violent during this war. The broad divisions between the two racial groups in matters of religion, language, and culture, have their repercussions in the political field, so that the cause of Canadian national unity has not been helped in recent years. French-Canadian provincialism, and their nationalistic ambitions, account for a good deal of the suspicion with which their English-Canadian compatriots view them, while English-Canadian pragmatism, financial and industrial exploitation, make the French suspicious where often no suspicion is justified. An early French-Canadian epigram describes aptly the temper of Quebec politics:

"The French, like the English,
Pretend to maintain their rights—
There is the resemblance;
The French by equity,
The English by duplicity—
Here is the difference."

Certainly Quebec is worth watching, being in a sense a microcosm in which religious, racial, and cultural traditions are clashing with the new neutral colored, agnostic civilization of money and technology, which threatens to engulf the world. The French Canadians are well aware of the advantages of maintaining a balance between the best of their Christian tradition, and the best of what scientific humanism can offer them. Their task is the difficult one of finding a *via media* between these not irreconcilable tendencies of modern life.

Thomas Mann and Anatole France

Waldo Frank writes in the *Jewish Front-*

tier:

When I was an undergraduate at Yale, I prized among my possessions the picture of a white-bearded man in a grey moleskin robe and a red satin skull cap, above which was printed *The Greatest Living Writer*. This was Anatole France. Thirty years later the same quasi-literate middle class opinion would probably append the title to the portrait of a shrewd, clean-shaven burgher, with the square head, cropped hair and prominent nose of a German peasant, named Thomas Mann. Anatole France was not the greatest writer of his time—not by a long shot. But his gifts explained his vast contemporary glory. From Voltaire to Renan, from Proudhon to Flaubert, an atmosphere had gradually ripened in the bourgeois mind, which likes its reading to flatter its pride of connoisseurship: a stylish cult of anti-clericalism, social revolution, and a romantic harking back, under the guise of realism, satire and erudition, to colourful classical pasts. Anatole France, in lucid prose and accessible mild mood,

mirrored this taste. The middle classes of the entire Occident accepted in him what they had been cool to in several generations of pioneer writers, who thus at last vicariously forced themselves upon them.

Mann is the very different paragon of an age with a very different climate. His democratic faith, no longer like the Frenchman's political and economic, is moralistic. His realism reveals the decay, not of a class but of a world. His satire, unlike his predecessor's, is neither social nor (as in *La Revolté des Anges* and *L'Île des Pengouins*) classically universal; but intimate and psychoanalytic. Whereas Anatole France, a skeptic in religion, was a believer in the rationalistic faith, in the simplistic psychology of nineteenth-century progress, Mann applies the psychology of Jung to the soul's arcana and to the myths behind history. And in place of the classical learning which helped Anatole France to write his delightful sensual tales of Gallic France, of Rome and of Greece, the new favourite—in the collapse of the whole classical world, of its modes of thought and modes of satire also, harks back to primordial Palestine and Egypt.

Mann's books, before he began his *Joseph* tetralogy, were adaptations of German romanticism to French realism. *Tristan*, *Tonio Kroeger*, *Der Tod in Venedig*, record the experience of hyper-sensitive sons of Novalis and Tieck, in a civilization rapidly going to pieces from within. The hour was ripe for great aesthetic syntheses of this collapse: hence Joyce and Proust. *Der Zauberberg* (1924) is Mann's more obvious inventory. The symbolism of the sanatorium on the top of Europe, where German, Italian, Jewish, French and Russian consumptives of the leisure classes depict the disease of the world through their personal pathologies, is too schematic for great art. The book's texture of character-portrayal is the competent, heavy, undistinguished realism of a whole generation of French

novelists. Its psychology is too obtrusively Vienna. And the characters, unlike those of Proust, fail to reveal beneath their limitations of class and their unlimited discussions, the living human plasm. *Der Zauberberg* is far from being a great novel. But by catching up in accessible form a whole generation of trends which the average mind resisted or ignored in deeper writers, it gave perfect satisfaction to those who wanted to be "in the know" without paying the hard price of discovery and experience which new, great art exacts.

The first volume, *Die Geschichten Jaakobs* (translated *Joseph and his Brothers*), appeared in the year of Hitler's accession to power. For some time, Mann tried to carry on in Germany, honestly convinced that he could fight the enemy at home more efficaciously than abroad. Of course, it did not work: Mann, with his typical liberal mind, underestimated the demonism of the Nazis. He retreated to Switzerland—to Zurich, where, doubtless, he was in close contact with Jung whose psychology of the "collective-unconscious" was so strong a factor in his conceptions. Finally, he came to America. By this time, however, the first three tales of the tetralogy were written.

A North German author of high eminence, a contemporary of German anti-Semitism at its most virulent, a "good European"—having for a quarter century cultivated the gamut of Europe's thoughts and themes, chooses for his most ambitious, final work the retelling of a classic Hebrew story. This is an urgent sign of the times. And deeply significant it is that the Hebrew story has evoked from Mann the very best of his writings. Surely it could not have done so if the subject had been alien to his European spirit—if, indeed, it had not revived his European spirit. We have here a convergence between a man and a theme, too profound to be fortuitous.

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NOTES

The British Elections

The results of the British Elections are out with the exception of 17 constituencies at the time of writing. The party in power prior to the elections played every trick known to the professional politician in order to keep their hold on the electorate. Starting with a drastic curtailment of time for campaigning, which meant a severe handicap for the opposition, it gradually developed into an all-out vilification of socialism by Churchill and an almost equally rabid press campaign against Labour by the press-lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere. There was a general mixing-up of issues in order to deprive Labour of the use of its main planks, and the setting-up of the usual bogeys so as to confuse and bewilder the Labour vote. With all the political machinery and the greater part of the press under its control, the Tories whipped up their campaign to a crescendo within the shortest period of time. Indeed, it was so much so that even just before the actual start, prominent Labourites became somewhat diffident and the Tories regained their complacency to a certain extent. But the British elector had made up his mind, and his verdict was given, with devastating clarity and weight, on the side of democracy.

Labour has cleared the main obstacle but there are many pitfalls and minor hurdles on the course before it comes into the open and the straight. Permanent officialdom, well dug in and anchored firmly by red-tape during the ten years of the previous Parliament's tenure, may try to present endless obstructionist tactics, and besides that there is the entire legacy of undemocratic engagements and agreements entered into by the Neo-Totalitarians under Churchill. The sowing of mistrust and ill-will was done—broadcast by the Tory governments between the two World Wars, and the Labour and Coalition Governments of that and the World War II periods, did little, if anything at all, to mitigate the evil. Indeed it must be said that the blundering and hesitancy of the Labour Government under Ramsay MacDonald lent strength to the cause of Toryism, through the exposure of weaknesses inherent in a policy devoid of initiative and firmness of action in almost all matters that were non-domestic. Let us hope that Labour has learnt its lesson and that it will never

again try to enter into inglorious pacts with British Fascism for the conduct of Foreign and "Imperial" affairs.

Although the Labour victory means little as yet for India we would welcome it since it has put a period to the regime of a party that has been an unalloyed curse to India of the Indians. Ever since the end of the World War I, the profiteers and bag-barons of Britain, who were mostly of the Tory persuasion, were out on a ruthless and inhuman campaign of exploitation and plunder. As they gained control over the "Mother of Parliaments", they gradually initiated a retrograde policy which meant the slow but inevitable strangulation of all subject and backward countries. Nothing was regarded as dishonourable by these gentry and their political tools, so long it meant the further accumulation of wealth, however tainted the money or however filthy the means. The result, as was inevitable, was a lowering of British prestige to a level to which it had never sunk before, despite the noble sentiments that spouted forth from the mouths of British "statesmen" and the wonderfully doctored propaganda, composed of half-truths, "white lies" and truly black lies, that was showered on to the entire civilized world.

Labour stands for democracy, we are told. Democracy as defined by Professor Charles Beard, the doyen of American historians, is composed of the following four elements. First: People, not a legalized monarch or class, are the source of all political power. Second: Through agents chosen by the voters, all laws are made. Third: At fixed periods all the chief agents of Government, at least legislative and executive agents, must either retire or, if they seek continuance in power, must submit themselves and their actions to a popular review at the polls. Fourth: In this process all voters are equal; that is, each one, without regard to moral, intellectual, or economic qualifications, has one vote and no more; and in elections, as a rule the candidate who receives the highest number of votes, whether a majority or a plurality, is placed in office.

Judged by the above criteria, democracy has been effectively eradicated from the soil of India. If Labour has any doubts, let it ask the people and not the lying mouthpieces of Imperialism.

The Simla Conference

Exactly one month after the announcement of what has popularly been known as the Wavell Plan, its breakdown has been broadcast. The full story of the breakdown has not yet been authoritatively revealed, but the veil has been lifted sufficiently high to have a good glimpse of what happened at Simla after the statements made by Lord Wavell, the Congress President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Conference proceeded on the assumption that concession of parity between Caste Hindus and Muslims was a generous gesture to the Muslims and that somehow Congress and Hindu opinion in the country were persuaded to accept it. The result was that the Hindu majority of the country agreed to accept a minority position of one-third in the proposed Executive Council. The degree of sacrifice made by the Hindus in agreeing to accept the parity will be fully realised from the following statement made by the *Indian Social Reformer* :

This is one of the strangest things in English and Indian history—an act which, if contemplated by any other Government, would have been denounced by British statesmen as a measure of unbridled despotism. The Indian Census Report for 1941, says as regards the Hindu and Muslim proportions in the population : "The general position could be summed up as that of 100 Indians in All-India, 66 are Hindus, 24 Muslims and 6 of tribal origin. Allowing for that proportion of tribes who may be regarded as more than half assimilated, the Hindu element is over two-thirds. Just under one-fifth of Hindus and one-eighth of the total population belong to the Scheduled Castes." Out of 66 Hindus in 100 of the population, one-fifth, that is about 14 are members of the Scheduled Castes. Deducting this figure 52 in 100 of the population are "Caste Hindus", and 24 are Muslims. And 52 Hindus are to have the same proportion of seats as the 24 Muslims! If a schoolboy made out that 52 pumpkins are on a parity with 24 pumpkins, his teacher will pull him by the ears and make him write several hundred times the correct answer that they are as 13 to 6, to fix it in his memory. But His Majesty's Government have committed the same error not with pumpkins but with human beings, and Lord Wavell commends it as calculated to lead India to greatness and prosperity!

But even this great concession failed to satisfy the communalist Muslim. Congress leaders judged the Wavell Plan against the background of the Cripps offer and felt that it was better because it did not commit them to the adoption of Pakistan as a feature of the future constitutional development and because it gave a concrete shape to the idea of an interim government. This interim government, if successfully worked, had the possibility of being converted into a Provisional Government into whose hands the duty of framing India's future constitution would naturally have passed.

The Special Simla Correspondent of the *Leader* says in his despatch, dated July 13, i.e., the day before the announcement of the breakdown, that Caste Hindu and Muslim parity proposed in the Wavell Plan was repulsive to Congress ideas but the Congress Working Committee agreed to swallow the bitter pill because it was to be a temporary device for an interim government. The Congress attitude was the main hurdle in the path of success of the Wavell Plan, but the opportunity could not be seized. The following extract from the *Leader's* Simla despatch is exceedingly important :

When the Simla Conference met the Viceroy was in the happy position of having the support of the biggest political organization in the country. He made no secret of his pleasure at it and repeatedly acknowledged the fair and reasonable attitude of the Congress delegates. When the Viceroy asked for a list of panel from the various parties he knew that Mr. Jinnah had not relaxed his attitude during the talks with Pandit Pant and when a delegate enquired what would the Viceroy do if any party refused to submit the list, the Viceroy said that he reserved judgment to himself. He did not say that if either the Congress or the League failed to submit the panel the conference would fail. Indeed, during the conversations which took place between the Viceroy and the Congress leaders the question was put more than once whether the Congress would be willing to back the Wavell Plan if the League non-co-operated.

The Congress leaders made it clear they would not shirk the responsibility they owe to the people of India to assume responsibility for Government.

The Muslim standpoint was made quite clear by all the Non-League organisations. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Nationalist Muslims, the Momins, the Shias, the Krishak-Proja of Bengal had all publicly stated they did not accept Mr. Jinnah and his League as the sole representative of the Muslims of India and expressed their readiness to shoulder any responsibility they would be called upon to bear. Mr. Jinnah's position was discussed threadbare. It was clearly pointed out that the League did not control a single ministry in any of the Muslim majority provinces on their own strength. Mr. Jinnah was found wavering.

The Sudden Change Towards the Breakdown

Until July 7, this was the basis on which the negotiations proceeded. Suddenly a change occurred. This coincided with the end of the British election and the editorial comment in the *London Times* and in Anglo-Indian newspapers. They took up the brief on behalf of Mr. Jinnah. The *Leader* correspondent reports that at this time a rumour circulated in the Muslim League camp that Mr. Amery had sent a cable that Mr. Jinnah must not be antagonised. Statements made by Mr. Jinnah and his known and unknown adherents began to be prominently featured in Anglo-Indian newspapers. The correspondent then asks, "Did the Viceroy receive instructions from above or did he yield to pressure of certain civil servants and Governors in India that agreement with the Congress would embarrass them? Or was it that pressure came both from above and below which Lord Wavell found difficult to resist?"

The position was that the Viceroy had called 21 representative men of his choice to form the Conference. It was presumed—the conference proceedings bore out that presumption—that whatever the large body of the Conference endorsed would be given considerable weight. With the exception of the four Muslim League delegates every other member of the conference favoured the formation of the interim government. Had the Viceroy felt that Mr. Jinnah's consent was indispensable all he had to do was to send for Mr. Jinnah alone and secure his reaction. There was no need for continuing the Conference.

It is quite clear from the earlier part of the Conference proceedings that the Viceroy did not want to

place the veto in Mr. Jinnah's hands. It was only towards the end that is after the rumour of that mysterious telegram that Mr. Jinnah jumped up and stoutly demanded that he must be acknowledged as the sole representative of the Muslims, that he would not concede a single seat to a non-League and that the League representatives must have the right to veto any decision of the Council if they considered that such decision went against what they would define as Muslim interests. What led Mr. Jinnah to change his attitude so suddenly is still a mystery. No one questions the sincerity of the Viceroy, but everybody feels that his determination failed him at this psychological moment. There are many in the country who think that if the Viceroy had remained firm, Mr. Jinnah would have yielded to the inevitable.

The events before and after July 7, the last day of the British elections, bear recapitulation in order to explain the sudden change in the Simla talks since that fateful date. The suspicion that the whole thing was an election stunt and that Lord Wavell was duped has gained ground not only in India but in England and America as well. The first one is an editorial comment in the *New Statesman and Nation*, a progressive weekly of England which indicates a fear that all attempts at breaking the deadlock may be frustrated by the minorities clinging to British protection. The paper, in its issue, dated, May 26, i.e., about three weeks before the announcement of the Wavell Plan, makes the following comment after discussing the Desai-Liaquat formula of 40 : 40 : 20 :

It is much to ask of the Hindus that, with three quarters of the population, they should accept less than half the seats in the Central Government. Such bargains once adopted are apt to be permanent. Nor is it certain that Mr. Jinnah will abandon Pakistan even if he gets parity between the two communities. The effect of this unreal arrangement would be that the powers of the Central Government must be reduced to modest limits.

What is wanted from us at this moment is at once something less and something more. First, we must make our gesture of reconciliation by flinging open the doors of our prisons. Next, we must bring our bureaucratic rule to an end in the provinces. Finally we have to discover the best way of telling Indians—perhaps by a Royal Proclamation—that we mean in any event, to end our direct rule over their country at a date no later than the end of the Japanese war. *So long as they suspect that we shall procrastinate, so long will their minorities frustrate internal agreement by clinging to our protection.* (Italics ours.—Ed. M. R.)

The comment has proved prophetic.

As a soldier and a gentleman unversed in the shady methods of Tory politics and statecraft, Lord Wavell has fallen a victim to this electioneering stunt. As an example of how the case of India has been presented to the British electorate, just three weeks after the announcement of the Wavell Plan, by even independent organisations, we append below extracts from Commander King-Hall's News Letter, No. 462, dated May 18, 1945:

Assuming, then, that India becomes fully self-governing very shortly after the close of the Japanese war, what will be the probable course of events? Many people—both Indians and British—face the

future with some misgivings. They foresee a split, with the probability of friction and the possibility of more serious trouble between two factions : on the one side, the Congress politicians, together with the big industrialists who are determined to have an important part in planning and running India in the future ; on the other side, the Moslem "Pakistanists", together with many of the men who have served in the armed forces. This last-mentioned element, numbering about two-and-a-half million, are a factor to be reckoned with. The majority come from the warlike, independence-loving races ; they don't much care for the politicians, particularly the Congress politicians whom they hold responsible for the 1942 troubles. But all of the two-and-a-half millions have seen something of the world outside their native community ; they have enjoyed better food, better living conditions and amenities generally, have come to feel they have a place in society ; many will not take kindly to their former lives and conditions when the war is over.

Mr. Jinnah, the Moslem leader (there are about 95 million Moslems in India) has talked a great deal about Pakistan—a separate Moslem Indian State. The idea doesn't make sense, because Moslems and Hindus are so intermixed that it would be impossible to draw a frontier between them. But Mr. Jinnah is a very shrewd politician and bargainer. What he really wants, according to my Indian friends who know him, is to get as much power as possible put into the hands of the provincial governments at the expense of the Central Government when the new federal state is set up. His reason for this is simple : the Moslems will be in a minority in the Central Government, but they will have a majority in certain provincial legislatures. Therefore, the demand for Pakistan is put forward with tongue in cheek in order to get a better bargain in the matter of provincial versus federal powers.

Mr. Gandhi, so far as one can ever ascertain what is going on in his nimble brain, appears to want an undertaking that the British will clear out bag and baggage immediately and with no conditions attached to their going. That would mean, in effect, handing over the entire administration to the Congress Party, since it would have a clear majority over all other parties and groups. Now, the idea of their political fate being wholly in Congress hands is quite terrifying to the Moslems, the depressed classes (of whom there are 50 millions), the Sikhs (6 million) and other minorities.

The record of the Congress Party is not good. The Party includes some very able and public-spirited men, like Mr. Rajagopalachari, who see the potential greatness of India and are doing their best to control the political adventurers and guide India along the path to political autonomy on the basis of consent among the different national elements. But some of the Congress leaders are out for themselves and their Party, with the interests of all-India taking a very minor place in their policies. Many people find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that Mr. Gandhi is the world's Number One hypocrite. He was the all-powerful leader of the Party in 1942, and what did the Congress people do then? They launched a very carefully prepared campaign to cripple our small military forces in India at the very moment that the Japanese were at India's gates. Many of the Congress leaders were convinced the Japanese would sweep into India, and they presumably counted on being members of the puppet administration the Japanese planned to set up. That this campaign was cunningly organized was shown by the fact that wherever there was trouble it

followed a common pattern: the tearing up of railway lines, the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, attacks on men wearing Allied uniforms, etc. Mr. Gandhi preached "non-violence", but the campaign of hate and incitement to sabotage could not be expected to avoid much violence. Moreover, everywhere the professional criminals—the Gundha caste—were employed to do the dirtiest jobs in the rebellion. We in Britain were never told how serious the position was in 1942; the story, when it is finally told, will startle many people. [Italics ours. Ed., M. R.]

The Breakdown

Lord Wavell has taken upon his shoulders the sole responsibility for the breakdown but that has not absolved the White Hall of its share. The comments made in India and abroad have raised widespread suspicion that the whole affair was a bluff and an election stunt. But out of evil cometh good. The Congress has played its cards so well and in so dignified a manner that the Imperialists with their henchmen have emerged against a much darker background. The usual allegation against the Congress that this is a body which always chooses to be in the wilderness whenever any political advancement is offered to India, has been completely belied. Rather the *raison de etre* of the League under Mr. Jinnah's leadership has been fully exposed. It is now crystal clear that this body has been set up, to act under the guidance of White Hall, for the sole purpose of frustrating all progressive moves in this country. Even for diehards and champions of British Government's communal policy, like Lord Hailey, it has not been possible to swallow the bitter pill Mr. Jinnah has presented this time. After the news of the breakdown reached England, Lord Hailey said, "I am one of the many in this country who have always supported the Muslim claim, but I do not feel that it has been strengthened by the attitude of the Muslim League on this occasion which seems to have been entirely lacking in the spirit of accommodation."

The *Manchester Guardian*, in an editorial comment writes, "We are in no position to be impatient with any party whose major parties cannot agree to a coalition, but the breakdown of the Viceroy's efforts would be so damaging that it must be asked whether the Moslem veto can be allowed to stand . . . With every sympathy for the anxieties of the Moslem League, one cannot fail to see that we shall sooner or later have to tackle that veto."

In India, both the Congress President and Pandit Nehru has said that the League is responsible for this breakdown. In England, J. B. Priestly regretted that Lord Wavell had shouldered the responsibility for the breakdown of the Simla talks. He said, "If that responsibility had been attributed to the Muslim League it would not have enhanced their reputation even in the eyes of their countrymen." Priestly need not worry. Mr. Jinnah's attitude has brought him further down in the eyes of the progressive members of his own communities. His claim for being the sole representative of Indian Muslims has been resisted with a vigour this time that had never been shown before.

No doubt Mr. Jinnah still hopes to cash in on the total ignorance about Indian affairs as displayed by Labour leaders. Cripps says:

The obvious cause of the breakdown, is not so much the constitution of the interim Government as the influence any temporary arrangement is likely to have upon more permanent decisions which will have to be made for the full and free self-government of India.

Behind the demand of Muslim League that they alone should represent Mussalman India is the fear of Hindu domination and the Muslims becoming a perpetual political minority. It would not seem possible to get any agreement on a temporary measure of advance, as was suggested by Lord Wavell, since the Muslim League feels compelled to insist upon their acceptance as the sole representatives of Muslim opinion in India and in the light of the fact that no agreement has yet been arrived at upon the Pakistan issue.

Clement Attlee, leader of the Labour party, in exclusive interview with the U.P. of America deplored the lack of unity among Indian parties and Indian leaders which has proved to be the stumbling block in the attainment of Indian nationalist aspirations for independence twice in the last three years in a statement to the press to-day.

"It is about time that the Indians did something toward unity among themselves," said Attlee, who was engaged in clearing up last-minute matters prior to his departure to participate in the Big Three conference at Potsdam.

"Until unity exists among the various Indian parties and leaders there is little that can be done towards Indian settlement by any British government," he declared. "The coalition government of which the Labour Party leaders were a part, offered India the Cripps proposals for eventual dominion status. These were turned down in 1942. Now within three years of the first offer being rejected the second plan was again blocked by disunity among the Indians themselves."

India would like to ask a few pointed questions regarding the logic of such statements which emanate from persons in authority. If agreement among major political parties or communities is looked upon as a condition precedent for the grant of power or recognition of independence, how did Britain extend powerful support to De Gaulle in France knowing fully well that there were several other parties there strongly opposed to De Gaulle? How could the Lublin Government of the Poles be recognised in the teeth of opposition by the London *Emigre* government set up and fostered by the British themselves? Differential application of British foreign policy in India and abroad reminds one of De Valera's recent exposition that necessity is the mother of British foreign policy. It will, therefore, naturally differ for different spheres of Imperial interest.

Mr. Jinnah and his League has been bolstered up as the sole representative of the Indian Muslims. With the large number of Muslims of different sects, creeds or political affiliations, the League and the Indian Muslims have been made synonymous not only in diehard vocabulary, but in our newspaper and political discussions as well. We consider that special care should be taken while mentioning the League that it is one of the many Muslim organisations in this country. As soon as a Muslim is born he does not *ipso facto* become a member of the League. It is just like any other political or communal organisation, where one

has to apply for membership, sign the creed, pay the subscription and then become a member. Good and powerful members who may not agree with the League policy are, like other parties, expelled from the body. Even those making the most fantastic claims for this body could not say that ninety millions of Muslims of India are its members and owe sole allegiance to it. We had fully discussed in our last issue the position of the League in the various legislatures of India and the fallacy of its bye-election bogey. Since then, statements made by non-League Muslims have brought out another very significant fact that the Muslim League could never capture the majority seats in District Board or Local Board elections where joint electorates prevailed. In the Noakhali district of Bengal, with a Muslim majority of 85 per cent, the League could not win more than half the seats in a District Board election. In District Board elections in the Punjab, the League lost heavily in Sialkot and Sheikhupura while it could not secure even one seat in Campbellpore. A more revealing instance is the last Calcutta Corporation elections. Here there was no joint electorates. It is true that the League won 17 out of 22 seats but out of the 11,000 odd Muslim votes cast, the League secured a little over 6,000 while the votes cast against the League were well over 4,000. This was the nearest approach we have had to a general election in the recent past, and it is well-known that the League is much stronger in towns than in rural areas. In an interview to the *Orient Press* after his release Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan had also made such a statement.

The Responsibility for the Breakdown

The responsibility for the breakdown clearly lies with the Muslim League bolstered up with Tory arms to serve their own purpose. The statement made by the Congress President gives the real causes of the breakdown. Maulana Azad told a Press conference in July 14:

Simla, July 14.—"Two points arise out of the present position; the first is that the attitude of the Muslim League is responsible for the failure of the conference and the second point, which emerges from the situation is that after the refusal of the Muslim League the question naturally came before the Viceroy whether a forward step should be taken or not. The Viceroy decided not to take for the present. In this connection I would like to say what I said at the conference to-day. For the communal situation in India as it is to-day the British Government cannot shirk responsibility. So long as the third party exists in India the same position will continue."

Maulana Azad said that he had made it clear to the Viceroy that the Congress was prepared to go forward and if a certain group wished to keep out it might be left out. He remarked, "With a failing step and wavering mind we cannot cover our destination. It is good to think twice before taking a step forward. But when the step has already been taken hesitation is not virtue but weakness. If the British Government wished to give shape to things they should have realised the communal condition. They should have been prepared not to surrender the right of veto to any group and thus block the path of progress." About Viceroy's responsibility Maulana Azad said, "The existence of a third party was greatly responsible for the present position. A firm attitude on the part of the

Viceroy which was logical and based on the principle of justice and fairplay alone, could bring about a settlement of the communal problem. The Viceroy's present wavering and vacillating attitude was neither correct nor helpful. Hesitation and weakness could not bring about a solution."

The exposition of the communal problem in India by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been superb. He pointed out that the so-called communal problem in India has no deep root. It happens in the circumstances of to-day that certain questions have been made to cover up and obscure all the really important political and economic issues in the country. The sooner the third party vacates India, the nearer the solution will be. He said, "The Moslem League or any other communal organisation inevitably not only represents the particular claims of a group but represents them in a medieval context."

"Politics considered in terms of religious communities is wholly inconsistent with both democracy and any modern conception of politics or economics. There lies the real rub. To give in to this medieval conception is to throw back the whole course of development in India, political and economic, and try to build a structure which does not fit in with the realities of to-day in any department of life. You can never ignore realities for long and if you try to do so, you do so at your peril."

"That is the essence of the communal problem, so far as I am concerned, and not a question of services or jobs or anything else, and India will have to decide not to-day, but to-morrow or the day-after, whether it is going to be a democratic modern country or an undemocratic medieval country. The latter choice is really ruled out because it just cannot be done by any country to-day."

"The normal choice for countries today is not between medievalism and democracy but what might be called just political democracy or something more, that is, economic democracy also, which means socialism in some form or other."

We fully agree with Panditji when he says that the average member of the League is not necessarily medieval. There are many progressive people in the Muslim League, as we have seen particularly in the U.P. and Bengal, who, once the lid of medievalism is removed, would become political radicals.

Mr. Jinnah's explanation has failed to convince anybody in the world except those whose politics makes it imperative that they must be convinced. The outstanding fact of the situation in Simla, as reported by the *Leader's* special correspondent is that a breach has occurred between the Viceroy and the Muslim League and not between the Viceroy and the Congress or between the various parties. It was the Viceroy who was trying to bring about a compromise and it was he who told Mr. Jinnah that he could not accept the League leader's claim amounting to dictatorship of the Muslim League. The Viceroy has himself acknowledged it in his talks with the Congress leaders that the Congress has played its part honestly and generously.

Anti-Indian Propaganda in America

Addressing the members and associates of the Servants of India Society, Poona, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru gave some interesting facts about the anti-

Appointments in the Archaeological Survey

The Archaeological Survey of India is going to fill three permanent posts of Assistant Superintendents in Central Service, Class I. The duties of the officers will be the conservation of ancient buildings, archaeological excavation and museum administration. Pay for direct recruits has been fixed at Rs. 350 rising to Rs. 680 on confirmation after a probationary period of two years, during which they will draw Rs. 300 per month for the first year and Rs. 325 for the second. There are three more temporary posts carrying a salary scale of Rs. 350 to Rs. 1,000. The persons, if permanently retained, will be eligible for promotion to the posts of Superintendent, Deputy Director-General of Archaeology and Director-General of Archaeology in India.

The qualifications and the reservations clauses in the circular containing instructions to the intending candidates are rather intriguing. The first one states: *Qualifications*: (a) *Essential*: Academic degree, preferably with honours in ancient or medieval history, archaeology or geology, or very exceptional alternative qualification, *Desirable*: (i) Training in field archaeology, (ii) candidates should produce evidence of being able to read and write clearly. Qualification (a) may be relaxed in favour of very exceptional cases of Government servants where they have had long and approved practical experience of this special work.

The three permanent posts are reserved as follows:

- One post for Muslims.
- One post for other minorities.
- One post for Scheduled Castes.

Out of the three temporary posts, one is reserved for Muslims.

We believe the public will take very serious objection to this attempt of introducing narrow communalism in a department exclusively dealing with specialised knowledge whose activities are bound to influence the historical material of this country. The introduction of the communal ratio of services in this department, whose primary duty is to discover and decipher basic historical data, is bound to have serious repercussions. A graduate's degree is the maximum that has been desired and relaxations even at that may be made. This might have been done with a view to make it possible for the backward minorities to send some candidates, but this will certainly reduce the efficiency of a department dealing in specialised knowledge. Communalism coupled with such meagre qualifications will deal a death-blow to the Archaeological Department which has assumed much importance since the Mahenjo-Daro Excavations.

Dr. Mortimer Wheeler was imported into this country as the Director-General of Archaeology with the object of "strengthening" Archaeology Department. The Bengal Governor's brother Mr. Casey was subsequently brought in to help him. A lot of public money has already been spent in training Indian youths in archaeology some months ago at Taxila. We should like to know how many of these boys were "Muslims, Scheduled Castes or other Minorities" and how many of them have been given a chance to be admitted into the Department after a successful termination of their training period. We may have to discuss Government of India's archaeological policy on a future occasion.

U. N. R. A. Mission in India

Mr. Francis Sayre, diplomatic adviser to the U.N.R.R.A., is now leading a mission to India. He told the *Associated Press of India* that jute and peanut oil will occupy an important part in his discussions with the Government of India in procuring supplies against India's contribution of Rs. 8 crores. This colossal sum had been sanctioned for the relief of the European destitutes while people in this country are dying like flies of hunger and disease. This world organisation created in the name of the United Nations, of which India is a member, is concerned solely with the relief of stricken Europe and expressed its inability to help Bengal during the last famine. It has now come to India to take the money appropriated in the last budget which was thrown out by the Legislative Assembly and certified by the Viceroy.

The arrival of this mission has aroused a natural suspicion that it may not remain contented with purchase of jute and peanut oil alone, but may demand food and cloth as well. These two commodities are its "important" and not sole objectives. Already a news has been circulated that it is trying to get hold of cloth. Mr. Sayre's statement to the A. P. I. is in fact disquieting specially when one remembers that most of the White Missions that came to or went out of India since the beginning of this war, have resulted in an exploitation of this country's resources.

Mr. Sayre said:

We hope to buy jute in India and use those bags for carrying foodstuffs to other liberated countries like Greece, Albania, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and also look forward to China, as a relief port is opened there, many of the countries are badly in need of peanut oil.

We are in search out from country to country, for surplus commodities which one country can give to the other. The general principle is 90 per cent of the contributions to the UNRRA should be in surplus commodities of the country avoiding those in which the country has only too little.

We hope that besides this 90 per cent demand by the U.N.R.R.A., 10 per cent of the commodities in a country of which it has only too little may not be taken away. A modest 10 per cent of a European demand may mean enforcement of hunger and nudity on the people of this country.

Anti-Bengali Move of the Utkal University

Soon after its inauguration a recent move in the newly-founded Utkal University calculated to stifle Bengali culture in the province seems to have brought forth angry protests from the All-Orissa Domiciled Bengali Association. The *New Orissa* reports that in an emergent meeting of this association strong protests have been made against the move made by some members made in the Senate of the Utkal University to abolish the medium of minority languages like Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Telugu, etc., in the Matriculation examination. This move to abolish the long-existing medium of Bengali as one of the mediums of examination is absolutely uncalled for because it will dislocate the system of secondary education for the last one century wherein the Bengali students had always been given an opportunity of reading in the medium of their own

language in some particular institutions and localities. There is no reason to make a departure from this age-old practice which has done no harm to the province but has strengthened the cultural link between the two sister provinces. There is no denying the fact that modern culture in Orissa owes a great deal to Bengal and Orissa herself will stand to lose if she chooses to pursue an anti-Bengali policy following the narrow-minded and short-sighted moves taken by some of our provinces.

Fixation of Agricultural Prices

In the course of a communication to the Government of India in regard to fixation of agricultural prices, the Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry state that they subscribe to the policy of assuring a minimum economic return to agriculturists along with an all-round improvement in economic conditions of India. We fully agree with the committee when they argue that the most fundamental pre-requisite of such a policy is to maintain an expansionist economy in India for which all the aspects of economic policy—fiscal, monetary, industrial, agricultural, transport and employment—should be properly co-related. We believe that agricultural development of the country must be made on a thoroughly co-ordinated basis with a centralised plan, the provinces being left with the responsibility of working them. The famines in several parts of India in 1943, which still persist in some places, have conclusively proved, if any such were at all needed, that no province can become a water-tight self-sufficient unit in respect of her agricultural produce. What we want to indicate clearly is that the provinces will have initiative, will have full powers to develop their own agriculture, but this must be on a co-ordinated all-India plan, preferably under a Central Agricultural Board with the representatives of the provinces and the Centre on it. We are glad to note that the Committee also argue along the same lines.

In the opinion of the Committee stabilisation of agricultural prices can only be viewed, when the war-time controls are removed. The Committee point out that the scheme of price fixation can, in no way, be considered a substitute for a programme for the improvement of farming through the use of fertilizers, better seed, irrigation and stopping the processes of fragmentation, sub-division, soil erosion, deforestation, etc. The Committee observe that price stabilisation should be on an all-India basis in which every Indian State and Province should accept the policy and undertake to implement the same uniformly.

Agricultural Prices and Problem of Stocks

Stating their views on the important problems of agricultural prices and the unloading of stocks held by the Government, the Committee writes: Agricultural prices should be maintained at a level which must be fair to the producer, i.e., which covers the cost of production and leaves a margin of income to ensure a healthy standard of living to the agriculturist. The Committee advocates that, while the average cost of production should be the basis of determination of agricultural prices, producers having a higher cost of production be given a subsidy, which should be so enforced as to achieve efficient and economic production. At the same time, with a view that industries

are not adversely affected thereby, the Committee suggests effective methods of safeguarding India's industrial progress and competitive capacity.

Analysing the implications of buffer stocks, they observe that, if agricultural prices are not to be allowed to fall below a minimum desired level, Government might have to enter the market to sustain agricultural prices. The Committee, however, advocates caution and, as far as possible, the avoidance of this instrumental policy.

Unloading stocks purchased by Government in order to check advance in prices of those commodities, which are mostly exported, might be injurious to the country. On the other hand, in regard to commodities, which are used by Indian industries as raw materials, disposal of Government-purchased stocks at a proper time may, with some discretion, be made in order to maintain the competitive capacity of Indian industry.

While realizing that regulation of imports and exports might become necessary, the Committee opposes the principle of State monopoly of the internal procurement and distribution or of the import and export of agricultural produce. In this connection, they point out the damaging effects of such direct participation by Government during war-time.

The uselessness and wastefulness of purchasing agricultural produce through agents or by the Government itself have both been fully exposed during the past two or three years. The best course seems to be to allow free trade with a planned production so that neither under-production nor over-production may take place. Agricultural cycles are known. Statistical methods when properly organised can give a fair estimate of the coming crop so that in case there is deficiency due to any unforeseen event, stocks from abroad may be procured. A good and modern system of irrigation can overcome natural calamities like flood or drought. We must not lose sight of the fact that famines do not occur in countries like the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. where they have good systems of planned agriculture nor in England where the State maintains a fleet to carry foodstuffs not produced at home. Famines are a regular feature in India and China where the people have neither a planned agriculture with a good irrigation system nor shipping. Catchwords like mechanisation and fertilisation of agriculture should not hamper our search for an all-round and all-embracing planned system of famine-proof agriculture.

Freedom From Want in India

Freedom from want in India can never be achieved unless the rural economy of the country is satisfactorily solved. Writing in the *Free World*, John F. Timmons says: "If nations are really to achieve freedom from want, effort must be made to facilitate an equitable exchange of commodities among nations and between individuals within nations. Human nature, as well as nature must be brought under rational control. Eighteenth century individualism, nineteenth century nationalism and twentieth century imperialism are equally out-dated. A people's war should be concluded by a people's peace. The 'have-nots'—either nations or individuals—will not for long stand idly by. In the words of Mark von Doren, 'What was once for the few must now be for the many'."

Comparing agricultural India with agricultural Holland, Timmons writes:

Unequal distribution of resources does not mean

Indian propaganda carried on in America by the British propaganda agents. There were many ways in which British authorities placed their version of the Indian political situation before those who could focus public opinion on the question of Indian freedom. British propaganda agents were regularly sent to the U. S. A. to explain British policy in regard to Indian problems. The British War Information Agencies, the Consular Services and British officials in the U. S. A. in general played an important part in influencing the minds of Americans of the class referred to above.

The following statement made by Pandit Kunzru deserves attention :

A summary of Mr. Beverley Nichols' *Verdict on India* which had an unfavourable reception in the Indian press had recently been published by an influential American magazine and Mr. Kunzru understood that a cheap edition of the book would soon be placed on the market. A well-known Indian journalist interviewed the editor of the magazine to persuade him to publish a reply to Mr. Nichols' prejudiced observations but the editor was not prepared to accede to his request. A cheap edition of Mr. Raman's *Report on India* which had been adversely commented on in the Indian press had been brought out by the management of the *Infantry Journal*, for sale to American troops outside America. Well-informed Indians in America had hardly any doubt that this was part of the anti-Indian propaganda carried on by Britain in that country. In regard to the sale of Mr. Raman's book to American troops, the American Government too has something to answer for. The *Infantry Journal* might be a private concern but if it has been approved by the American military authorities as an agency for supplying books to American troops, it was the duty of the Government to prevent it from poisoning the minds of American soldiers against India. It would surely intervene to prevent the sale of a similar book about England to American troops.

Referring to the Indian Agency-General, Mr. Kunzru said that it occupied the same subordinate position which India did. The Indian Agency-General perhaps enjoyed a lower status than the diplomatic agency of even the smallest Central or South American republic and was powerless to counter or check the anti-Indian propaganda referred to above. Constitutionally it had probably to fall in the line with British policy or at least to maintain an attitude of neutrality. It is noteworthy that the author of the *Report on India* was appointed to a post in its publicity department after the publication of his book.

The Congress leaders are out. We hope they will now realise the need of oversea propaganda on Indian affairs and will seriously consider the revival of this branch of Congress activity.

Bernard Shaw on Democracy

Writing in the *Time and Tide*, George Bernard Shaw has explained his views on democracy which demand closest attention by persons who profess to-day to be the champions of democracy. Shaw says :

By Democracy in the air—hypothesis that has no relation to facts—I am too old to be taken in. I have been engaged in politics for seventy years ; I know what is so far knowable of the lessons of history. I am a student of that branch of biology called human nature : and a world in which the voice of the people is the voice of God, and the political capacity and sagacity of everybody over

the age of 21 infinite and infallible, is to me a fairy-land which has never existed and is not postulated in any oracle of mine.

By Democracy I mean a social order aiming at the greatest available welfare for the whole population and not for a class. I most emphatically do not mean government by an assembly, at Westminster or elsewhere, which took fifty years to make factory legislation effective in the face of the horrors described by its inspectors and collected by Karl Marx, thirty years to pass (and revoke) a Home Rule Act for Ireland, and was even consulted when the country was involved in two world wars and its sovereign forced to abdicate.

In this I am what is called a Totalitarian as distinguished from say, the Trinitarian Gladstone, who aimed at preserving the hierarchy of private landlord, farmer, and agricultural labourer, with its necessary retinue of Cobdenist trader or from the party politicians whose aim is to keep their leaders in power at Westminster and are not really politicians at all, their business being simply electioneering.

Yes-men and No-men in Parliaments

Describing the working of a modern Parliament which is stamped democratic, Shaw writes :

In Parliament these Yesmen and Nomen sit in the smoking-room or library, and when the division bell rings vote in the lobby to which they are directed by an official called a Whip because his function is that of a whipper-in at a fox hunt. They are mostly unknown to their constituents for the bulk of whom they are unmarried and untouchable. They all now call themselves democrats and applaud the Atlantic Charter (which is Totalitarian) and they all mistrust me because I am not a partisan but a Totalitarian Democrat who will take an instalment of democracy from any party which, can be persuaded or frightened or humbugged into achieving it. In short an Old Fabian.

When they talk of the Allies as "the Western Democracies," I laugh. There are no Democracies in the West ; there are only rank plutocracies, all of them now Fascist to the finger tips, having thrown over Cobden and Bright, and grasped the enormous economy and lucrativity demonstrated by the Socialists, of State-financed Capitalism, which is English for Fascism. England is in fact at present the leading Fascist power in Europe ; and the Fascists who are denouncing Fascism in their speeches on war do not know what they are talking about. They never do.

Men and Supermen in Democracy

Shaw next gives his outstanding opinion on the pet democratic doctrine—government of the people, for the people and by the people in the following words :

I believe in government of the people for the people ; but I do not believe in Lincoln's Gettysburg edition of government by the people. Division of labour is the law of Nature (*alias Province*) in this matter. The belief that "the human race is divided into two categories—men and supermen"—is not anti-democratic ; the fact stares us in the face all through history past and present. I am myself a super playwright and a super artist-philosopher. But that is only in my own department. I cannot play the oboe as well as Leon Goossens nor the fiddle as well as Menuhin or Heifetz. In fact I cannot play them at all. The Adult Suffragist notion that everyone on the political register can play them and play them as well as these three super-artists, is blazing lunacy.

But it is not madder than the notion that everyone on the registers is a super-politician, a potential Prime Minister, qualified to sit in judgment for five years on the super-rules of the nation. Give them real choice and they will fall at the feet of some self-selected Messiah like John of Leyden or Adolf Hitler, Titus Oates or Horatio Bottomley, or of some popular talker or successful general or star actor or even pianist, or—but modern names would take up too much space. Paderewski was the most reasonable choice ; for it was proved that he could at least play the Emperor Concerto, whereas none of the others had been proved able to read, write, or count.

Spotting Born Legislators

Summing up Shaw says :

Obviously the choice needs guidance. Nature, *alias* the Life Force, produces not only the necessary percentage of superlegislators, but, as its extravagant habit is, an excess sufficient to give the electors a choice ; and this choice gives the electors all the control of the government that is good for them. The business of the democrat is to find some test which will detect the born super-legislator and place him, or her, on a panel from which our legislators must be chosen. Without such guidance the electorate does just what it does at present, with the results that are before us.

It must not be forgotten that the human race does not consist of democrats and anti-democrats. Both of these are in favour of government as such, and differ only as to its form. But the average citizen has the most intense objection to be governed. They have never been taught civilisation which should be their first intelligent lesson in school, and be in fact their religion. Every step in it either abolishes a liberty or prescribes a duty. But it increases leisure, which is the reality of freedom.

I am all for Adult Suffrage in the ventilation of grievances, the criticism of legislators, and the suggestions of remedies and innovations. We need dozens of Cabinets, including Cabinets of thinkers. And at this proposal that Governments should include Ministers for thought and the habit of it, I pause to enable English readers to recover from the shock.—*Time and Tide*.

Democracy in the modern world has definitely tended towards plutocracy. The insatiable greed for the accumulation of wealth, both personal and national, have brought about two devastating world wars within a quarter of a century. In a modern democracy, the people suffer and die, while the rich become richer by trading on human life and happiness. No democratic legislature in the world has been able to stop it.

In India, the taste of democracy has been much more bitter. Here we have parliaments and cabinets but no power, the civil servants have power but no responsibility. Black market goes on thriving, merchants, industrialists and servants of the State continue flourishing under the benign and protecting wings of a "democratic" government and the people suffer and die. The Governor-General and the Governors in this country are dictators surrounded by the paraphernalia of a shadow democracy manufactured in Britain. We wish Shaw studied Indian "democracy" and gave his views on it.

Road Transport Taxation in India

The *Indian Finance* writes that the tax on a motor vehicle was on an average Rs. 509 in India annually or nearly twice as much as in the United Kingdom and ten times as much as in the United States. This heavy taxation certainly inflates the cost of carriage and has a restrictive effect on commerce, agriculture and industry. In the opinion of the Post-War Technical Sub-Committee a reasonable tax on road transport, *i.e.*, to pay for its share of the cost of road construction and maintenance would be 1.65 pies per net ton-mile of load, as against a minimum of 6 pies now collected. After meeting the share of road costs, motor transport pays 18 per cent of its operating cost to the general revenues. The equivalent pre-war contribution to general revenues by railways was 5.8 per cent of its working expenses. The average rate of motor transport contribution is, therefore, more than three times that of the railways. The result of this unjust load on the motor traffic has been to keep down motor transport in favour of the Indian railways which are still the prize spots for British industrialists, merchants and stores sellers.

The following account of motor transport taxation is quoted from the *Indian Finance* :

Motor transport taxation consists of taxes levied by both the Central Government and Provincial Governments. Import duty on petrol, motor vehicles, parts and accessories and import duty on tyres are levied by the Central Government. Prior to the war, import duty on petrol was levied at the rate of 10 annas per gallon of which 2 annas were reserved for expenditure on road development. But during the war the rate of duty has been progressively increased to 15 annas per gallon but the expenditure reserved for roads is 2 annas still. Prior to 1931 import duties on motor vehicles and parts were 20 per cent *ad valorem* on motor cars and 15 per cent *ad valorem* on trucks and buses. Progressively they were increased to 45 per cent and 30 per cent respectively with preferential rates for U.K. at 36 per cent and 21 per cent. This heavy taxation imposes an unfair burden on motor transport and delays its proper development.

This however is not all. An excise duty on Indian made tyres has been imposed as a war measure. The Provincial Governments levy a provincial tax on motor vehicles, wheel taxes in certain municipal areas and tolls and petrol sales taxes. Taxes on motor vehicles in provinces and Indian States are not uniform. The Technical Sub-Committee has recommended the creation of a Central Transport Budget. If this is done, an equalisation of the provincial taxes will be easy.

The revenue from provincial taxes on motor vehicles is credited in many provinces to Provincial Roads Fund. But, so far as public knowledge goes, this fund has not yet been fully utilised for the development of the existing roads and construction of new ones. The portion of the tax credited to this fund is also extremely meagre.

The Central Government have not yet shown any sympathy towards the motor vehicle, rather the Railway authorities have expressed on several occasions their eagerness to stifle this form of public transport. The essential necessity of maintaining an alternative means of transport to the railways as a formidable competitor, on the U.S. or the U.K. model, hardly requires any emphasis.

that large segments of the world's population are doomed to poverty or extinction. But means must be provided so that all peoples have equal access. This is now being accomplished in some nations. Holland's continental resources would not support more than 130 or 140 people per square mile, yet this little country provides 540 people per square mile with a living. This is brought about partly by utilizing wealth from colonies but largely through specialization in those industrial and agricultural products in which Holland excels.

Before the commercial, industrial, and agricultural revolutions of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries population size and growth were controlled by the supply of food produced. But, with the growth of commerce and industry, populations in a given community—and in nations—were able to exchange products and thus support more people under better conditions.

Unfortunately, such benefits of scientific advance are not yet widespread. More than two-thirds of the world's people still derive their livelihood directly from the land. Many of them constantly face the threat of local famine.

In rural India during the past decade, one-half of the children died before reaching the age of ten years. The average life span in all India is only thirty years—roughly half of that in industrial nations.

Overpopulation cannot be determined by the number of people per square mile or by any other unit of statistics in a particular country. There are enough natural resources in the world to support all the people now alive at a fair standard. The important thing is to see that all people of whatever nation attain a decent standard of life and that wealth does not flow into the pockets of the few fortunates causing want and misery for the many. It must be remembered that it is the race for an unequal accumulation of wealth by the few, leaving the many in abject want, that threatens world peace. No system of rural economy in India will be successfully worked unless agriculture is adopted as the main occupation as it is now and the deficiency in agricultural income is made up by cottage industries supplemented by the big manufacturing industries. Big industries should supplement and not supplant the rural ones. The dividing line should mainly follow the principle—the finished product of the manufacturing industries is the raw material of the cottage products. All our economic schemes so far propagated have become one-sided inasmuch as all of them have laid undue emphasis on one or other of these three. Our rural problems will continue to baffle all solution until all these three are planned from the standpoint of a provision of full employment for all people in the country.

Growing Population and Food Problem

Writing on India's growing population and food problem in the *Leader*, Prof. R. V. Rao gives a comparative account of how our self-appointed trustees have managed their own problem at home, and how the unfortunate victims of their trust in this country have been left to perish of hunger. Prof. Rao writes about England:

The question of ensuring national safety by provision of the principal nutritive elements has been appreciated in England. The very first war effort of the British Government was to accumulate the stocks of food necessary for the people both by internal induction and imports. With less food

reserves, she is able to maintain her population even in war at a satisfactory level as a result of following a well-thought-out agricultural policy—in contrast to India which was at first without a definite plan or policy. The League of Nations publication 'Food Control in Great Britain' gives details of the system that has been evolved there to secure to the entire population in the face of all the difficulties created by the war, the elements necessary for a sound diet. Grass lands were brought under cultivation, existing land was put to intensive cultivation, the problem of livestock was approached in a scientific way, and mechanization of agriculture was carried further. Moreover, minimum prices were guaranteed, thereby eliminating market price fluctuations. The State has given subsidies, credit facilities, etc., in order to augment the 'grow more food' campaign. Consequently by November, 1941, the area under food crops was 45 per cent above the peace-time figure and there was a 50 per cent increase in agricultural production. The Ministry of Food is trying to maintain imports of food and to secure equitable distribution by price control, rationing, subsidies, etc. This reflects highest credit on the Ministries of Food and Agriculture. This policy continues even today. As Mr. Churchill said the other day, 'Nothing is more clear than that when the war is over the world will fall on acute shortage of food for several years.'

Then Prof. Rao says about India:

Food should not only give energy but renew worn out tissues and maintain the equilibrium which is called health. The food we take must contain sufficient proteins for body building, mineral salts for improving the condition of the blood and providing immunity against diseases and vitamins for ensuring growth, resistance to infection, etc. Food, in short, should be sufficient and well balanced.

Even so far as cereals are concerned, the yield is low. After all, cereals are mostly carbohydrates and the predominant weight of cereals in our dietary reveals the poverty of the masses. We can easily see that our food position has greatly deteriorated. In addition, there was the substitution of non-food for food crops and inferior areas were brought under cultivation due to the pressure of population. Even during the last decade, India had a shortage of food irrespective of war. Nearly 7 years back Sir John Megaw conducted an enquiry and his conclusions were that 30 per cent of the people were adequately nourished, 41 per cent poorly nourished and 20 per cent very badly nourished. Bengal was, of course, the worst sufferer. Dr. Aykroyd shows a common ill-balanced and well-balanced diet per consumption unit in oz. per day.

	A common ill-balanced diet	A well-balanced diet
Cereals	20	15
Pulses	1	3
Vegetables:		
Green-leafy	2	4
Non-leafy	2	6
Fats & Oils	0.5	2
Milk	2	8
Fruits	0	2

The indirect indices of over-population are poor physique, high death-rate, heavy infant mortality, the wide prevalence of poverty, diseases and the heavy toll of lives by famine and epidemics.

The inevitable result is that the average span of life is short. Infantile mortality, poor physique, epidemics, etc., prove that we have not only too little food but our food is of low nutritive value. The use of

less nutritive cereals and the low intake of animal foods, milk and milk-products make our diet ill-balanced. It is no wonder therefore, that out of four babies born one is doomed while in Holland 29 out of 30 can be saved, and that death, disease and starvation have become a regular feature in this country under the regime of Imperial "trustees"!

The Un-Indian Indian Army

A recent Government communique announced that 450 vacancies were being allotted to Indian Emergency Commissioned Officers for permanent commissions in the Indian Army. This, it was stated, was purely a war-time measure as the future strength and shape of the Indian army could not be ascertained at this juncture. Considering that there were only 750 permanent Indian Officers in the Army on the eve of the present war, one is constrained to feel that the Imperial Government is once again trying to put off the question of Indianisation of the Army.

Admission of Indians to the rank of officers in the Indian Army has a chequered history. In spite of the fact that this Army has always numbered more than twice as much as the British troops in India, it was not till 1918 that an Indian could receive the King's Commission. As a reward for the sacrifices made by Indian troops it was grudgingly announced that 10 vacancies were to be reserved for Indians at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. Under this scheme, Indian officers were only to be employed in infantry or cavalry. The doors of technical army, e.g., artillery, signals, etc., were completely shut. The selections again were not based on any qualifying examination. People who could claim family records of loyalty and devotion to Crown service were preferred. The result was that most of the cadets who entered Sandhurst failed to obtain commissions. Thus the face-saving admission of Indians into Sandhurst continued with little risk of commissions being distributed. It was only in 1928 that the selection system was replaced by that of competitive examination and the number of unsuccessful cadets was considerably reduced.

The history of the Indianisation of our Army has recently been recapitulated in an article published in the *National Call* (July 10) from which we give the following extract:

This policy of Indianisation was further handicapped by the policy of separating all those units to which Indian Commissioned Officers were sent. In 1923 Lord Rawlinson, the then C-in-C, outlined the Eight Unit Scheme by which it was proposed to Indianise five infantry battalions (out of 105 battalions), two Cavalry regiments (out of 21 regiments), and one pioneer unit (out of seven units). All Indian officers receiving commissions were to be posted to these units and it was anticipated that by 1946 Indians will rise to be Commanding Officers of these units if all went well. Whatever may be said by the protagonists of this scheme one cannot help feeling that this was a deliberate attempt to see that no British Officer ever served under the command of an Indian superior officer. It is queer logic to huddle a few Indian officers together to test their efficiency. This Eight Unit Scheme further reduced the scope for increasing the pace of Indianisation as only a limited number of officers could be absorbed in the Eight Units. It put a serious brake on the process of Indianisation.

In 1925 the Skeen Committee protested against this scheme but to no avail. The number of vacancies however was increased and in 1928 the doors of Woolwich and Cranwell were thrown open but the segregation of Indian officers continued. Even with this increase it was anticipated that half the total number of officers required for the Indian Army would be Indians by 1952. At that rate it would have taken another forty to fifty years for the Indian Army to be totally Indianised and thus fulfil the condition of a completely Indianised army required for India being granted self-government. In 1932, however, better counsels prevailed and on 7th May the Government of India announced that in addition to the Eight Unit Scheme they had decided to Indianise a division of all arms and a cavalry brigade. In the same year the Indian Military Academy was established at Dehra Dun and the number of vacancies was increased to 30 a year. The pace of Indianisation, however, did not accelerate as the number of commissioned officers was still negligible as compared to the total strength of the Army. The Council of State in 1936 raised the question of increasing the number of vacancies at the I.M.A., Dehra Dun, but nothing came out of the proposal. At the outbreak of war the number of Indian officers stood at 750.

Since the outbreak of the present war, the strength of the Indian officers has risen to 12,000. Even with this number the proportion of Indian officers to non-Indians remains one to six. Of this number, only two have succeeded in rising to the rank of Brigadiers. The quality of the Indian soldier, commonly known in Europe as the 'Rice Soldier', has been amply proved in the two world wars. We do not know the proportion of Victoria Crosses earned by Indian and British soldiers, but judging from the records of the recipients of this Cross, awarded for the highest gallantry, one may certainly say that given a fair chance, many of them must have made very good officers rising to the highest rung of the ladder. But that is not to be. The admission was first stopped. At long last when the gate had to be opened, although not in full, the door leading to the staircase is being zealously guarded.

Profiteering in Education

The shop-keeper mentality of the Government has come into operation in the field of education as well. The *Independent* of Nagpur reports how the Government is charging an exorbitant price for education because far too many are asking for it. The report, in short, is given below:

When the Government Colleges reopened this session, the students were administered a shock. They were informed that Government had decided to put up the prices of education. The following are the increments in the tuition fees announced:

In Govt. Arts Colleges other than College of Science -

Inter Arts and B.A. (Pass)—From Rs. 102 to Rs. 117 per session.

B.A. (Hons.) and M.A.—From Rs. 102 to Rs. 126 per session.

Inter Science, B.Sc. (Pass), B.Sc. (Hons.) and M.Sc.—From Rs. 102 to Rs. 135 per session.

In the College of Science -

Inter Science and B.Sc. (Pass)—From Rs. 138 to Rs. 144 per session.

The fee that was already being charged was

years. The results of the Matriculation Examination in the districts have been the most serious. There have no doubt been causes like non-availability of paper for doing exercises and taking down notes, want of text-books, shortage of kerosene oil for study after dusk and undue loss of time for procuring "controlled" articles of daily necessity. But we consider shortage of protective foods as the most important reason for this decay in intellectual attainments and we believe that the result will be disastrous for Bengal. A whole generation is growing up as one of mental and physical cripples. Milk, fish and meat have all become delicate luxuries in this province beyond the reach of the poor and the average middle class.

Britain has provided sufficient milk for her children, students and expectant and nursing mothers under her rationing scheme. Bombay has done it although on a limited scale. But the Bengal Government has not applied their mind in any seriousness for the solution of this very urgent and very acute problem. Exclusion of children under twelve from the cloth rationing scheme leads one to believe that the branch of the Imperial Government on this side of the country does not think that children do need food or clothing.

Bengal's new Governor, however, continues to express his concern for the lack of protective food in his usual way. In the last broadcast speech he said about milk:

Milk is a difficult problem. The supply is both short and expensive and the quality poor. Many children and nursing mothers get far less than they need and what they do get is more often than not adulterated. I regard this as one of our most important problems. An adequate milk supply for the poor has a close bearing on the general health standard of the people. Improvement is a slow business but an essential one.

Various measures are being taken to deal with the situation. Our milk supply position is poor principally because our cattle yield very little milk. No permanent solution of the milk problem is therefore possible without an improvement in the quality of our cattle. To achieve this, provision of well-bred bulls is necessary to improve the local stock. Bengal has no farm for the production of good bulls. In consequence we are starting a large-scale Central Livestock Research and Breeding Station at Haringhata, about 35 miles north-east of Calcutta. Briefly, the scheme means that Government acquires about 5,000 acres of land near Haringhata, which is now unproductive and ridden with malaria. We propose to clear it of malaria, irrigate it and to establish on it a cattle-breeding and livestock research station, principally to produce pedigree bulls for supply throughout the Province to improve our cattle. The scheme also includes a model dairy farm and creamery where the practical business of commercial production of milk and milk products will be studied. This Haringhata scheme is an essential first step to any effective plan for permanent improvement in the milk supply of the Province. Incidentally the scheme in itself will improve Calcutta's milk supply.

We have had a thorough inquiry into the Calcutta milk supply, the report of which will be made available to the public shortly. It is not very pleasant reading.

This milk report has since been published. It reveals that the total daily requirement of milk in Calcutta alone is 22,067 maunds against a daily supply of only 3,693 maunds. The quality is extremely unsatis-

factory. Adulteration is nearly universal sometimes rising to 80 per cent of water. Of the 224 samples collected and analysed, 178 were found to be adulterated. About cleanliness, the reports says, the less said the better.

Following Lord Linlithgow, Mr. Casey seems to believe that milk supply can be increased by the provision of good stud bulls and the maintenance of a Research and Breeding Station. The report, however, has not faith in such a simple solution. It states that in normal times Calcutta imported annually about 40,000 cows and buffaloes from up-country; but due to railway booking restrictions and bans imposed by exporting provinces, imports have diminished seriously. The Report then says: "Unless imports can be increased or the present waste through slaughter of animals still in their prime prevented, the supply of milk is bound to further diminish in course of time, which must increase its price still further."

Mr. Casey does not mention this problem of import and slaughter either in his broadcast speech or the follow up in his Convocation Address at the Calcutta University where he has again mentioned milk. Under instructions from the Government of India, the provincial governments of Bombay, Madras, U. P., C. P., Bihar, Orissa and Sind have declared the slaughter of calves under three years of age, of bullocks between three and ten, and of cows which yield milk or are pregnant or are likely to be pregnant, as unlawful. The people of Bengal will want to know if Mr. Casey considers it necessary to introduce the same laws in this Province.

Fish, the Second Protective Food of Bengal

In the same broadcast speech, Mr. Casey said about fish, the second important protective food of Bengal: "I am well aware of the importance of fish as the principal protein food of Bengal. Every attempt is being made to rehabilitate the fishermen, who suffered so badly during the last famine, to enable them to catch fish of which there should be no dearth in the Bengal rivers and estuaries. As a first step in the development of tank fisheries in the Province, nursery and demonstration units have been sanctioned in eight districts and provision has also been made for cheap distribution of fish fry."

"The supply of fish in the urban areas cannot improve without an adequate supply of ice. Thanks to the efforts of the Ice Controller there has already been a substantial addition to the total ice supply in Calcutta. Probably 50 per cent more ice is available for the civil population this summer than last. The fish trade has not made adequate use of the increased ice supply. I am trying to find out why."

It came as a striking surprise that the fishermen did not make adequate use of ice made available to them. Public knowledge indicates that they never got it. However, the people will eagerly await gubernatorial investigation in this matter.

In his Convocation Address, the Governor again mentioned fish and said: "It astonishes me that the people of Bengal have not given more attention to the fishing industry. The Province abounds in almost unrivalled opportunities for enterprise in this regard. You have the sea, the estuaries, the rivers, the tanks—and a ready market in your Province alone of over sixty

million people—but yet singularly little has been done to take advantage of these great opportunities."

The fishermen of Bengal have been the hardest hit since the introduction of the denial policy under which all their boats had been snatched away. During the past years and the present, Government of Bengal have sanctioned an astounding sum of seven crores of rupees for the construction of boats, possibly for making up this deficiency. We do not know if seventy boats have yet been launched up till now, and we believe that this huge sum, if spent judiciously and by honest people, would have given an immense fleet for the use of fishermen and boatmen. The Governor ceremoniously launched the first boat, and we wonder if he has cared to know how many more boats have followed it. The people have a suspicion that boats of gold and silver are being manufactured there to find their way into the pockets of the lucky enterprisers.

In our July number, we had drawn attention to Dr. Hora's plan for the development of fisheries in Bengal. We expected a reference to that concrete plan in the Governor's address two weeks later but have been disappointed. The outstanding peculiarity of the present system of administration in this country is that they will not do anything themselves and will not let others do it.

Bengal Cloth Famine Viewed From Delhi

We give below *Roy's Weekly's* comment on the cloth famine of Bengal which will give some idea of how people outside this miserable province view the problem while the administration here goes on with the same callous disregard of the realities of the situation as had been evidenced in the Bengal famine of 1943. Mr. Casey has virtually declared that he did not believe that women had been committing suicide for want of cloth. Sir John Herbert did not likewise believe, that the famine was on even when deaths began to be reported. The Government of Bengal maintains probably the largest special police force in India, and is therefore very well able to find out the truth of the suicide reports. These have been published with full details giving the places of occurrences and in many cases mentioning the names and families of the victims.

Under the caption "Casey's Dope", the *Roy's Weekly*, New Delhi writes (July 8) in its Marginal Comments by Tatler:

Suicide reports from Bengal have replaced those of starvation that poured forth from that province till recently. The reason is—*Fear of Nudity*. Women have been preferring death to nudity; others keep indoors, still others go about half-naked using napkins and kerchiefs! Dhobies are relieved of their donkey-loads. The dead are wrapped in plaintain-leaves to be interred. Riots have broken out just for pieces of cloth and police firing also restored to. This is the plight of Bengal. What then are the rulers doing? The Tin-Gods of Delhi continue asserting that they have despatched sufficient cloth to relieve Bengal, but the Imperial Satrap, Mr. Casey in his broadcast speech offered little hope of an early relief. He stated that the cloth shortage was world-wide and would continue as long as the war lasted. The sufferers would like to know the number of the naked and semi-naked in Mr. Casey's homeland Australia—as the war has affected all countries alike. According to him, plans for rationing and equitable distribution

of cloth are being evolved which, when completed, would assure at least "one piece of cloth per person" before October. But this is not tackling the gruesome famine. Statisticians give the figure that at least 13 yards *per capita* should be available, at the present rate of production of cloth in our country. Where does India's production of 4600 million yards go? The Government as well as private distribution agencies have earned a notorious record for their acts during 1943 famine. Rowlands' report must still be on Mr. Casey's table. But we have not heard of any purge in his administrative staff in the interests of honest service. There must be an immediate end to this complacent and callous rule, if Bengal which has suffered enormously during the Famine, is to survive at all.

Hindu-Muslim Fusion

Ranade chose as the subject-matter for perhaps his greatest address to the National Social Conference delivered in December 1899 at Lucknow, Guru Nanak's saying: "I am neither a Hindu nor a Mahomedan." This he said in order to encourage the desire to draw closer the bonds between Hindus and Muslims, with a view to the enlightened political system under which both must live. Living side by side for a thousand years has fostered these bonds, social and spiritual. In an issue of the *Indian Social Reformer* (June 12), the impressions of a visitor to the famous Hindu temple on the Palni Hills were published. The visitor found Hindus and Muslims worshipping together in the temple. There are numerous other shrines of the kind in India, writes the *Reformer*, where Hindus are trustees of Muslim mosques and Muslims of Hindu temples. An investigation in Bengal will show that Hindu religious and social rites and customs are still persistently prevalent among very large sections of the Muslims of this province, most of whom are converts from the Hindu fold. This process of fusion went on continually in progress, before it suffered an eclipse about 1906, when the British Government adopted the policy of Muslim enticement. The fact however is still there, and we firmly believe that this breach in Hindu-Muslim relations is a mere temporary phase. The cordiality will be restored as soon as sanity dawns on the communally minded self-seekers.

Bengal and Punjab and Mr. Rajagopalachari

At the close of the Simla Conference there was a mixed gathering at the Kalibari Pratima Mitter Hall. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is reported to have made the following remarks at that gathering:

Mr. Rajagopalachari addressing the Bengalees said, "The Punjab and Bengal were two stumbling blocks on the way to India's freedom. Standing at two ends of the country these two provinces have been responsible for India's servitude. If Bengal and Punjab could shed communalism, India could become free next day."

He added, "Time may come when all communal troubles may end and a united Bengal may emerge. If Bengal becomes united to-day, India becomes one and free the next day." He emphasised that India's freedom lay in the hands of the Punjabis and the Bengalees. He made a sincere appeal to them to compose the differences between the Hindus and

high enough for the quality of education catered. There can be no justification for raising it further. Perhaps it would have been possible to reconcile one-self to the enhanced fees, if the education had been of sterling quality, but the education we have in India would not be sold in free countries even if offered with a premium.

The story does not end here. The general impression is that Government educational institutions are the most efficient in their line. But that is a mere illusion. Very few of the highly-paid lecturers in Government colleges deserve to be where they are. They would be complete failures in any but the Education Department.

Of scholarship and competence they have little. If they exchange places with their students, perhaps it would make no difference to the examination results. Many of the lecturers are said merely to read out the course from the text-books in the class room, which could be done as well by a clerk who can read English correctly.

I have yet to come across a college professor in this province, who is primarily interested in learning and teaching, and only secondarily in pay, promotions and departmental scandals. It must, however, be said in their defence that they too are the product of the education available in this country.

Prices naturally go up when there is an increased demand for an available commodity. Justinian reveals in the report that the demand for Government College education is far in excess of supply because products of Government colleges are given preference everywhere over those of private institutions. He, therefore, uses the term "black marketing" advisedly, because, apart from the present enhancement, the fees are disproportionate to the quality of the commodity supplied.

A Mis-Statement on Bengal Peasants' Income

Swami Sambuddhananda, President of the Ramakrishna Ashram, Bombay, has made a statement of the food and cloth famine of Bengal after making an extensive tour in the province. His statement has been published in the *Bombay Chronicle*, in which three points are worthy of note. He says:

(1) The account of mortality as reported by the Woodhead Commission is amazingly poor. I visited more than a dozen towns last year and met the most responsible government officers whom I enquired of the total deaths in their districts but none could give me a correct figure. 'How could it be possible', they said, 'when the village watchmen who generally make birth and death reports had themselves died without number?' There were, as such, none for a long time to attend to this work in hundreds of villages. After inspection of dozens of towns and hundreds of villages I can unhesitatingly say that the number of deaths in Bengal can never be less than 60 lakhs if a correct census be taken of the existing population.

(2) More than food distress is the distress of cloth. Cloth distress has come to its climax in Bengal at this hour. Thousands of men and women, I have seen, cannot go out to attend their usual work outside for want of a piece of cloth to wrap round their loins. Cases of suicide among women for want of cloth are not few.

(3) The able wings of the people of Bengal possess the buying capacity of which the middle class is awfully denied. They have to get on with half-meals, sometimes with one meal a day. The lower class is much better off as it gets high wages. A labourer who used to earn only Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a month, now earns about Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 per mensem.

The first observation accords with the estimates made by other responsible men and bodies and the second one closely resembles actual state of affairs in this province. But the third statement is grossly exaggerated and has no relation whatsoever with facts. Even the *Bombay Chronicle*, situated at so distant a place from Bengal, found it necessary to express disagreement, in a leading article, with the Swamiji's statement on the increase in wages. It is a fact that wages have risen in some particular localities where labour shortage has been felt, specially after the famine, but still we do not know of any instance where wages have gone up ten times the pre-war level. The maximum rise that is widely known is four times and not beyond that. In organised industries, it is even less. This increase is, however, only apparent, the poorer people earn much smaller real wages as measured by the purchasing power of their present money wages. On several occasions, representatives from the districts at the Bengal Legislative Assembly have pointed out that the general price-level of necessities in the villages have gone up by something like ten to sixteen times the normal level. Food prices still rule more than four times than is usual. A ploughshare which cost one anna now costs one rupee. Cloth, sugar, salt, kerosene oil and similar other indispensable commodities are procurable only at fantastic prices. Prices of cattle have gone up more than ten times. Had the Swamiji's last statement contained even a modicum of truth, all talk of distress and poverty of the Bengal peasant would have fallen flat.

Some caution should be exercised while making this sort of sweeping statements. It is just this kind of unguarded utterances coming from well-placed innocent men which are seized upon by the Imperialist publicists for their dirty propaganda against India.

Corruption in Bengal

Some months after his assumption of office, the present Governor of Bengal, in a radio broadcast, admitted the existence of corruption in the administrative machinery and appealed to the public to come forward and help in its eradication. Since then, corruption has not abated but increased manifold. Pandit Jawaharlal only voiced public knowledge and widespread experience when he said: "No country in the world has a government so corrupt and inefficient as we have in India. Nepotism and bribery are rampant everywhere. From top to bottom, they seem to have no qualms of conscience about it. Indians and British are all mixed up in it." This statement applied with redoubled force in Bengal under Sir John Herbert's administration.

Although nothing has so far been done to check corruption, this canker seems to have been disturbing Mr. Casey's mind. In his last broadcast speech, on July 4, he again mentioned corruption and said:

Even before the Rowlands Committee reported, the Bengal Government issued detailed instructions

to their officers as to how to cope with the various forms of corruption. These instructions have had some result although nothing like as much as I had hoped. The Bengal Government will prosecute this campaign vigorously. I am confident that all public-spirited individuals will give their approval and assistance. Unless the public conscience is aroused and without the active and disinterested assistance of the public any official action is severely handicapped.

We have recently come across a letter, published in the *Nationalist*, (July 18), which gives a very good idea of how Mr. Casey's administration reacts when actually some people come forward to render aid in this onerous and Herculean task. The letter, given below will speak for itself:

Sj. Sri Kumar Mitra, Secretary, Burdwan District Hindu Mahasabha, has addressed the undernoted open letter on July 6 to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, in connection with his recent Radio broadcast:

"In his desire to purge out corruption from among the Government Officers His Excellency the Governor of Bengal having repeatedly urged the people to co-operate in the matter, I placed before His Excellency and Mr. P. D. Martyn, I.C.S., Additional Secretary, Home (Defence) Department, on the 27th March last, some glaring instances of fraud and cheating perpetrated by a high officer of the local A.R.P. Service. Subsequently, in enquiry held by Mr. U. L. Goswamy, I.C.S., Additional District Magistrate of Burdwan, the allegations made by me were proved from the records of Burdwan A.R.P. and of the Government Ration Store, and also from the evidence of Mr. P. K. Chatterji (now Lawyer-Magistrate of Nilphamari), Mr. B. K. Choudhury, B.L., Staff Officer of Fire Party, Sj. Satya Charan Sarkar, Head Clerk of Burdwan A.R.P. Office, Sj. Dinesh Chandra Roy, A.R.P. Depot Superintendent, the clerk in charge of Government Ration Store and of the Head Clerk of E. I. Railway Booking Office at Burdwan.

Though the said enquiry was finished by the 18th April last, and as no action has been taken up to this date against the officer concerned, I, in a letter dated the 17th May, 1945, wanted to learn from Mr. Martyn the result of the enquiry, but, far from receiving any reply, as the said letter was not acknowledged even, I had to send him another letter under registered post with acknowledgment due, on the 25th June last. But, still I am quite in the dark as to whether the Government is prepared to take any action against the officer concerned.

We shall wait and see what action the Government takes in this case where at least one gentleman has come forward with charges of corruption which he is prepared to substantiate.

Men with Authority

Under the above caption, the *Statesman* writes editorially, (July 21):

In a letter recently published by us, a correspondent from Delhi complained that passengers in a crowded bus were inconvenienced, because an Inspector Sahib, having chosen to travel by it, diverted it from its route, and moreover then had the occupants of the front seat removed, so that he and two companions could enjoy the best accommodation. Our correspondent, though aware that similar occurrences in India are common, sturdily refuses to acquiesce, observing "this sort of abuse

of power should not be tolerated in any civilized State."

We concur. Officialdom all the world over is apt to acquire inflated sense of its importance. But in India this mentality has for generations been established in an extreme form. Though less flagrant in the bureaucracy's topmost ranks, it is the more dangerous there, and at times takes remarkable forms, as in the case of the present Director of Agriculture to the Government of Bengal. Reprimanded once before by the Calcutta High Court for "pettyfogging highhandedness," he has recently again been castigated there—for wrongful detention and malicious prosecution of an unobsequious circus manager. Unfortunately this affair, though unusual and far from typical of the I.C.S., is also not unique.

Very cleverly it then mentions that the service has been Indianised and says:

Hence authority gets less co-operation than it wants from the man in the street; and Indian members of the Services, who might improve matters, not seldom (as in the Bengal case referred to) worsen them by becoming more insular than the British, more royalist than the King. In his own land at least, the Briton of the upper middle classes whence the upper rungs of the Services get their recruits, is an approachable being. Among some of Indian counterparts, of various degrees of importance, an overbearing manner when dealing with inferiors is only matched by obsequiousness to the powers that be.

The *Statesman* however admits that such incidents are not confined exclusively among the Indian members of the services and mentions the case which not long ago resulted in a British Superintendent of Police being ordered by a District Court to pay damages to a pleader whom he assaulted for daring to present a bail application. We know that this peculiar swollen-headed irresponsibility of officialdom in India is widespread. In India, as in Britain, the recruits for these services are drawn from the upper middle class very often with family traditions of good manners, forbearance and piety. But why is it that as soon as they are fixed up in the steel frame, they forget their heritage, their traditions and give a go-by to the minimum standards of good manners? From experience and observation we are constrained to say that the atmosphere created for these new recruits is one in which they are led to believe that they are the nuts and bolts of a steel frame whose prime object is to maintain law and order in this land for the benefit of their British masters. Those who succeed in satisfying this expectation, rise on the Executive ladder, and those who fail are shunted off on the judicial side. The present Director of Agriculture's case is a palpable one which clearly proves that not only these servants are beyond all prospects of remedy, but they expect and do get promotions after cases which would have merited dismissal from public office in any country which claims to be civilised.

Want of Protective Food in Bengal

The danger of an acute deficiency of protective food in Bengal has been keenly felt and expressed for years past. The need for protective food for the children and the young is too well-known to bear repetition. The recent results of the University Examinations,—Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A.—have all recorded a very large drop from the previous

Muslims. "What a sad caricature in the country was this communal trouble," he exclaimed. He hoped that the dispute would soon end and he would see a free India within his life-time. *He warned Bengal and the Punjab that unless their differences were settled and the Hindus and Muslims of these provinces united the other parts of the country would leave them behind and go forward.*—(Italics ours. Ed. M.R.)

We are in substantial agreement with Rajaji's statement that Bengal and Punjab were the two stumbling blocks on the way to India's freedom. But we completely fail to see the force in Rajaji's homily to the Bengalis and the Punjabis. Indeed, the concluding portions read like an extract from the speech of one of Mr. Amery's propaganda assistants. Does Rajaji sincerely believe that this communal business in Bengal or the Punjab was the creation of any Bengali or Punjabi? Or, does he not know that the communal

flames would have died out long ago but for constant addition in fuel and continuous fanning by interested third parties? It is not fair to come to any conclusion on the basis of a bald press agency report, but we must say that the report as it stands depicts Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in a most lamentable mental condition.

Bengal's fight against the Divide et Impera principle is now of forty years duration, starting from the regime of Lord Curzon. It was Curzon's worthy lieutenant Fraser that enunciated the "favourite wife" theory about the Moslems. And in the Roll of Honour, there are Moslem names as well as those of Hindus. It is now becoming increasingly fashionable amongst a section of the Congress to belittle Bengal's struggle and sacrifice for the cause, but the truth remains there nevertheless. And as regards the last sentence of Rajaji's remarks, all that we can say, that he would be a very unworthy son of Bengal indeed who would not rejoice, if any province of India achieved freedom, whatever be the lot of Bengal.

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE war has not undergone any significant change during the course of the month that is coming to a close. The aerial assault on Japan has been stopped up both as regards intensity and area, but there are no indications as yet regarding the final moves to engage the main forces of Nippon. In China the forces under the Generalissimo have recaptured Kweilin and have thereby strengthened their position to a very great extent in that area. If this position can be consolidated, then the U. S. A. will again be in a position to strike at Japanese trans-continental supply services through its air forces and render a far greater amount of tactical aid to the armies of Free China deploying in those areas. The Japanese in continental China seem to be strangely on the defensive everywhere. Whether that indicates a change in strategy or that the supply and refitting services have been effectively crippled through the air-assaults on the home-land of Nippon, remains to be seen.

In general, there is a black-out on all news regarding movements in the neighbourhood of the China coast. There are some occasional releases of semi-authenticated news as in the case of the Japanese preparations for street-fighting in Shanghai. But in the main we have an idea of a Japan left guessing as to where the main blow will fall, whether there would be a front-door assault on the home islands, or would there be a landing in force on the coast of China. There is no doubt that Japan is straining every nerve now to prepare for the main offensive of the Allies, and in that process she has been obliged to yield the initiative in toto to her opponents. The speculations about Russia coming in must have had some considerable effect too, as far as it can be judged from the American quotations of Japanese press comments.

As in the case of Germany, the Allies are now attempting to disrupt the Japanese war-machine through intensive aerial bombardment of munitions centres, naval yards and great army depots. And just as the German organisation disintegrated slowly under those sledge-hammer blows because of the *Luftwaffe* failing to find an answer to the mass air-assaults of the Allies so the Nipponese war-machine now is facing being thrown out of gear through the same cause. Technically Japan was much behind America or Germany before the war. It is not known as to how much progress Japan has made during the course of the last four years. There have been some indications of considerable technical progress in the matter of aircraft, but as yet there is no indication that any material progress has been made in the matter of mass-production.

Therefore, there is every reason to believe that the Allied ultimatum to Japan was no idle threat. Before long Japan will have to face the full might of the three Allied powers one of whom, the U. S. A., has already begun the preliminaries to the final campaign. The Japanese reply to the ultimatum was in the negative, as expected, and it indicates that the spirit of suicide defence has not been broken as yet.

The Burmese campaign is still hanging fire due to the monsoons which are now in full force in Lower and Eastern Burma. The desperate attempt at breaking through by the Japanese forces trapped west of the Pegu Yomas has met with a certain amount of success though at an enormous cost. There is very little news about the Allied campaign in Borneo, but in all probability the weather conditions there too are inclement.

GOALS OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

By SHRIMATI KAMALADEVI

THE most powerful impulse in man is to live. But man is not content to merely live. He desires to live well. Practically all human activity is determined by this, that is the healthy functioning of those capacities of the organism, both physical and mental that are necessary for the most complete expression of the physical and spiritual potentialities of the organism. Human needs are, therefore, determined by those commodities and experiences that are necessary for this functioning.

Man is unique in the animal kingdom in having needs which are more than purely animal. That is where values come in, for man aims at attaining a certain standard that cannot be altogether measured by animal needs, such as hunger and sex. Man has gone beyond these cravings and developed new ones. This yearning or idealism determines the sense of values. Types of family, character of society, form of government, all these are evolved with a view to securing the most complete satisfaction and fullness of life. Man has never succeeded in this. He is forever trying out new modes on this eternal quest. That is why life is never static, and where social modes grow rigid and outmoded, they usually crack up under the hammer blows of the discontented elements of society and emerge in new moulds. Life can never reach a stage where the need for a change does not seem necessary.

Man fulfills his needs not by himself but through the group, which is the most important factor to bear in mind. So for this fulfilment, mankind needs to maintain a group living that reduces conflict to the minimum and augments harmony to the highest and largest measure. What we refer categorically to as human nature and human habits, are aspects we have developed over a long period by a process of deliberation to enable individuals to function in a group and as a group. No child comes into the world with all these just tucked in as goods in a packing case. Just as a child arrives without clothing or money, so does it come without what are known as human attitudes. These are inculcated by its environment. This "attitude" is the most dynamic element in the human living, for it determines the behaviour of each individual, and therefore is the directing force behind a society. It reflects the pattern of the social group in which it took birth and form. Thus what the group instils into the individual, the individual gives back to the group. For the attitudes are tendencies which reflect the experiences and social patterns of behaviour that condition the individual. In short it is the motive for activity. Thus a society is what it makes of its each individual member. This has an important bearing on all social values, for what each regards as the value of any object or form of activity is entirely relative to the attitude of that individual. Researches in psychology are revealing more and more a startling state of affairs in the relationship between an individual and the emphasis or value attached by the individual to an object or activity. Human activity cannot therefore be measured by simple standards in societies that have grown very complex.

But in trying to understand human behaviour, we must take account of the existence of certain requirements inherent in human nature, the most obvious being the physiological needs. But psychical needs have

also become almost inherent now as they form an indivisible part of the human environment, such as family life, social recognition and status, cultivation of the mental faculties, opportunities for creative work, sense of security and the like. As these characteristics appear common to all peoples of all climes, far-flung from each other, the human race in its essential mental and emotional processes appears similar, its need for the general type of activities same, only the methods of working them out in detail vary. These differences are the outcome of the varying environment, for culture is the product of an accommodation to environment. The attempt naturally involves or leads to invention, the road along which humanity has travelled over many ages.

We must, however, realise that although wants are the source of values, they are not an adequate guide. The principle humanity has been and is still working towards is that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the proper goal of all human action, the measure for evaluating human behaviour, for it recognises that man attains his most complete happiness only in promoting happiness for the whole group of which he is a part. This is no academic truism but a very real experience. Happiness rises out of a sense of fulfilment, while fulfilment in turn comes from the proper and normal functioning of the essential organism.

The basis for judging the worth of a society is its efficiency for the satisfying of those human needs that make this possible. Our positive as well as our negative wants are the starting point for measuring values. For often our wants are determined not by actually what our organism needs but rather by what the environment in which we grow up, taught us to want. Sometimes these not only do not bring happiness but on the contrary draw disaster. It is, therefore, necessary to carefully discriminate between wants and needs, to arrive at what may be called the basic ones. This can be achieved by weighing and sifting human experiences since the dawn of history. Nor can this assertion be categorically the last word. We have yet to know much more of human nature in relation to its daily experience.

Roughly these may be characterised as those which promote survival and longevity and those which are more abiding and lasting; those which involve the participation of all members of society and can be enjoyed by as many as possible and serve to knit human beings into closer and friendlier ties. These may be classified as the fundamental human needs on which the happiness of human beings rests and a society's progress is measured according to the satisfaction of these conditions.

First come the physical needs, for without them no human being can function or survive. This does not mean the mere gratification of his physical hungers, but also the equally imperative needs for the vital functioning of all his physical powers. The amount and variety of food, rest and sleep, proper housing, protection against poison and infection, in fact all that is needed for hygienic living, together with facilities for medical treatment, recreation and physical relaxation, and wholesome expression of sex life.

Next comes creative activity which is closely allied

with physical activity and daily living. One of man's essential needs is that his daily task be the happy expression of his creative urge, not a heavy penalty paid to earn a morsel. For just as man is not content to merely live, he is not satisfied to merely toil. He seeks to realise himself through his work. In the more highly industrialised societies, this is quite impossible due to the very nature of the work with its minutest divisions of labour, where jobs are done "by the clock" instead of for the joy of working. This problem is closely related to several others, such as general conditions of work, working hours, standardisation, etc., which need to be discussed under the entire economic head.

In equal importance comes security. This may be defined as physical, social and economic. Man is never master of his own life or destiny. He eternally finds himself the victim of exigencies. While knowledge of protection against disease and accident has grown, so have fatalities with the rise of the modern complexities of life. In fact the achievement on the credit side as the result of increased knowledge and experience is discouragingly poor, for the advent of machinery has served to add to our physical insecurity on a scale unknown before. Thus far the measures taken by society to eliminate these menaces of the machine have been rather meagre, as compared with the tremendous toll of life and suffering that is still exacted.

But great as this is, man does not half so fear this as economic insecurity. For just as modern machinery has introduced new menaces to his physical well-being, so have new sources of insecurity been introduced by the present economy. Man has become isolated from his family and community security, as in the old social pattern. Moreover, incomes depend not upon a man's iron efforts but upon conditions beyond his control. This fear of insecurity not only serves to destroy the peace of mind of millions but does actually bring poverty, physical and mental suffering, loss of efficiency and self-respect to large sections of the population. Any future society would have to be judged by the extent to which it is freed from this menace. An unequal distribution of both wealth and opportunity as well as other benefits society has to offer, has meant an unbalanced group living together with a conflict of interests between the two groups; for ownership, distinction, wealth, power—all these go together and are today the privilege of a few, not the recognised right of all. Our entire economy is ruled by competition and wealth, and economic power instead of being only the means to an end becomes the end itself. The fact is completely ignored that individual success and power is being achieved by utilising resources and instruments that in reality belong to all. Material success and the power that goes with it do not usually come as the result of some outstanding contribution to common welfare but rather by exercising ability in the accumulation of wealth, often not even in the creating of it as in the case of inherited wealth. The only genuine contributions to society are scientific research and invention, and cultural creations which are rarely recognised or compensated in terms of money and power under the present system. In its technique of functioning the success of the few is purchased at the expense of many. This is chiefly because the sources and the means of production are controlled by few while the many merely labour to produce. If this is to be corrected the competitive motive needs to be replaced by the promotion of the common welfare as the end to aim at.

Man being essentially a social being, even his individual fulfilment comes mainly through group life. Through the community association, he has developed certain social values; he likes to have a special social status, win social distinction, be loved and respected by his fellow beings, enjoy their confidence and appreciation and participate in the group activity as an equal. But due to economic and social inequalities today, a very large section of society is basically denied even the most elementary opportunities for the satisfaction of these cravings. Children are reared in an atmosphere charged with inferiority; their normal ambitions thwarted and all roads to self-development rigidly closed. Vast majority of people today are simply strangled even before they have a chance of a fair test.

Knowledge and the systematic development and cultivation of natural faculties or tendencies is another fundamental need of man. It has a two-fold meaning. Knowledge is the tool with which to get the means for the satisfaction of other wants as well as for the enrichment of those experiences which it brings. Society should provide channels to children and adults alike for the pursuit of such activities. Where it does not, as our present-day society for instance, the result is universal paucity, for where society endows a child with knowledge, it as an adult adds to the wealth of society, materially and intellectually. Where society fails to, the loss is as much to the individual as to the group.

One of the most important and significant moving forces in man is the creative urge and the need for beautiful surroundings. In a way the two may be taken as inter-dependent. In an acquisitive system where values are measured by material accumulation, creative work is at a disadvantage. Moreover, as the production machinery gets more and more mechanised and standardised, work gets so monotonously routine, that no creative impulse has any play, in fact it is completely thwarted in course of time.

Such a setting necessarily determines the rest of our daily environment. With the commercialisation of production, things are prepared with an eye on profit not use. Hence, the element of beauty is very indifferently treated, not as an integral part of the whole but as an isolated factor that must be separately paid for in exceptional prices which are far beyond the scope of all, barring the few very wealthy ones. Beauty is not a luxury, it is one of the basic essentials of life. But in a civilisation that has made fresh air even so expensive, this is not to be wondered at.

In the days when man created with his own hands, he put his very soul into it. Everything he made, the tiniest, the most insignificant had to be beautiful. This was as indispensable as the material he used. Today this has been made the function of only the artist, who has thus become isolated from the people, and who produces only under special patronage, for a rare price. With the result, the cities we inhabit, the houses we live in, the transport that carries us, the articles for our daily use, have all become monuments of absolute ugliness. When the basis of our economy alters and we start producing for use, then beauty will be restored back to our life and we shall remember that man lives as much by beauty as by bread.

Our very mode of living will have to be drastically altered. Unequal distribution of population will have to be replaced by scientific distribution according to the needs of production, so as to serve the community best. The present congested cities with their unnatural con-

centration of population, hotbeds of crimes and disease, will have to completely disappear. More compact cities should be planned to enable the people to live as human beings in close contact with nature, open ground with trees and flowers as a part of every dwelling, with proper facilities for community life. Under the new economy and in the new surroundings, man would have not only more leisure but the inspiration as well, to use his leisure profitably for creative hobbies and play, two of man's most essential needs that are completely suppressed in the present society. Work is never a complete or adequate expression of man's need for activity. Moreover, all routine does get monotonous and tedious. Many of our muscles, nerve centres, emotions that are not brought into play in our daily lives—activities that can give expression to these suppressed parts, add a fresh zest to life, introduce the element of adventure which is pursued for its own sake, because of the exhilaration and joy that such explorations bring.

It is clear that no fixed goals can be determined if we mean by these a particular form of society or economic organisation. For change, we note, is an inevitable feature of life and it has no final goal at which to terminate. The goals aimed at therefore can only mean certain qualities that inhere in social living, the inner and most lasting element which gives meaning to the outward forms that constantly shift and transform. In formulating social objectives our emphasis has therefore to be more on the underlying principles than the forms of social functioning. The goal is not a perfect type of society but rather one which will fit the needs of the particular period in which we happen to be functioning, for our needs do not continue the same for decades or generations on end. This is an essential point to bear in mind. For a type of social organisation that is accepted as best for one set of circumstances will certainly not continue to be the best for another set of circumstances. Social planning must therefore seek for the functioning of social processes that will for the time best serve human needs, and our directive must be to guide these constantly flowing streams of human affairs into those channels that promise the most fruitful satisfaction of human needs for as long a space of period as is possible.

While, as we have noted, changes cannot and should not be averted, society can helpfully benefit by them by intelligent application and effort at guiding, and thus replace aimless drift or haphazard changes or chance incidents by deliberate and purposeful planning to control these moving forces and directing them into fruitful channels.

To begin with, a clear realisation of the amity of the various social factors from a thoroughly rationalistic angle is necessary. For instance, in dealing with problems like crime and prostitution, a scientific approach has to replace the old sentimental one; for social evils spring mainly from physical and emotional maladjustments, due to the frustration of normal human needs and not some innate wickedness as some suppose. The plan, therefore, has to be a single comprehensive one to include the various details in their relationship with one another. No social problem can be effectively dealt with isolatedly. It must be treated as a detail in the whole.

Man we have noted mainly fulfils himself through the group. Through the ages the co-operative society has grown in size and strength, and the tendency is still in that direction, with a growing skill in co-operative

living. From small groups and tribal units we have expanded into nations of hundreds of millions who are able to maintain a high degree of unity and solidarity. The need and urge for a world society is pressing us towards building for it. This does not mean that man's intensely individualistic and egoistic impulses have become completely attuned to the group demands. But man is coming to increasingly realise that he has better chances of survival and of gaining a constantly expanding, richer and more varied life, only in proportion to the perfection and strengthening of his qualities of co-operative living. So to secure a sound basis for a society, it is necessary to achieve a balance and adjustment between the individual impulses and the group needs. Our living and working are so intertwined with the living and working of others, that in the very nature of things, no one can avoid depending for his well-being on the well-being, effort and discipline of others. For there can be no welfare for a society without its being the welfare of the large masses. Nor can an individual effort be of value to society except in so far as it is conditioned by the circumstances under which it is able to function—the circumstances being of course created by the group efforts. A high standard of collective action is therefore essential for individual welfare and fulfilment and satisfaction. This has become all the more necessary in view of the prevalence of a ruthless type of individualism and competition, the domination of the interests of the larger section by the interests of a few individuals, all of which have brought humanity to the brink of such complete disaster through wars, economic waste, growth of bitter hatred, distraction of creative life, etc.

The superiority of co-operative effort has already been established wherever it has been attempted: in production, distribution, cultivation, housing, recreation, transport and a host of other activities. They only need to be expanded from the small group functioning to the nation and from each national area to the entire world, to settle disputes and deal with all aspects of economy, social problems such as health, immoral traffic, drug trade and the like; also stimulate and organise scientific and cultural amenities for the benefits of all.

The next objective is freedom. According to uncritical and superficial understanding of life, freedom is inconsistent with a socially controlled life. While on closer thought we realise that freedom is possible only in a well-ordered, disciplined society. Freedom in its proper sense, is the fullest opportunity for development and the realisation of the gifts, talents, potentialities inherent in man, and which are the instruments through which he gathers satisfaction, or in other words, happiness. It is because man realised that he can get better satisfaction through an organised life than through anarchist struggle, that he evolved this social organism, society. But there are controls and controls. Where they strangle self-realisation by exercise of arbitrary force, they must be removed. Thus reconstruction has two aspects, clearing away the useless junk and building up the new type of social organism which will provide the channel through which each may be able to seek fulfilment, furnish equal opportunities and facilities for the growth of a full personality. A free society has also to be a democratic one, for the two are different aspects of the same. This principle has so far been emphasised only in the political field, while its application to the economic and social sections of group

life has been opposed. Thus parties and individuals who support one, hotly fight the other although real democracy in life is only possible when the principle is observed in every phase of our life.

But this cannot be brought about by mere agitation or advocating it to the people. Those who believe in the principle must also work for it, for a free and democratic society of today demands much higher mental sharpness and capacity as well as higher standard of public spirit and service than was called for by the simpler life of yesterday. The qualities called for from the man in the street are not for the management of the details of administration, but the sharp discernment to take right decisions on broad principles and issues and select the right type of leader to further the selected policies. Nor can the public stop with mere decisions and selections. It has to serve the cause from day to day to further and maintain the fundamentals on which the society has been constructed. Then alone

can democracy be made a real working proposition and give society its fullest benefits.

In conclusion, we may say that because of certain universal traits in human nature, certain needs become fundamental for the realisation of man's happiness. A society is efficient and satisfactory in proportion to the degree to which it secures satisfaction of these needs: Physical health for all members of the society; conditions of work that provide creative expression for the worker; physical and economic security; a social setting that promotes self-expression and personal dignity by providing equal opportunity and equal social status; education to equip for adequate living and enable intellectual pursuits; aesthetic satisfaction from congenial surroundings; contact with nature; leisure for play and creative hobbies; social relationship and social control so adjusted as to enable each individual free play for his personality in a well-organised disciplined society.

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THE WAVELL OFFER

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I

I propose to make a few observations in this article on the offer which His Excellency Lord Wavell has recently made on behalf of His Majesty's Government and which was "designed to ease the present political situation (in this country) and to advance India towards her goal of full Self-Government." These observations will be primarily based on the speech broadcast by His Excellency on 14th June, 1945, the statement made by Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons on the same day, and also the statement made by the latter at the Press Conference, held on the next day at the India Office.

II

Before, however, I deal with the political aspects of the offer to which I shall, for the sake of brevity, refer hereinafter as the Wavell offer, I should like to say a few words in regard to its constitutional aspects, as I find that there is some confusion in the minds of some people regarding them. In the course of his broadcast Lord Wavell said that the proposed new Executive Council "would work, if formed, under the existing Constitution."

"The Council", His Excellency added, "will work within the frame-work of the present Constitution; and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably."

Mr. Amery also laid stress on this point¹ in his statement before the House of Commons, to which we

¹ There is only to be a very minor amendment of Sub-section (3) of Section 26 in the Ninth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935. This amendment will dispense with the present requirement that "three at least" of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council "must be persons who have been for at least ten years in the service of the Crown in India". But the change proposed to be made is indeed very small in these days!

² See Section 313 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as a whole, particularly Sub-section (3) thereof.

Ordinarily, this is the procedure in case of difference of opinion at a meeting of the Governor-General's Executive Council. Sub-section (2) of the same Section 41 lays down, however, that whenever any measure is proposed before the Governor-General in Council whereby the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India, or of any part thereof, are or may be, in the judgment of the Governor-General, essentially affected, and he is of opinion either that the measure proposed ought to be adopted and carried into execution, or that it ought to be suspended or rejected, and the majority present at a meeting of the Council dissent from that opinion, the Governor-General may, on his own authority and responsibility, adopt, suspend or reject the measure, in whole or in part. In simple English all this means that the Governor-General of India can, under the present Constitution, overrule his Executive Council and act on his own authority and responsibility in certain circumstances. Although the expression "the power of veto" is ordinarily used in connexion with the business of legislation, in recent discussions, however, in this country this overruling power of the Governor-General in relation to the Executive Council has been frequently referred to as his "veto" power. For the sake of convenience, I shall also refer hereinafter to this power of the Governor-General as the "veto" power. If and when this "veto" power is exercised by the Governor-General, the members of his Executive Council who may have differed from him, must either abide by the decision taken by him and shape their own policy and action accordingly, or resign their office. The principle of "united and indivisible responsibility" which is a feature of the British Cabinet also applies to the Indian Executive Council, in spite of the different nature of the tie which binds the members of the latter together. As Sir Henry Fowler laid it down long ago as Secretary of State for India:

"It should be understood that this principle (i.e., the principle of united and indivisible responsibility), which guides the Imperial Cabinet, applies equally to administrative and to legislative action; if in either case a difference has arisen, members of the Government of India are bound, after recording their opinions, if they think fit to do so, for the information of the Secretary of State in the manner prescribed by the Act either to act with the Government or to place their resignations in the hands of the Viceroy . . . the policy adopted is the policy of the Government as a whole, and as such, must be accepted and promoted by all who decide to remain members of that Government."

It is evident from this that even if, in respect of a particular matter, the decision of the Government of India is in reality the decision of a single person, namely, the Governor-General, rather than that of the whole Council, that decision must be supported and acted upon by the members of the Executive Council, or they must resign. The only checks, if they can be regarded as checks at all, on the overruling power of the Governor-General are, first, that in every case of the exercise of this overruling power "any two members of the dissentient majority may require that the adoption, suspension or rejection of the measure, and the

fact of their dissent, be reported to the Secretary of State" for India, and that "the report shall be accompanied by copies of any minutes which the members of the Council have recorded on the subject"; and, secondly, that in the exercise of this power, the Governor-General shall not "do anything which he could not lawfully have done with the concurrence of his (Executive) Council."

It may perhaps be interesting briefly to note here the circumstances in which the overruling power of the Governor-General first originated. Under what is known as the Regulating Act of 1773, if there arose any difference of opinion on any question brought before a meeting of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, they were to be bound "by the opinion and decision of the major part of those present" at the meeting. Only in case of an equality of votes, the Governor-General, or in his absence, "the eldest counsellor" present at the meeting, was to have a casting vote, and his opinion was to "be decisive and conclusive". As a consequence of this provision in the Act of 1773, Warren Hastings who had been appointed to be the first Governor-General (of Bengal, at that time) by the Act, was often powerless, and even helpless, before his Council, as three of his four councillors, namely, Francis, Clavering, and Monson generally acted together in opposition to him. Although his difficulties disappeared with the rather "timely" death³ of Monson in September 1776, as he could now have his own way by means of his casting vote, yet the lesson taught by them was there. And when Lord Cornwallis was appointed to the office of Governor-General of Bengal in 1786, he made it a condition of his acceptance of the office that he "should be given the constitutional power to overrule his Council," if necessary. Accordingly an Act⁴ was passed in 1786, which remedied what was considered to have been a defect of the Act of 1773, by empowering the Governor-General to overrule, in matters of grave importance, the majority of his Council and to act on his own authority and responsibility. Ever since 1786 this overruling power has been retained in the Indian Constitution in one shape or another. It is true that this overruling power has rarely been exercised by the Governor-General. The reason, however, is obvious: The very existence of the power is quite enough to ensure the virtual supremacy of the Governor-General over his Council and also the compliance of the latter with his views. General Sir George Chesney⁵ hardly exaggerated, therefore, when he observed with reference to the Act of 1786 that "the practical result of the measure was to render the power of the Governor-General supreme." This is obviously the reason why a frequent recourse to the exercise of the overruling power by the Governor-General may not have been necessary in the past.

As shown before, His Excellency Lord Wavell has said:

"There can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably."

The implication of this statement is that it is contemplated by the Wavell offer that the Governor-

³ As shown below in this article.

⁴ See Sub-sections (3) and (4) of Section 41 in the Ninth Schedule to the Act of 1935.

⁵ Clavering also died in August, 1777.

⁶ 26 George III. c.XVI.

⁷ See his *Indian Policy*, 1894, Longmans, p. 45.

General will not exercise his constitutional power of control in relation to his Executive Council "unreasonably." This may be so. But with all due deference to His Excellency I feel constrained to remark that what is reasonable, or what is not so, is purely a matter of opinion, in the formation of which personal discretion plays a determining part. Conscience may come in here, but conscience itself is very largely a personal factor and, therefore, variable. When, for instance, in 1879 Lord Lytton, Governor-General of India, in opposition to the views of the majority of his Executive Council, exempted from (import) duty the coarser kinds of English cotton goods, "so that imports of all those qualities which could at that time be manufactured in India" might be left free—a measure which has ever since 1879 been condemned by every honest and impartial student of Indo-British Economic History as most unfair and inequitable to India and as adopted "solely in the interest of Manchester"—he must have convinced himself before he took "the unusual course of overruling the majority of his Council", that he was going to act *reasonably*, at least *not unreasonably*. It is evident from this example that what may appear as reasonable—or rather not unreasonable—to a Governor-General may not be really so, and may not always conduce to the true welfare of the people of India. Moreover, it must be borne in mind in this connexion that the Governor-General of India is, under the existing Constitution, constitutionally subordinate to the Secretary of State for India, and is responsible to him, and, through him, to His Majesty's Government, for the discharge of his duties and responsibilities. And this means much, both in law and in practice.

III (a)

I shall now consider the political aspects of the Wavell offer. In the first place, I must observe that I do not know what the so-called Desai-Liaquat-Ali formula actually is as it has not so far been published authoritatively. It is, therefore, not possible to say how far the Wavell offer is based upon, or a departure from, or an improvement upon, the said formula. But on a very careful analysis of the Wavell offer it appears to me that, so far as the proposed interim constitutional arrangements are concerned—and the Wavell offer is concerned with *these* only—, there is hardly any difference, except in respect of one matter referred to below, between the former and what is now popularly known as the Cripps offer of 1942. We have it on the authority of Professor R. Coupland⁸ who had, at the request of Sir Stafford Cripps, joined his staff in India in 1942, and "was thus enabled to observe the work of his Mission at close quarters":

"It was generally believed that the Viceroy was willing to consider an all-Indian Council, with the exception of the Commander-in-Chief, provided, of course, a settlement were reached under which all parties agreed to co-operate. It was obvious, indeed, that no settlement was possible on other terms; and Sir Stafford made it plain that the National Govern-

ment he personally contemplated and expected was to be, always excepting the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, an entirely non-official Government. The dispute, then, was not on the personnel of the National Government, but on the method of its operations."

Further,—"

"There would be a substantial difference *de facto* between the new (Executive) Council and the old. In the first place the new Council would consist, apart from the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, entirely of Indians. Secondly, all those Indians would be party leaders, and chosen, therefore, by their parties and not by the Viceroy."

Thus, so far as the question of the Indianisation of the Executive Council is concerned, there is really no difference, subject to what presently follows, between the Wavell offer and the Cripps offer. In respect of the portfolio of External Affairs, however, which has hitherto been held by the Governor-General himself, the former is certainly a distinct improvement upon the latter. In 1942 the Cripps offer did not contemplate the transfer of the control of India's foreign relations to Indian hands till after the war was over. But the Wavell offer definitely proposes⁹ that "external affairs (other than those tribal and frontier matters which fall to be dealt with as part of the defence of India) should be placed in the charge of an Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive (Council) so far as British India is concerned, and that fully accredited representatives shall be appointed for the representation of India abroad". But it must be pointed out here that, contrasted with the interim constitutional arrangements under the Cripps offer of 1942 or the position obtaining at the Centre now, the change proposed by the Wavell offer is really one of degree and not of kind. Nor can it justly be described, whatever claims may have been made by some people in the enthusiasm of the moment, as embodying any really new policy. The constitutional position and powers of the Governor-General in relation to his Executive Council will, under the Wavell offer, continue to remain, as shown before, as it is today. At the same time, it must be admitted that, although the quantum of power of the proposed new Executive Council will not materially alter under the Wavell plan, the influence of the Council over the work of administration will certainly increase to some extent, specially when the Council will be composed largely of the representatives of organized political parties in this country. This, however, is subject to one proviso, namely, that the Council works as a team. But if, unfortunately, it works otherwise and its members begin to fight amongst themselves over administrative matters, the position will be even worse than what it is now. It may lead to the frequent exercise by the Governor-General of his overruling power. And this means that he will have to hold the balance of power between the contending factions.

Another point to be noticed in this connexion is that, under the Wavell offer, the Executive Council will not be responsible to the Indian Legislature in the British parliamentary sense. No vote of censure on the Council by the Legislative Assembly, not to speak of

the Council of State, will be able to drive it out of power. The Governor-General in Council will remain responsible to his Majesty's Government in England for the performance of his duties and responsibilities, as he is now.

Sir Stafford Cripps has been reported to have observed at Edinburgh on 14th June, 1945, in the course of his speech on "the new plan for India":

"With the present temporary constitutional change, if it is agreed to by Indian leaders, it is quite obvious that there will be a great shift of power from the British Parliament and Government to the new Executive Council of the Viceroy, which for the first time will be representative of the Indian peoples."

In view of what I have shown above, the use of the word "great" by Sir Stafford in reference to the possible shift of power, appears to me to have been a gross exaggeration.

(b)

I shall now pass on to the question of the composition of the proposed new Executive Council. In the course of his broadcast His Excellency Lord Wavell said:

"The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Moslems."

In a little more diplomatic language Mr. Amery stated in the House of Commons on the same point:

"It is proposed that the Executive Council should be reconstituted and that the Viceroy should in future make his selection for nomination to the Crown for appointment to his Executive (Council) from amongst leaders of Indian political life at the Centre and in the Provinces, in proportions which would give a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Moslems and Caste Hindus."

It follows from these statements that the number of the Muslim members on the new Executive Council is to be equal to that of the "Caste Hindu" members on it. This is being referred to in recent discussions as the principle of parity of representation on the Executive Council as between the "Caste Hindus" and the Muslims. Now let us analyse the statements in terms of figures. I should confine myself to the figures of British India alone as the Wavell plan is meant for British India only. According to the census of 1941, the total population of British India is about 296 millions. Out of this total population, the numbers of the "Caste Hindus", Scheduled Castes, Muslims, Christians, and the Sikhs are, roughly speaking, 151 millions, 40 millions, 79.4 millions, 3.5 millions, and 4.2 millions respectively. Under the plan proposed, therefore, 151 millions of the so-called Caste Hindus will be made politically equivalent to 79.4 millions of Muslims. Is not this weightage in favour of one community and against another a concession, out of all proportion, to communal fanaticism and intransigence? Will it not put a premium upon such fanaticism and intransigence in future? There is no doubt that it will, as it has invariably been the case since 1906. Once this principle of parity is accepted in connexion with the constitution of the Central Executive, the demand will inevitably be made for its introduction into the central legislature,

into the central services, both civil and military, and into the central judiciary, irrespective of the questions of numbers of population and the qualifications of candidates. As a consequence, the so-called Caste Hindus who constitute today the majority of the total population of British India will be reduced, politically, to a hopeless and helpless minority, and, ultimately, to utter impotence and nullity. This is the danger inherent in the principle of parity introduced on communal grounds. We have no objection to the principle of parity or, for the matter of that, to even a greater representation of Muslims than of the "Caste Hindus" in any service or on any body, if appointments are made purely on grounds of merits and fitness, and if the present vicious system of communal representation through separate electorates is replaced by the system of joint electorates on a territorial, or even on the functional, basis. Otherwise, the principle of parity of representation, under present conditions, is, to say the least, against logic, reason, equity, and the principles of democracy.

It has been argued by a British paper in support of the principle of parity that on the Senate of the United States the constituent units of the Federation are equally represented irrespective of the question of the numbers of their population. This is true, but the paper should have added that on the House of Representatives, on the other hand, the units are represented according to population. And the Senate and the House of Representatives together constitute the Federal Legislature of the United States. Moreover, there is no such thing as communal representation through separate electorates in the United States. The principle of representation on the Senate, as on the House of Representatives, in the United States is territorial and not communal or religious. Therefore, the American analogy does not, and cannot, apply to India. The difference between the two countries is of a fundamental character.

It has also been argued that the Conciliation Committee of which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was the Chairman accepted the principle of parity of representation. But it should not be forgotten that the Conciliation Committee also insisted on the indispensable condition therefor of the "substitution throughout of joint electorates with reservation of seats for separate communal electorates." Moreover, this Committee emphatically declared against "any division of India into two or more separate independent sovereign States," and in favour of the maintenance of the political unity of India. There are no such saving features in the Wavell offer. On the other hand, we find that Mr. Amery even now says that the offer of 1942 (i.e., the Cripps offer with its "non-accession" provisions) "stands in its entirety *without change or qualification*", and that "none of the changes suggested (by the Wavell offer) will in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent *constitution or constitutions* of India."¹³ It may be said that this is the language of diplomacy. It may be so. But it is difficult to deny that such language used by a person in Mr. Amery's position will further encourage the

⁸ See Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission, 1921-22. Chap. X; also P. N. Banerjee, *Fiscal Policy in India*, Macmillan, 1922, pp. 79-88.

⁹ See Section 314 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

¹⁰ See Coupland, *The Cripps Mission*, Oxford, p. 54.

¹¹ See Coupland, *Indian Politics, 1936-1942*, Oxford, p. 285.

¹² See Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons on 14th June, 1945.

¹³ See Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons on 14th June, 1945. (The italics are mine).

For Mr. Amery's inconsistencies, see my article in *The Modern Review* of April and May, 1945, entitled *Britain's Responsibility and Duty*.

istransigence of those communalists who have been making the suicidal demand for the partition of India into two or more sovereign, independent States.

(c)

In the third place, I shall say a few words in regard to the principle followed by His Excellency Lord Wavell in issuing invitations to the Simla Conference. I do not know who is or are responsible for adopting this principle. But I must at once say that the decision to exclude the Hindu Mahasabha from the Simla Conference was a most unfortunate and regrettable blunder, both from the point of view of His Majesty's Government and from the point of view of the interests of the Hindu community as a whole. His Majesty's Government wanted the Hindu community to swallow, at the same time, two such bitter pills as the principle of parity of representation as between the so-called Caste Hindus and the Muslims in spite of the great disparity in their respective numbers, and the division of the Hindu community into two political sections, namely, the "Caste Hindus" and the "Scheduled Castes." If it really wanted to achieve this twofold object for the ending of the present political deadlock, it should have invited some leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha which alone today can speak in the name of the Hindu community, and then appealed to their traditional generosity, spirit of tolerance, political sagacity, and statesmanship. I dare say that it could then have succeeded in achieving its object. By ignoring the Hindu Mahasabha altogether, His Majesty's Government betrayed a deplorable lack of imaginative insight into the working of human nature in politics. The consequence is already wellknown to everyone who has eyes to see. The Hindu Mahasabha is a force to be reckoned with in Indian politics today, particularly in the provinces in which the communal problem is very acute. And if His Majesty's Government thought otherwise, it was certainly ill advised. Perhaps, in deference to the views and wishes of the Jinnahites, His Majesty's Government wanted to make the Congress appear before the world as a purely Caste Hindu Organisation. If this be a fact, it was also a mistake for obvious reasons. However, it must be said to the credit of the sense of realism and statesmanship of the Viceroy that he rectified this mistake, at the instance of Gandhiji, by issuing an invitation to the President of the Congress to the Simla Conference. It would have been equally wise if His Excellency had rectified the other mistake by extending an invitation to the President of the Hindu Mahasabha to attend the Simla Conference. I am making this statement not because I am a Hindu, but because I am also genuinely anxious to see the end of the existing political deadlock. If it be argued that the Hindu Mahasabha has been excluded because it is a communal organization, then our retort will be, what about the Muslim League? Who will deny, having the least regard for truth, that the Muslim League is, and has been ever since its establishment, a purely communal organization? His Majesty's Government should have considered, when preparing the list of invitees, who could deliver the goods on behalf of the Hindu community as such, and particularly that section of it which it called the Caste Hindus? Certainly not the Congress which is not a sectional organization and which repudiates—and very rightly—the insinuation by interested parties that it represents the Hindus alone. As is well-known, the membership of the Congress is

open to all and it even now contains among its members persons belonging to different religious communities in India, although, as a result of the policy pursued by Britain ever since 1906, it is for the time being largely Hindu in composition. In the past the Hindu Mahasabha had received official recognition as an important political organization in this country on a number of occasions.

Moreover, there is another very weighty consideration to be taken into account in this connexion. According to the Viceregal broadcast, one of the principal tasks of the proposed new Executive Council will be to consider the means by which an agreement is to be "achieved" upon "a new permanent constitution" for India. This "task", His Excellency rightly said, "is most important." "I want to make it quite clear," he continued, "that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and that the present proposals are intended to make a long-term solution easier." Exactly for this very reason, some representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha should have been invited by His Excellency to attend the Simla Conference; because one of the main functions of this Conference is to help His Excellency in the formation of the new Executive Council, and because on him and on all those invited to the Conference, lies, to quote His Excellency's own words, "a heavy responsibility in this fresh attempt to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future." Unfortunately, the policy pursued by the Congress in regard to communal matters ever since the Communal Decision of His Majesty's Government, dated 4th August, 1932, has not found favour with a large section of nationalist public opinion in this country, particularly among the Hindus. Further, the attitude adopted by some of our foremost leaders who directly or indirectly control and shape the policy of the Congress, towards the Muslim-League demand for the partition of India has made the Congress itself naturally suspect, rightly or wrongly, with a large section of Indian public opinion. This is the reason why the presence at the Simla Conference of some representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha which has been consistently fighting for the maintenance of the political unity and integrity of India, was considered very necessary by nationalist public opinion in this country, specially among the Hindus. Again, according to the Viceregal broadcast, the proposed new Executive "Council would represent the main communities." Yet, the only organization, namely, the Hindu Mahasabha, which alone can speak authoritatively in the name of one of these main communities, namely, the Hindu community, has been excluded from the Simla Conference! In view of all this, the exclusion of the Hindu Mahasabha from the Simla Conference has been, we repeat, a most unfortunate blunder on the part of His Majesty's Government.

(d)

Fourthly, Mr. Amery has been reported to have observed at the Press Conference, held at the India Office on June 15th, 1945, in connexion with the Wavell offer:

"There is nothing in the proposals," if accepted, that will debar members of the (Executive) Council

14 i.e., the proposals as laid by him before Parliament on 14th June, 1945. They meant the Wavell offer.

from dealing with the whole problem of reconstruction entirely as they please. It will be for them to decide industrial, agricultural and health policies and so on."

This statement seems to be an obvious exaggeration, if not somewhat misleading, specially so far as the post-war development of Indian industries is concerned, in view of the provisions in the Government of India Act, 1935, for the prevention of (i) administrative and legislative discrimination against British commercial interests and British trade in India, and (ii) discrimination against British imports into India.

IV

It is not the object of this article to deal with the Simla Conference now going on. Nor do I propose to discuss here the part which the different political parties invited to the Conference are playing there. I cannot help, however, remarking that there are two statements in the Viceregal broadcast which appear to be rather incompatible with each other. His Excellency has said in connexion with the proposed new Executive Council:

"Moreover, members will now be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders."

But he has also said:

"If the meeting should unfortunately fail, we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together."

If the members of the new Executive Council are to be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders, we fail to see how the question of the success or failure of "the meeting" comes in at all. Nor is it very clear to us as to what was exactly meant by the expression "the meeting" here: the meeting *between*, or *with*, whom?

In conclusion, I should like to observe, after a very careful examination of the whole question, that if the Wavell offer has some serious defects, it has also some merits: if it has potentialities for evil, it has also promise for good. This is the reason why opinions in the country are so sharply divided on it.

As the scheme is intended for a purely *interim* period and for ending the present deadlock in the country, it may be given a trial, subject, however, to one condition, namely, the principle of parity as embodied in it, must not be allowed to be used as a precedent for the future.

At the end of his broadcast, while appealing for co-operation and goodwill from all, His Excellency Lord Wavell stated:

"I believe in the future of India, and as far as in me lies will further her greatness."

We are prepared to believe in the obvious sincerity of these words. We in our turn, however, appeal to His Excellency to see that, pending the final settlement of the Indian constitutional question, the Federal Part of the Government of India Act, 1935, is introduced without any further delay, after a few such minor amendments in it as may be considered necessary for making the establishment of the Federation of India easy and practicable.¹⁵ After all, it should not be forgotten that the introduction of this Part of the 1935 Act was *only suspended* in 1939, and that the Act itself was not a hasty piece of legislation on the part of Parliament, but was the result of years of deliberation by and among all the parties concerned. It is now time, therefore, that this suspension should be lifted. Counsels of unwisdom, unreason, impolicy, and selfishness as well as communal fanaticism and intransigence have long been allowed to hold up the progress of India towards her destined goal. They must now be totally ignored, if they do not yield to reason, and India should be definitely placed on the right road to the realization of her great destiny. Once this bold but proper step is taken, everything will be all right, and all obstacles will gradually vanish away like darkness before dawn. If His Excellency Lord Wavell can achieve this during his regime, he will not only achieve a great object, but will also win himself a great name in the pages of Indo-British History.

July 12, 1945.

15 See in this connexion the concluding part of my article entitled "Britain's Responsibility and Duty" in *The Modern Review* for April and May, 1945.

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BREEDING OF FRESH WATER FISH OF BENGAL

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INTRODUCTION

THE burning problem of the day is food. Fish is the second staple food of this province. Unless we can get enough fry to rear, it is not possible to cope with our requirements. In order to get sufficient number of fry one ought to know the different methods of breeding.

Now breeding is of 3 kinds:—(i) Natural, (ii) Semi-natural and (iii) Artificial.

Natural breeding may take place in (i) Stagnant water, (ii) Current water. Stagnant water may be an ordinary pond or *jhil* or *beel* and current waters may be either rivers or streams.

CONDITIONS OF SPAWNING

Spawning requires first of all maturation or ripening of ova of the female. Ovulation requires stimulation of the anterior lobe of the pituitary body. Stimulation of the anterior lobe of the pituitary body requires a higher percentage of oxygen contents of water in which the female lives. This enhancement of oxygen contents is only possible in nature by addition or better with the replacement of rain-water. After ovulation the females seek for suitable partners and on having them sexual sport begins which ultimately results in spawning by exudation of the mature ova by the females and, sprinkling of milt on them by the males.

BREEDING OF FISH IN STAGNANT PONDS

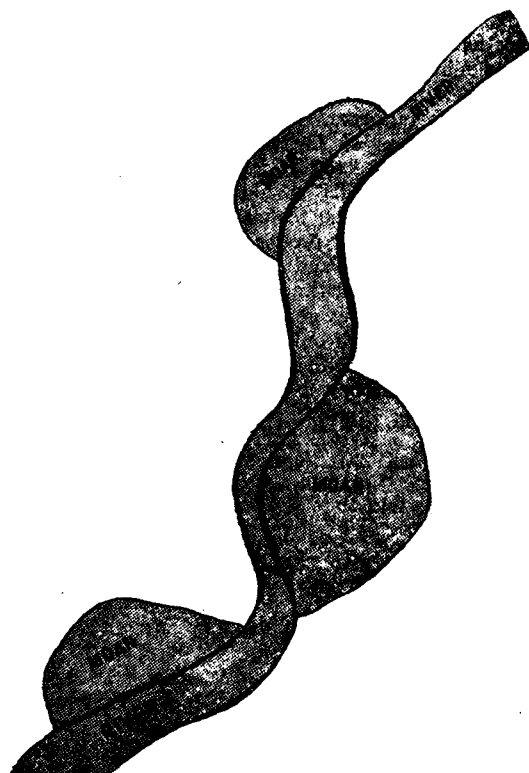
No fresh-water fish spawns without some amount of rain water mixed with the old water of a pond, that is without higher oxygen contents of water. Thus we find spawning of such fish as *Shal* (*Ophicephalus marulias*), *Shol* (*Ophicephalus striatus*), *Lata* (*Ophicephalus punctatus*), *Punti* (*Barbus punctatus*) and *Maurala* (*Amblypharyngodon mola*), etc., in almost all the common ponds of Bengal during the rainy season.

BREEDING OF MAJOR CARPS

Indian major carps as a rule do not breed in ordinary stagnant pond. They require pure rain water for breeding purposes. Pure rain water can be had in connection with river or low lying adjacent vast areas of *beels* or *khals*.

NATURAL BREEDING IN RIVERS

Really speaking, breeding does not occur in the river proper but in the fallow land or in the rice field adjoining a river which becomes submerged during heavy monsoon. The rain water collected in this submerged area joins with the water of the river to



Breeding in River

become a continuous vast sheet of water. The submerged areas become so-called pockets of the river proper which can be called the breeding ground or *moan**. After the formation of such ground during the monsoon sexually matured fish of either sex migrate to these breeding grounds from the river proper

* The term *moan* is not used everywhere as the substitute of breeding ground. In certain cases the outlet of the breeding ground is also termed as such.

in search of purer rain water as they have already been stimulated by the addition of the rain water, and there the females and the males get more oxygenated water due to the accumulation of rain. The conditions of breeding enumerated above having been fulfilled ultimate spawning is effected and the fertilised eggs sink down at the bottom. The embryos generally come out of the egg-cases within 15 to 18 hours and float in the water of the breeding ground. Eventually, therefrom most of the embryos come to the river proper and the moment they are in the river, these embryos migrate downwards with the current. So most laymen and quite a large proportion of fishermen seldom get any opportunity of perceiving any fertilised eggs of carps. Most of the fishermen collect the very early stages of fry which are ordinarily known as *Dimpona*.

COLLECTION OF FRY FROM RIVER

Fishermen generally catch these early fry or *dimpona* with nets of fine mesh or as in Chittagong with special mosquito nets. In Damodar river near Amta fishermen generally catch the early fry by a series of fixed purse nets along the shallow bank of the river.

NURSERY PONDS OR KUA IN CONNECTION WITH HALDA RIVER OF CHITTAGONG

A series of sets of shallow small nursery ponds are excavated all along the river. These nursery ponds are known as *Kua* (Well). The fertilised eggs are generally kept on a net submerged in water in order to get rid of the egg-cases, when the embryos are liberated from them.

There may be an improved method where instead of a piece of net, one puts a piece of ordinary cloth underneath the net, so that on liberation of the embryos from the egg-cases these fry will be on ordinary cloth piece which can be lifted up in order to show the fry to the intending purchaser without any injury to them.

BREEDING IN BEELS, KHALS OR LAKES

In all these water-ways breeding of carps takes place almost like that of the river. The only difference being that the river water has a flow or current downwards whereas beels, khals and lakes are almost like stagnant ponds.

COLLECTION OF FRY IN CONNECTION WITH BEELS, KHALS OR LAKES

As the collection of fry is rather difficult due to the absence of current it is advisable to collect the fertilised eggs before hatching in the adjoining *moans* with a piece of mosquito curtain net, the borders of which are re-inforced with tapes.

SEMI-NATURAL

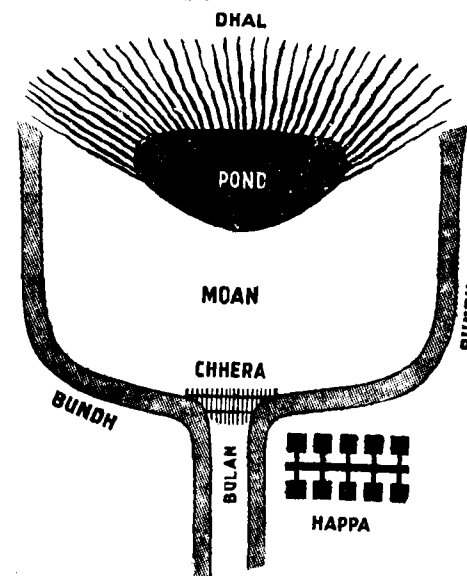
Though Indian carps as a rule do not breed in confined water it is known that in certain districts of Bengal like Midnapore, Bankura and Chittagong. Indian carps spawn freely in certain types of tanks known as *bundh*.

BUNDH

A typical *bundh* may be described as a kind of pond in the midst of a vast low-lying paddy land bounded on three sides by high embankments, the remaining or fourth side being left open since it gradually merges into slopping ground like a spout.

MIDNAPORE TYPE OF BUNDH
(1ST AND 2ND TYPES)

In summer a great part of the *bundh* described by me dries up and is cultivated while the actual pond always contains some water and harbours mature fish. In the rainy season water from the upland area rushes in the form of streamlets which is locally known as *dhal*. On getting a heavy shower the whole area comprising a *bundh* becomes submerged and during heavy floods it may even overflow. To prevent over-flowing of the *bundh*, as well as to get rid of the old water of the pond, an outlet known as *bulan* is made on the opposite side of the upland area in the form of a channel which connects the *bundh* to a neighbouring river or a water-course.



Midnapore type of bundh (type No. 1)

With the accumulation of rain water in the pond, the brood fish are stimulated to activity and come out into the shallow parts of the *bundh*, known as *moan*, for breeding purposes. There may be a little variation of the *bundh* from the description given above. The *moan* may be situated far away from the *bulan* and close to the *dhal*. This sort of *bundh* may be called the second type of Midnapore bundh.

There is a bamboo fencing, known as *chhera*, at the mouth of the *bulan* (channel for outlet). The flow of the water through the *bulan* can be controlled by plugging it with straw and mud.

From the description of the *bundh* it is evident that major Indian carps spawn in a shallow vast sheet of recently stagnant rain water for its excessive percentage of oxygen and therefore the idea of spawning of carps in running water is baseless.

I have observed altogether 11 *bundhs* of the above type of which 9 are having *moan* and *bulan* side by side. These are (1) Bathantorha, (2) Bindu, (3) Birpathari, (4) Casia, (5) Dekinenjya, (6) Inthkuri, (7) Sarabot, (8) Tangasole, (9) Ariamara. In the last two the *moan* is far away from *bulan*, those are Sitarampote and Talbhandi.

MIDNAPORE TYPE OF BUNDH (3RD TYPE)

This type of *bundh* is similar in all respects to the 1st and 2nd types, the difference being that there is no

specified shallow area or breeding ground like the others. The fish spawn in the very long, broad and shallow channel of the outlet itself, the extreme end of which is temporarily closed by *chhera*. The typical *bundh* of this type is Hamarchala.

MIDNAPORE TYPE OF BUNDH (4TH TYPE)

This type of *bundh* possesses two outlets instead of one. The reason for such arrangement is that one of them can be closed at will towards which the fish migrate. In order to convert this portion into a calm sheet of stagnant water the outlet is thus closed; the other portion is left open as the passage for the flow of excess of water. Such arrangement is probably a modification of the riverine condition.

In some *bundhs* of this type the specific ground for breeding purposes is almost absent and the fish breed either in the shallow edge of the pond itself or in the broad and shallow channel of the closed outlet.

So far as my information goes there are 5 *bundhs* of the above type. Those are—(1) Pathuria, (2) Rangamati, (3) Orgunja, (4) Metedor, and (5) Jamboni.

MIDNAPORE TYPE OF BUNDH (5TH TYPE)

This type is known as *sukhna* (dry) *bundh* because it has no permanent pond. Consequently the collection of water is seasonal in a vast shallow cavity which is bounded by embankment and having sometimes a slope on one side. After a heavy rain, mature males and females from neighbouring ponds are transferred to this *bundh* for mating, resulting in ultimate spawning.

After collection of eggs the *bundh* is left undisturbed for sometime for drying.

Such a pond is really an ideal for spawning of major carps at all places. This idea is not the product of imagination but in reality we find them in places like Midnapore.

There are 3 *bundhs* of the above type in Midnapore (1) Kurkuti,* (2) Malibundi, (3) Vatmoudi.

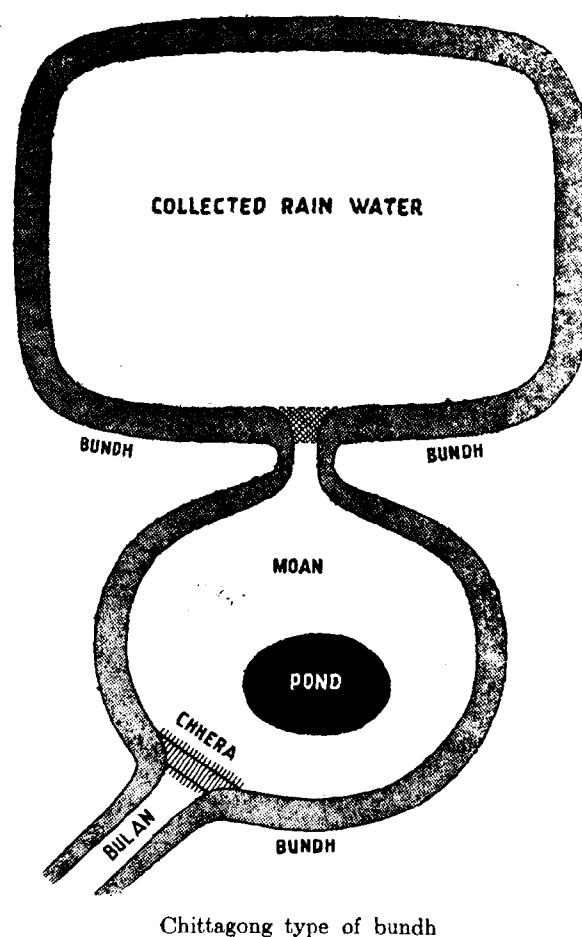
CHITTAGONG SEMI-NATURAL BUNDH

The difference between Midnapore bundh and Chittagong bundh is that in the latter instead of depending wholly on a heavy shower for the accumulation of rain water in the *bundh* area they have got a control contrivance for the accumulation of rain water at their free will. This type has a collection of rain water on the upland area of considerable size with proper embankments so that during a shower they can cut open a space in the embankment towards the *bundh* side at will and the water may flow down into the *bundh* and replace the old water of the pond through *chhera*, whereas in Midnapore bundhs they get the heavy shower of rain to drop down as *dhals* on the upland area into the *bundhs*.

TEMPERATURE OF THE WATER OF THE POND AND BUNDH

The temperature of the water of the pond and bundh before shower was in one occasion 90° F and subsequently fell to 89° F. In the Punjab, Khan has recorded that the temperature of the breeding ground varies for 75° F to 87° F. The pH of water in one occasion was found to be 7.4 before and 7.9 after.

* Kurkuti bundh has recently been converted into an ordinary 1st type of bundh.



Chittagong type of bundh

EXCAVATION OF HATCHING PITS IN MIDNAPORE

Before collecting eggs small pits or *hapas* are excavated in the adjoining land of the *bundh*, so as to put into them fertilised eggs, for hatching. The dimensions of the pits are $4\frac{1}{2}' \times 3' \times 1\frac{1}{2}'$ deep. The pits are 6 inches apart and are arranged in parallel rows, each row containing about 30 pits. Adjoining rows of pits are separated by a shallow channel for circulation of water which was taken from the *bundh* by bailing. The bailing of water is generally done by the aid of a narrow boat fitted up with a pulley. Small feeding channels connect the main channel with the hatching pits and in this way a constant supply of fresh water is ensured.

COLLECTION OF EGGS

The general appearance of the eggs are like so many pearl beads with mucous coating on the outside. While collecting, quite a large number of eggs is destroyed under foot. The size of each egg is that of a pea-seed. The actual collection is made in *moans* by a mosquito-curtain net $2\frac{1}{2}$ yds. in length and 1 yd. in width; this is stretched at the four corners by two men and then dipped to the bottom of the breeding ground or *moan*. Each piece of net has tapes stitched at the borders to strengthen it. After collection, the eggs are transferred into four-gallon tin-containers for measurement of the quantity.

The collection of eggs is started from the furthest end of the *bulan*, as a large number of eggs generally escape through the *chhera* during the time of breeding or *pous*.

Fertilised eggs (about 12,000 eggs in number) are put into each pit with plenty of water from the *bundh* which are periodically replenished to keep the level constant. Day and night water is kept over these *hapas*.

As no measures have been adopted for aerating the *hapas*, bacterial infection sets in almost immediately after hatching and at the end of the first week there is consequently a heavy mortality.

The inner tube of an used motor tyre or bicycle tyre serves pretty well. On inflating the inner tube with a hand pump and putting a thin rubber tubing to the cock, one would get air on immersing the free end of the rubber tubing in the water of the *hapas*.

Moreover, the feeding of the fry artificially is ignored. The only good thing that the Midnapore fishermen generally do with regard to *hapas* is to put a small quantity of laterite soil in the form of paste in the water of these *hapas*. It has been ascertained that such a mixture has definite alkaline reaction. The respiratory process of the fish fry together with their excretory product have definite acid reaction.

If the water has alkali right from the beginning, then there is every possibility of neutralisation without the ill effect of acid.

Now the question is that laterite soil is not available everywhere in Bengal. Lime is a good substitute for an alkaline substance like laterite soil and is available at all places. If we put 4 oz. of lime to a gallon of water, then the fry can live in it with ease. But the lime should be given after thoroughly pulverising it so that there may not be any difficulty regarding the choking up of the respiratory tract of the fry.*

For breeding of Indian fresh water fish the following factors are essential :—

(1) Increase of oxygen content of water is essential. In nature this increase of oxygen content of water is possible only after heavy shower during the rainy season. The temperature of the water of the perennial pond together with the inundated area of water increases with the addition of rain water. pH of water also rises with the addition of rain water.

(2) For carps the old water of the pond should be replaced by recent rain water or transference of brood fish to be done from old water to rain water. The real trick is the increase of oxygen contents.

(3) We performed two sets of experiments, (i) by passing air in the water in which small fish of either sex live such as *Colisa latius* and in course of a few days spawning was effected, (ii) by constantly changing or rather pouring and thereby splashing air in the water (the principle is the same as hand paddling) and such fish as *Barbus conchoni* (Karchan punti) or *Amblypharyngodon mola* (Mourala) and even *Anabas testudineus* (Koi) spawn in course of several days.

(4) In nature the minor elements that are required for ready spawning of fresh water fish besides higher oxygen contents are :—(a) vast sheet of shallow rain water as breeding ground.

(b) Brood fish of carps of at least 3 years old should be kept undisturbed in the perennial ponds.

*All the Midnapore types of *bundhs* mentioned here are situated in the localities of Chandrakona Road and Garbeta Railway Stations.

ARTIFICIAL

Artificial fecundation or artificial impregnation :— We know that in nature after maturation of the ova the female fish that come out during the time of sexual sport are impregnated by the male sperm within a reasonable time such as 2 or 3 minutes utmost. Consequently there is a tremendous loss of both ova and spermatozoa.

On the other hand after maturation if the ova are pressed out of the female fish and are kept in a glass or china receptacle on which the milt of a male is also pressed out and added on to them, the fertilisation can be effected on addition of water to this mixture of ova and sperms.

The originator of this artificial fecundation is Lt. Jacobi of Germany who discovered this system in 1763. The French Government have been carrying on this process ever since 1850 in their fishery situated at Hunningen in Alsace Lorraine.

In India such artificial fecundation has also become fruitful both in the Panjab and also in the Fish Laboratory, Calcutta University.

Advantages of such artificial fecundation are :—1. Immense source for supply of extra fry. 2. Supply of the fry for individual species separately and thus eliminating the danger of mixing up with the predaceous fry. 3. Higher percentage of fruitful fry. 4. The minute details of the life-history of the individual species can be studied.

Before I conclude I like to repeat what I told about 3 years back from All-India Radio, Calcutta Station.

"I have now described in some detail the breeding of fresh water fish of India based mostly on my experience both in the laboratory and field for last 5 years working on the Fishery Scheme financed by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, India. Fish breeding is not merely profitable but also interesting. Today with the war at our doors it is our imperative duty to get the most out of this industry and that too as quickly as possible. We must find easy and inexpensive methods for adoption on a large scale by the people. Traditional and empirical knowledge is good but science can help much, and it is ever willing to help. There is no trade secret in science, no patent rights. Scientific knowledge painstakingly gleaned by devoted men is the property of all."

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AN INDIAN SIBERIA

By UMA CHARAN PATNAIK, M.A., B.L.

I

THE siege of Stalingrad and the turning of the tide of World War No. II has amply demonstrated the potentialities of the vast unexplored tracts of Czarist Russia; and it has rightly been said that the sleeping giant, Siberia, roused from his age-old slumbers by the wise Five-Year Plans, came to the rescue of the U.S.S.R. at the most critical period of her history.

No apology is needed for introducing the reader to one of the Indian Siberias, the picturesque mountain country to the west of the plains of Orissa with Singbhum and the Orissan States of Seraikala and Kharswan in the north, Sambalpur, Surguja, Sarangarh and Raigarh in the west and Basthar in the south. With its mineral and forest resources, its potential water power, its virgin soil, and, above all, its comparatively thin population of one crore five and a half lakhs (including hill-tribes numbering nearly forty-seven lakhs), this 74,480 square miles of uplands ranging from 1,000 to 5,000 feet above the sea-level, is bound to play a unique part in the future history of India, if not of the world.

This area is administered either by the Provincial Governor through his Agents or Deputy Commissioners or by Indian Princes under the supervision of the Political Department. The policy of so-called protection to aborigines areas, was slightly relaxed by the constitutional reforms of 1935 which gave the initial responsibility of administration, to some extent, to the popular ministers. The Congress Ministry of Orissa appointed the Partially Excluded Areas Committee under the chairmanship of Sri A. V. Thakkar (President, Aboriginal Welfare Works and General Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh) to enquire into the condition of the hill-tribes. The report of this committee has opened

the eyes of the thinking public to the miserable condition of 20,836 sq. miles called the Partially Excluded Areas and under the special administration of the Provincial Satrap. Apart from the actual outcome of this committee's labours, its main importance lies in the fact that it has aroused the interest and enlisted the sympathy of Indian leaders, for the uplands and hill-tribes in this unexplored part of the country.

The Servants of India Society started, in November, 1939, aborigines-service work in Koraput district under the able lead of one of its most energetic members Sri L. N. Sahu, M.A. About 40 schools were started, medicine freely supplied and other uplift measures undertaken. The recent book of S. J. Sahu in which he has collected his experiences of Koraput and compiled his studies about the aborigines of that district (proof copy of which he kindly lent me for perusal) is a valuable addition to the few interesting and instructive books on Indian Hill Tribes. In the Congress constructive programme the service of Harijans and Aborigines has been emphasised upon as one of the important items of constructive work for the training in non-violence to achieve Indian Independence. The recently-formed Kasturba Memorial Committee, has, as its avowed object, the uplift of women "especially among Harijans and Aborigines." What has actually been done till now in this direction, is, however, a drop in the ocean when compared with what has not yet been done.

The entire extent under review is practically hill and forest tract with unexplored resources; almost entirely untapped, reserved, as it were, for a Free India to explore and develop the possibilities. Only in the extreme north, the Tatas have utilized some of the available raw materials to build up one of the largest

The demon of drink plays a great havoc among these hill tribes. Liquor is part of their festival menu, offering to gods, hospitality to friends and recreation after work. As the author of the Government Report of the Partially Excluded Areas of Bombay, Mr. Smyngton says :

"Births, marriages, deaths, Panchayat meetings, the presence of guests, festivals, etc., are all taken advantage of as excuses for drunkenness."

The P. E. A. Committee of Orissa also reports :

"Their indebtedness is mainly due to this reason; drink causes the average aborigine to waste money which might be spent on other necessities of life. Drink makes him indolent and neglectful of his field work."

Drink not only places him in the clutches of the local exploiters but also accelerates his natural anger and is responsible for most of the offences committed by him.

Mr. Hutton in the 1931 Census Report suggests that

The Hill tribes "cannot grow sugar and are two pence to buy it. Hence *pachwai* and *tari* are part of their diet. Particularly during the months of summer (hot weather) many take large quantities of light liquor."

There is no doubt that there should be an improvement in his economic condition, which has, to some extent adapted his system during centuries to seek glucose from mild drinks. But merely laying the blame at the door of his economic condition, is not the way of combating the large-scale drink evil among hill tribes. They have got to be cured of it.

They are not so incorrigible drunkards as they are supposed to be. Mr. Smyngton who has toured the aborigine areas of Bombay says that the aboriginal of Bombay has begun to be conscious of the evils of drink. The same is true of many people in these uplands also. The Khonds during the last decade completely gave up drink at the instance of the Kumudaballi Penu (=god) for a few months. Though an inveterate drinker, the aboriginal can, if his reason or imagination is touched, give up drink.

Most insanitary and unhygienic life led by the hill-man.—The dirty huts, failure to clean one's teeth or even to wash oneself after answering the calls of nature, and filthy surroundings make him susceptible to diseases in spite of his natural powers of resistance. Malaria, small-pox, leprosy, yaws take a heavy toll of

lives. During the last few decades contact with modern civilization (which has been referred to as "syphilization") has spread venereal diseases among them. We will deal with all aspects of this subject when we deal with their dangadi-houses.

Economically the hill tribes lead the most miserable existence imaginable. The figures collected by the Servants of India Society in some villages show that the average annual income per capita is slightly above Rs. 20! With no food except what he gets from his forests and his uncertain "podu" cultivation, with no clothing except a small strip of cloth to cover his loins (in the extreme interior on the top of high hills, some are said to go even stark naked), with no other protection from the inclemencies of weather than small miserable hovels, and, at the same time with exploiters and money-lenders sucking the very life blood out of him, the aboriginal stands as an object of pity, a pathetic figure with accusing fingers pointed towards the Government and the rest of the nation.

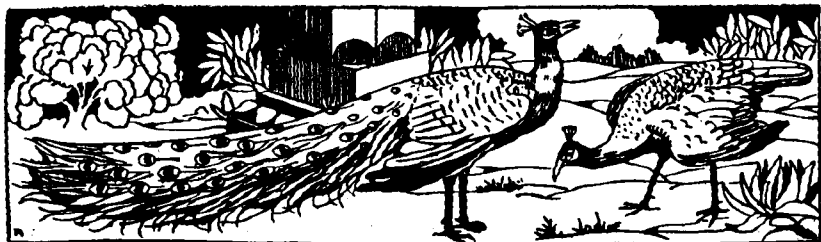
One cannot sum up this subject better than in the language of the P. E. A. Committee of the Government of Orissa, who observe :

"If adequate protection is not given to them, and beneficial schemes to help them are not put in action early, the aborigines will sink still lower and become a drag on the society. It is the sacred duty of the present generation to protect them and help them to protect themselves in every direction and to become efficient and useful citizens in the economic and social structure of the country."

As I sit here penning these few lines near a Khond village at the foot of a hill and near a dense forest to the music of the non-stop spinning-wheels of my fellow Ashramites celebrating the anniversary of the Jallianwalla Bagh, I see before me the vision of a Free India, but one in which the resources of the whole country are harnessed for the common good, and where all communities and tribes march shoulder to shoulder, keeping steps and singing to the tune of the same divine music—*Vande Mataram*.*

* These two articles are translations of portions of Kul (i.e., Khond) readers written during two and a half years of detention as a security prisoner and specially adapted to fit in as an appreciation of Sjt. L. N. Sahu's book on the *Aborigines of Koraput* which is in the press.

It is hoped that not only the concerned Governments but the entire Indian public (including social service organizations) should give some thought to the possibilities for development and opportunities for service in each contiguous block of uplands.



THE INDO-SARACENIC ARCHITECTURE OF AHMEDABAD

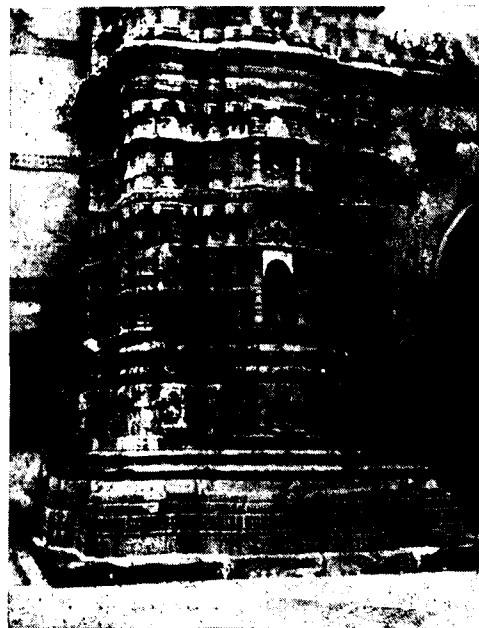
By S. I. CLERK

AHMEDABAD was for many centuries one of the greatest Muslim capitals in entire India. For more than five hundred years it has maintained its position as the metropolis of Gujarat, formerly, as the seat of regal and viceregal courts, to-day, as an important centre of industries and education in the Western India.

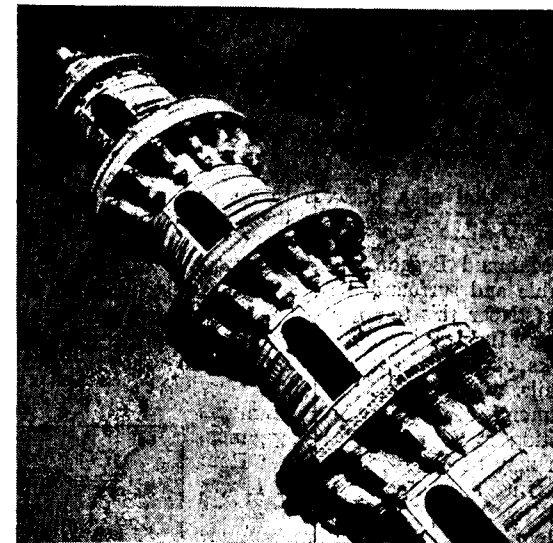
Early in 1411, Ahmad Shah, with the advice of his spiritual adviser Shaikh Ahmed Khattu of Surkhej, laid the foundation of Ahmedabad in an open area near the old town of Asawal, to the east of the river Sabarmati. The fifty-three feet high Manek Burj standing at the head of the Ellis Bridge is supposed to be the place where foundation of the city was laid.

masjid of Ahmad Shah, the mosque of Sidi Sayyid and the Rauza of Ahammad Amin Khan may be seen even to-day. Bhadra was for centuries the royal headquarters.

According to Firishta, Sultan Mahmud Begada built the city-walls in 1487. They are one of the very important relics of the city. They describe a circumference of nearly six miles and used to contain according to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (written by Ali Mahammad Khan in 1750) 12 gates, 189 towers or bastions and over six thousand battlements. These walls were built of burnt brick and mortar. Unfortunately, to-day these walls are in ruins, and after about a decade or two they may be totally destroyed to make room for the ever-expanding city.



Base of a minaret of Sidi Bashir's Masjid near the railway station. The combination of the Saracenic tree and the Indian lotus motifs in the niches is interesting



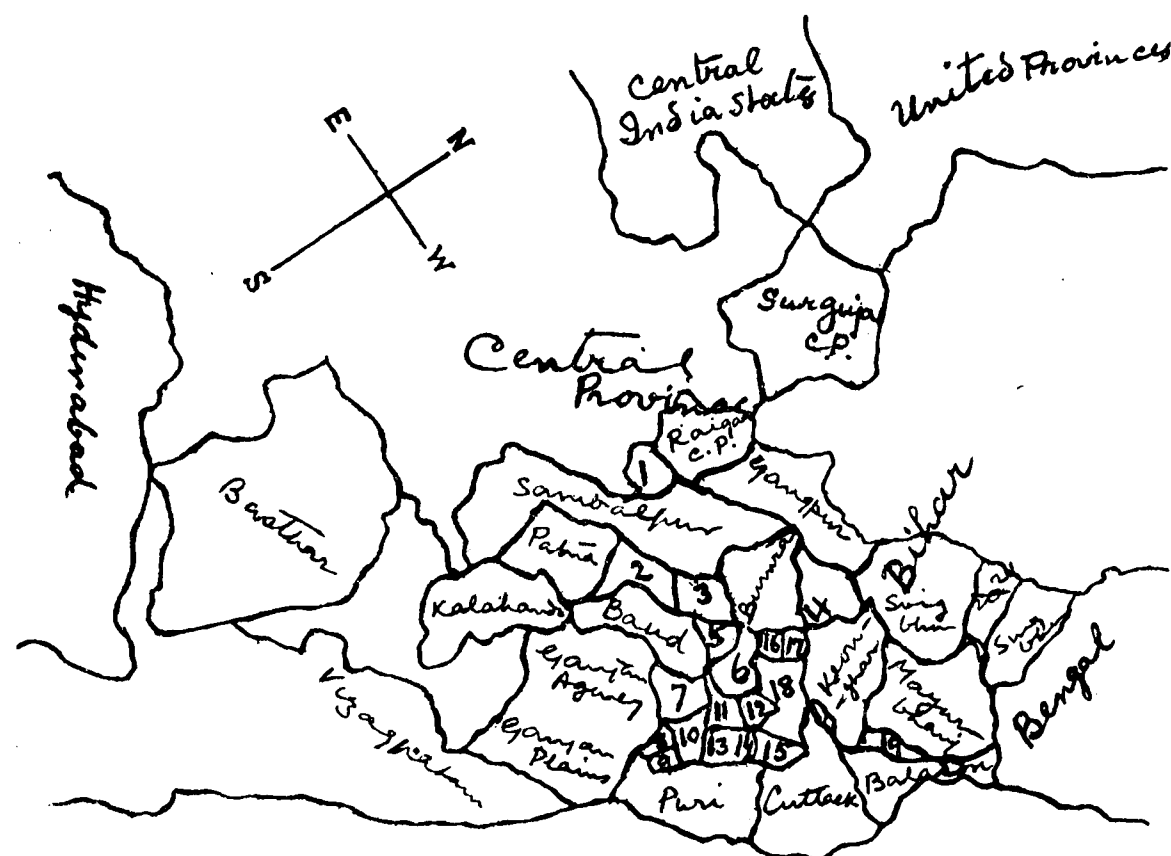
The top portion of the minaret of Sidi Bashir's Masjid. This minaret can be shaken from the top, and hence it is known as Zoolto Todo

The Muslim architecture in Ahmedabad has a distinct local form. It owes its elegant and pleasing character to the fact that it is essentially derived from the local forms which it replaced. It combines the elegance and the finish of the Jaina architecture with the largeness of conception which is the essential characteristic of Muslim architecture. Equally important was also the dependence of the conquerors on the conquered for the materials and the builders.

The majestic Bhadra Towers may be regarded as part of the oldest foundations of the city. They may be classed with the same type of buildings as the Tower of London and the French Bastille. These Towers are just behind the east gate of the walled royal enclosure, 43 squares in area, known as the "Bhadra", the citadel. Bhadra is square in form with several gates, and has many of the oldest monuments of which the private

Probably, the oldest Muhammadan monument in Ahmedabad is Ahmed Shah's Mosque or Chhota Jumma Masjid facing the present Gujarat Club. It was built in 1414. Inside the mosque in the north-west corner, raised on twenty-five pillars is the Muluk Khana or the Royal Gallery closed on the east and the south by beautiful screen work. Next, there is Jami Masjid built by Ahmed Shah in 1424, begun in 1412. It is the most extensive and beautiful of the religious buildings of the city. It is 382 feet by 258 feet, the mosque itself being 210 feet by 95 feet. It stands at an end of a very big courtyard which has a reservoir in the centre and is surrounded on three sides by a covered corridor. It has fifteen domes with about two hundred and sixty graceful pillars. Fine sandstone is used in the building itself, and the pavement is of coarse white marble. In one corner inside the Masjid is Muluk Khana or Royal Gallery.

On the east side of the Jami Masjid is the mausoleum of Ahmed Shah. It is a big domed building



1. Sarangarh, C.P., 2. Sonapur, 3. Raikhol, 4. Bonai, 5. Athmallik, 6. Angul, 7. Daspatha, 8. Naya-garh, 9. Ranpur, 10. Khandpara, 11. Narasingpur, 12. Hindol, 13. Baramba, 14. Tigiria, 15. Athgad, 16. Talcher, 17. Pallahra, 18. Dhenkanal, 19. Nilgiri, 20. Seraikala, 21. Kharswan

steel manufacturing centres of the world. The ore floats of the Gorumohisani are worked even by unskilled labour. Sri Ram Das in his foreword speaks of the smelting of iron from raw ore by the aboriginal Kammars and the author writes of the minerals of the district—iron, manganese, graphite, limestone, steatite (pot-stone), sappharine, etc. These are common features of the entire uplands. Coal is rare in Ganjam and Koraput but has been found in large quantities in the northern portion. Sometime back a huge block of white mica from Neddiguda was exhibited at G. Udayagiri; combined with the flourishing lac industry of these uplands, this would provide for electric insulators and other industrial works. Recently it was published in the *Samaj* that a lead mine has been discovered in Dhondapotha area of Angul. It is said that well-water in some part of the Khondmals smells of kerosine.

"The forests abound with big *Sal* trees (*Shorea robusta*). Besides there are *Palasa* (*Butia Frondosa*), *Mohua* (*Basia latifolia*), *Jamu* (*Embilca jambolana*), *Kusum* (*Schleichera trijuga*), *Sirisa* (*Albizia leb-bek*), *Amla* (*Phyllanthus emblica*), *Kochila* (*Strychnus nuxvomica*), *Catechu* (*Acacia eburnio*), *Nim* (*Melia Indica*), *Champak* (*Michelia Champaka*), *Palm* (*Boeassus flabellifer*), *Salpa* (*Caryota urens*), *Cane* (*Calamamus tennis*), *Kadamba* (*Anthocephalus Kadamba*), *Siru* (*Dalbergia Sisoo*), etc."

The scarcity of metal in the post-war period will greatly accelerate woodworks as a cottage industry. Sahai grass and bamboos are available in large quantities; the paper mills at Titagur are utilizing the raw materials from a very small area and there is ample scope for hand-made paper at various other places. Even at present agency mats and cheap bamboo cots and baskets are popular local industries. The minor forest produce—myrobalan (*cascara sagrada*), lac, tamarind, turmeric, sonnari bark, ginger, paloo (a local variety of arrowroot) are being exported in large quantities. Even the cheap broomsticks from these parts are having a profitable market in Bombay and other cities. The natural honey available in the agency is of a very superior quality; bee-growing may be taken up with great advantage to the people.

There are many varieties of tropical herbs and plants. The forests abound with wild animals whose hides and skins are sold in distant markets; with the cheaply available forest-produce required for the purpose, tanning and leather works in this locality would constitute important cottage industries. Animal bones, horns and tusks are also available here.

The virgin soil is very fertile and the climatic conditions and early monsoons are conducive to the growth of plant-life. Experiments have shown that the same seeds sown here yield larger fruit and better crop than in the adjacent plains. Cotton thrives here better

than in the coastal areas. Weaving is one of the important avocations of the local *Pans*; if cotton is grown on a large scale, two important cottage industries could be accelerated. Government has just realized the necessity of growing sugarcane in the uplands.

Above everything else there is very great scope for hydro-electric power at various places. Sir Henry Howard, the Electrical Expert to the Government of Madras, has evolved a scheme for generating 105,000 k.w. of electricity from the Duduma (one of the four waterfalls situated in the river Machkund in Koraput district) and supplying cheap power to the Province of Madras; this has been the bone of contention between the Provinces of Madras and Orissa for some time. The Bagra in R. Kolat in Koraput has been estimated to generate 75,000 k.w. of electricity. Nrisinhanath and Harisankar in Sambalpur and other waterfalls in this area could also very profitably be harnessed not only for running heavy (State) industries but also developing agriculture and cottage industries. There have also been proposals for harnessing the water current of the larger rivers for development of resources as well as for control of floods.

The tapping of the natural resources of these uplands will remove the grinding poverty of the masses, and, at the same time restore India to her proper place among the Free Nations of the world.

II

THE HILL TRIBES

The population of these uplands has been classified as follows:—

Hindus	..	..	57,05,641
Hill Tribes	..	..	47,29,545
Muslims	..	..	81,533
Christians	..	..	36,463
Others	..	..	14,822
Total			1,05,68,004

Thus the hill tribes form a very large percentage of the total population. In particular Basthar, Koraput and Ganjam Agency form a belt of predominantly hill tribe habitat:

Area	Extent (sq. miles)	Total population	Hill Tribes
Basthar	13,701	6,33,888	4,78,964
Koraput	9,875	11,27,862	9,40,632
Ganjam Agency	4,373	4,63,076	3,74,039
	27,949	22,24,826	17,93,625

The hill tribes of these uplands together with their brethren in the adjacent coastal districts of Orissa number 48,90,487. They belong to different races and various communities or tribes. They have, however, certain qualities and disadvantages in common. They are strong, sturdy and brave (and cruel, too, if roused to anger). They are a queer admixture of industry and idleness, courage and docility. Theirs is a peculiar blending of the strength and ferocity of the royal tiger of their forests with the simplicity of innocent little children. Enjoying, as they do, the sun, the rain and the extreme coldness of their hills they feel at home in dense forests and steep mountains, hunting wild animals, singing and dancing in their 'Dangadi-Dens'; with their natural faithfulness, hospitality and goodness

to counterbalance anger and other natural vices, they may indeed be called the Children of Nature. A few facts about their origin and present condition will suffice to give the reader an idea of the uplift work that is necessary among them.

Though they are usually called "aborigines", it is more accurate to classify them as "Hill Tribes". The various tribes inhabiting this area may tentatively (subject to differences among learned philologists and anthropologists) be said to belong to two broad divisions:—

The Munda Branch of the Austic family.—Strictly speaking this should have been called the *Sabar* or *Savara* branch because it has been referred to as such not only by Pliny, Ptolemy and others, but in the ancient Indian Puranas as well. Their history and culture are still being investigated into by research scholars who are of opinion that India was one of the best strongholds of the Austics. Some of the important sub-branches who live in these uplands are the Savaras, Santhals, Gadabas, Kharias and Mundas.

The Intermediate Group of the Mediterraneans (Dravids).—It is supposed that when the Aryans invaded India in about the 2nd millennium B.C., the pre-existing civilization was "comparable to, and in communication with the ancient kingdom of Mesopotamia, far older and in most ways more highly developed than that of the Indo-European invaders who established themselves in India, precisely as they did in Babylon, as barbaric rulers of more cultured peoples." Of this pre-Aryan civilization, the Brahui of Baluchistan survived as the north-western language, and the Intermediate group—the Khonds, Gonds, Oraons, Koyas, Kondadoras, Kollamis preserved themselves in the mountain-fastnesses of the regions intending from Bombay to Bengal and from U.P. and Bihar to Hyderabad. It is a strange irony of fate that these two branches associated with the glorious civilization of Mohenjodaro and Harappa should now be living in a primitive state of society.

Their Colossal Ignorance.—Sj. Sahu quotes the presidential address of Prof. Ram Narain Mahanti at the 1941 Annual Conference of Teachers at Cuttack:

"History gives the proof that from 800 B.C. to 200 B.C. the percentage of literacy in India was 75. . . . At the beginning of the 19th century when British rule began, it was 15. After two hundred years of British rule it has gone down again to 10."

But literacy figures for these hill tribes furnished by the Census Report of 1941 are still more shocking. Pages 52 to 55 of Part X is a summary of the tables prepared on the "random-sample" basis arrived at by taking every fiftieth slip in the Partially Excluded Areas of Orissa:—

Total number of slips so examined	29,345
Among them, literates	453

And, of these, literates in English only 2. In the 1931 Census Report, Part I, page 507, it is stated:

"In Bihar and Orissa a memorandum of the Government itself submitted to the Statutory Commission states that in the matter of education, the aboriginals of that province . . . are in a worse position than they were in 1921."

If the Government neglects its elementary duty of making the people literate, are the public completely exonerated from all blame?

containing a central hall with four square rooms at the corners and four deep pillared verandahs between them. In the centre of the main hall is the tomb of the great Sultan and on either side are those of his son Muhammad II and his grandson Qutb-ud-din Ahmad Shah II, all of beautifully carved white marble. Opposite this mausoleum, on the other side of the Manek Chowk Street, is Rani Ka Hazira which contains the tombs of the queens where rest the remains of Ahmed Shah's queens on a stone pavement raised ten feet above the ground. The principal tomb is of Bibi Mughali, wife of Sultan Muhammad Shah II and mother

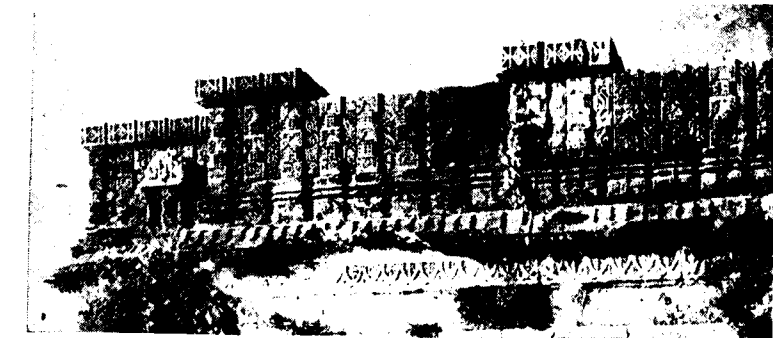
with the bank by a viaduct which was once supported on forty-eight arches. On this island is a garden formerly called the Bagh-i-Nagina containing also a pleasure-house known as Ghattamandal. To-day, this lake is a popular place for evening stroll, especially because of the boating facilities there.

The supply-slice to the east of the Kankaria Lake is beautifully carved. At each of its ends is a buttress; the six feet thick screen between the buttresses is carefully carved and pierced by three large circular openings, each 6 feet in diameter with ornamental margins.

It is in the suburb of Asrava, north-east of Ahmedabad, that we find almost a unique specimen of Indo-Saracenic architecture, which is mainly utilitarian and not religious. It is Bai Harir's Wav or step-well in the proximity of the well of Mata Bhavani. A Wav is a huge structure of a peculiar design. "It consists of a deep well, circular or octagonal, which is approached by a broad flight of steps descending from the uppermost platform till the water-level is reached. On the landings between the flights are pillared galleries, whose tiers are multiplied as the depth increases, and are highly ornamented. They serve as supports to counteract the inward thrust of the long side

walls and as cool resting-places in the heat of summer."

Surkhej is about five miles from Ahmedabad. It was the favourite resort of Mahmud Begada for repose and meditation; since the Indo-Saracenic architecture of Ahmedabad is said to have reached its golden



Portion of a buttress to an exquisitely carved supply slice to the Kankaria Lake

of Mahmud Begada. It is elaborately carved in white marble and surrounded by a Persian inscription in low relief. Near this tomb is the black marble tomb of her sister Murki Bibi. Both of these tombs are exquisite works of art beautifully finished to the minutest details.

Among other Islamic monuments existing in Ahmedabad to-day, mention may be made of Masjid of Rani Sipari near the Astodya Gate. It was built by Rani Sipari, widow of Sultan Mahmud Begada. The mosque is entirely trabecate in construction and is a beautiful architectural work. Its exquisitely carved minarets are pure ornaments without any internal stairs or galleries. This mosque is only 48 feet by 19 feet; however, its very smallness has made it an exquisite specimen of the delicate traceries and jewel-like carving of Gujarat which does not appeal much in bigger and more virile structures. Moreover, it is without arches and every portion of it is such as only a Hindu queen could order and only Hindu artists could execute. In front of the mosque is Rauza containing the remains of the Rani. It too is a beautiful representative of the local architectural style.

The Hauz-i-Qutb, or Kankaria Tank situated less than a mile to the south-east of the Raypur Gate was built by Sultan Qutb-ud-din and completed in 1451. The tank is a regular polygon of 34 sides with a circumference of nearly a mile and a quarter. On all its sides are tiers of cutstone steps with six long approaches to the water flanked by square cupolas each raised on 12 pillars. In the centre of the lake is an island connected



Exquisite window tracery in the Sidi Sayyid Masjid in Bhadra

age during his reign, the buildings at Surkhej may be taken to represent perhaps the best of that style of architecture. It was in 1446 that Sultan Muhammad Shah began to erect in Surkhej a tomb in honour of Ahmad Ganj Bakhsh, friend of his father Ahmad Shah, founder of Ahmedabad. This tomb is on a raised platform which is approached on one side by an exquisite little pavilion raised on sixteen pillars. The great mosque near this tomb has an area about half that of the Jami Masjid in Ahmedabad proper. It has no arched facade and its roof is of uniform height without

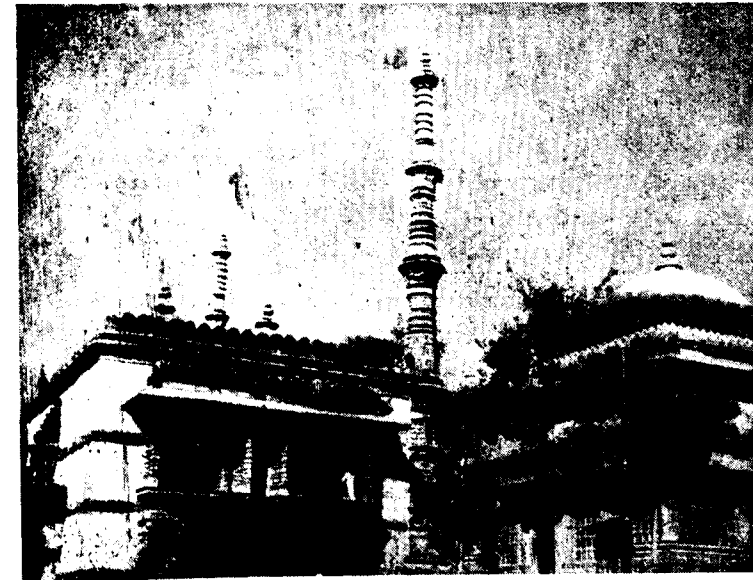
minarets. The beautiful lake in Surkhej which Mahmud Begada excavated is about seventeen and a half acres. On its south-east corner and opposite the tomb of the Saint, Mahmud built a mausoleum for himself and his son. On its west stands a smaller tomb

introduced into the central apartment of the mosque, while at the same time perfect ventilation is secured."

The architecture of Ahmedabad was the first of the Indo-Saracenic styles which made a methodical use of the minaret as an important part of the mosque. The

Ahmedabad minaret is a part of the mosque and not merely a tower built on its roof. Usually, it stands out buttress-like from the ground to the roof of the mosque, relieving its flat front wall. This lower part of the minaret is of pure Hindu architecture; mostly, these bases are perpendicular parts of the basements of Hindu or Jaina temples elongated. The form and the details are all similar except that on the sides of all Hindu temples are niches containing images; this the Muslims filled with delicate tracery. Above the roof of the mosque the minaret rises—a round, slightly tapering tower, relieved by galleries displaying richness in the carved brackets which support them and in the delicate cut balustrades which protect them. The tower ends in a conical top which is relieved by various disks.

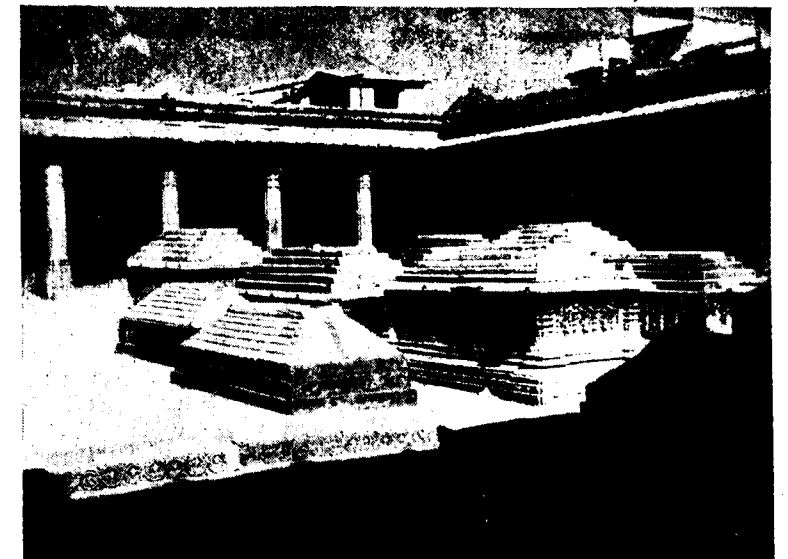
The delicate tracery found in profusion in arches, windows, and screens between the pillars, is the third special feature of the Ahmedabad architecture. It is also



The Masjid of Rani Sipari near the Astodya Gate. Its beautifully carved minarets are purely ornamental and have no internal stairs or galleries

for his queen Rajabai. All these monuments in Surkhej are of the usual simple outline with tall square bases; the shafts square with projecting bracket-capital on the tops. The older group of monuments has survived in almost perfect condition. Unfortunately, however, Mahmud Begada's palace and harem, constructed by a later generation are in ruin and desolation. The Sabarmati river once flowed past these Surkhej buildings, but to-day it runs a mile to the south-east of them.

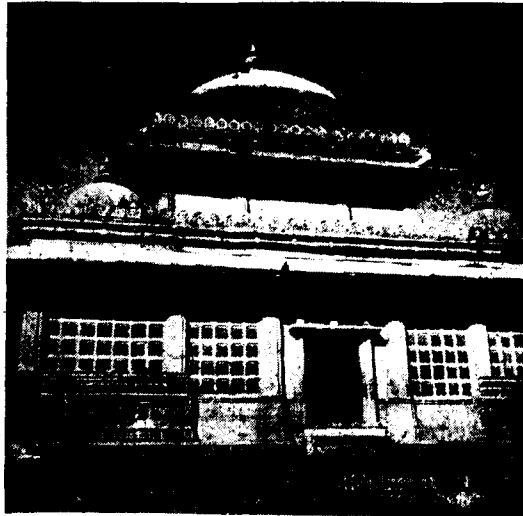
The architectural beauty of the Ahmedabad mosques is based on three main features: the method by which light is introduced in the building; the graceful minarets; and the delicate tracery. "The mosques normally consist of three domes resting on squares of twelve pillars each. The central dome is higher than the other two, the additional height being obtained by introducing two pillars in front twice as high as those of the side domes, and by two rows of dwarf columns standing on the roof of the side squares. In the inter-spaces of these columns is generally built a low balustrade, richly ornamented by carving, or a beautiful screen of perforated stone-work. A clerestory is thus formed, through which a subdued reflected light is



The tombs of the Queens (Rani ka Hazira) in the Manek Chowk

used to fill the niches in the minarets as a substitute of the images used in the Hindu temples. Perhaps the best example of tracery is in the windows of the desecrated mosque of Sidi Sayyid in Bhadra. It vividly conveys an idea of the elaborateness and grace

of tracery. Great skill is indeed shown in the even manner in which the pattern of three ordinary trees and four palms is spread over the whole surface in one of these windows.



The Rauza of Rani Sipari. It is trabeate in construction and is surrounded by trellised walls

During its evolution, the Indo-Saracenic architecture of Ahmedabad assumed two distinct forms: a combination of Jaina and Saracenic elements; almost wholly Jaina, made up of constructive forms designed specially for the arch-hating Hindus. "By the time, the Jami Masjid was built (1424), there was a beautiful combination of the foreign and the local elements, the minarets and the arched windows being well combined with the flat Hindu aisles." From about 1446 to 1460, only Hindu style is concentrated upon and it is during this period that the buildings at Surkhej were built. Later, till the end of Mahmud Begada's rule, we have a number of mosques in the mixed style commingling Hindu and Muslim details. In these later mosques and other buildings, the architects of Ahmedabad attained greater dimensions, but only at the expense of that which made their earlier style so exquisite and interesting. It was after the building of Rani Sipari Mosque—the gem of Ahmedabad—in 1514, that the creative era of Ahmedabad architecture came almost to a close.

CHRONOLOGY

Ahmad I .. 1411-42	Daud.....1458
Muhammad II. 1442-1451	Mahmud Begada 1458-1511
Qutb-d-din Ahmad II .. 1451-8	Muzaffar II .. 1526

Acknowledgment and reference to (1) *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* by Fergusson; (2) *History of Gujarat* by M. S. Commissariat, M.A., I.E.S. (All quotations in this article are from this book).

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A HOLIDAY IN AMERICA

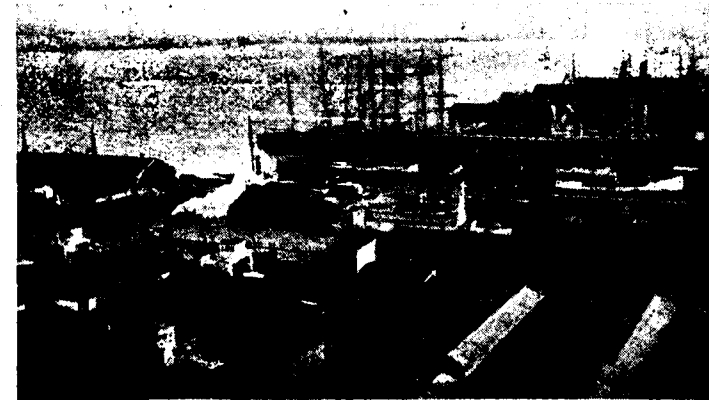
By SUNIL PROKASH SHOME

HOLIDAYS are not always pleasant (unless they are accompanied by good sports and friends) and I am not sure that the news that I am writing under the title "A Holiday in America" will make it better for the reader than anything more serious or less practical. At the risk of merely telling a story, certainly without a plot, and probably without any point, I shall relate my experience, an experience of an unexpected journey.

I was in California occupying a small room in the Hindusthan Nalanda Club. On every side were the rolling lawns and green trees in a glory of summer greenery. A soft breeze stirred through the wide-spreading elms on one side and ruffled the leaves of sturdy oaks and sugar-maples on another. No such trees adorn a city anywhere in other parts of the world. Each avenue was planted with one variety only. The oaks that lined one street were superb. The great horse-chestnuts that bloomed on another, offered an evergrowing enjoyment of a vista of leaves and flowers. The beauty of shrubs, the ever-greens, the great magnolias of the North, the symmetrical lawn trees that were profusely used to adorn the circles and the small squares, filled me with a sense of peaceful satisfaction. I had seen also on my way to New York the impressive buildings, eleven-storied high, surrounded by gardens with broad stretches of greensward and trees. The lofty arches down the banks of the rivers Missouri and Mississippi rose above, exquisitely decorated with marble rosettes, palm leaves and foliated designs of wonderful

delicacy. In Washington a colossal group of marble figures stood on either side, one representing Persico's Columbus and an Indian girl, and the other a pioneer in desperate conflict with a savage. Before me there were the beautiful bronze doors of Randolph Rogers, representing a series of scenes in the life of Christopher Columbus, from his first voyage in search of the New World to his sad death at Valladolid in 1506. American avenues are so broad that there was no feeling of their being crowded. Up the side-streets I saw trees, trees, and trees, and where trees and avenues crossed there were so many beautiful little spots of green. Deer, bears, panthers, squirrels, and wild turkeys were found on hunting trips. No intelligent traveller could visit America and look upon its beautiful streets and its handsome public buildings, without a better realization of the value of its citizenship. I had made myself acquainted with one or two towns and places where fierce battles were fought during the days of the American Revolution—fierce because the grounds over which they were fought are so tumbled. But all that is by the way. My point so far as holidays are concerned is that at the end of the process I found myself unexpectedly possessed of a balance of several days. I was free,—and that is a very pleasant thing to be even if one's freedom were to last for less than a fortnight. I was somewhat at a loss to make up my mind as to how to use this freedom because I lacked experience in such things as leisure, but I remembered how some years

ago in German East Africa I had tried a certain experiment and had brought it off to my complete satisfaction. We all know how dangerous it is to attempt at a repetition of any pleasure, especially a chance pleasure, but I did attempt a repetition this time. Indeed, I almost exactly copied after an interval what I had done years before and to my astonishment it came off.



Water Front from Ferry Tower, San Francisco, California

I had come down from Yokohama to a very busy port of San Francisco. The great emigrant liners on their way to South America from Asia and Africa call at the place continually, and the coasting trade in and out of the harbour is considerable. I could not, as one can at some ports (especially in the Pacific), take any direction I chose, but I knew I had something of a choice. So what I did was this. Instead of going to an agent or a shipping line, I got up one early summer morning before anybody was about, except those who had to watch the quays, and determined to find out what boats were starting, and whither, at the earliest moment, and to let chance guide me on my voyage. I made friends with a man extremely poor and intelligent whom I invited to breakfast in a stall that was open at that hour. He was what we call in India a "casual"; he had been unloading cargoes for some days past. He had tramped there, I think, from Cincinnati or from Brandon in Canada. He not only knew every boat in the harbour, where it had come from and where it was bound to, but also, what is not unimportant in America, whether it would really start and when, and what it honestly meant to do apart from its profession.

He gave me a list of all manner of places to which I might go. There was a big Japanese ship for instance in the outer bay very badly trimmed and heavily down by the head and she was going back to Singapore, and was going to touch at Yokohama, Kobe, Shanghai and Hongkong, before she made for Singapore. There was

a smaller British Trans-Pacific which on the day after the morrow would aim at Florida in the Gulf of Mexico. There was a boat just in from the Mexican coast. She was taking in cargo and would go round the corner of Lower California and would get into Vantime. Indeed, I almost exactly copied after an interval what I had done years before and to my astonishment it came off.

I say again, he was a most intelligent man and I wish there were more like him. But, he said, I had better simply step abroad a larger, dirty coasting steamer, all made of iron, and without any fittings for passengers or beauty of any kind, which was lying moored close by us. He said she would wake up at about seven o'clock, and that as her intention was to sail along the coast southward, I should see plenty of things if I travelled in that way.

I thanked him for this advice and did exactly as he had told me. America being (I am glad to say) America, nobody stopped or challenged me or asked me any question as I walked up the gangway in company with a few men who were going to start work at the unloading. I spoke to a man who was dressed very much like a rather slovenly clerk out of work

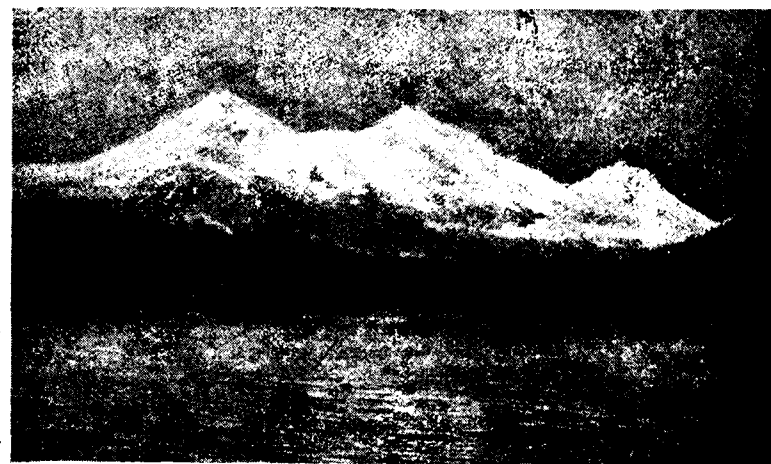


A Portland Residence Street

in a suit of dittos, with a muffler in place of a collar, for I judged by his air that he was in authority. I asked him if I might come on board a little later, after I had got provisions and stay on board; and he said he saw no reason why I should not. Freedom is of the essence of a holiday, and I had begun well.

I went ashore therefore, and bought some provisions just enough to last for a couple of days. I also purchased a copy of Cowen's *Industrial History of America* (it was a volume which dealt with the liberation

of America and the industrial evolution of that country). American summer noon, and there seemed no end of it. I had of course no luggage of any kind. I got upon the iron decks and sat down where I thought I should be least in the way, and watched the world. I noted for hours and hours the unloading of that coastal steamer, and I saw a ring of gardens shut in between mountains and the ocean and in their midst high plateaus, desert-like and bare. This boat had started



The Three Sisters, Oregon. Altitude 10,060 ft.

many days ago from Seattle. She had gone down the Pacific to the great Panama Canal touching on the way various harbours. She had gone through the Yucatan Channel to Jamaica and Cuba. She had been in to the long fiords of Eureka and now she was here; and from her hold there came coal, barrels of oil, tea, coffee, fruits and wheat, and, what interested me much, great bales of Indian hemp, mostly from Bengal, and partly consigned from Madras.

It is astonishing what a mass of Indian work you come across in America even in remote villages. For instance, the fancy leather goods, embroidered silk goods, ducces and carpets, and even toys with Indian name upon them, can be seen in the shops, which are sold to wealthy Americans in increased number and rates.

I remember once (while I was in the Oregon University) getting shaved in an American village just on the Canadian border and as I cast my eyes upwards I saw on the ceiling a large advertisement of a Kashmiri shawl in English recommending all its virtues. The reason I have remembered that advertisement after so many years is that there was no road to this village of any kind save a rough motor track zig-zagging precipitously over the mountains, and that all news of the outer world came at the best three days later. Well, then, I watched all this unloading and it went on hour after hour. It went on through the broiling heat of an

asked one man who was a sort of a giant, very good-natured, with negro-blood, when he thought it would be over, and he answered by throwing up his hands towards heaven!

It began to grow dark; a mist crept over the ocean, hiding the big buildings and large streets, or, making them vague and small through the gloom. It was completely dark before the business of that unloading was over, and all the while no one had questioned me or interfered with me in any way, but I had been allowed to sit thus on deck, possessing my soul, and eating my provisions.

At last when it was quite dark, they finished their business quite unexpectedly, and with astonishing celerity. They put the covers on the hatches. They then started,—and their way of starting amused me because it was so simple. All they did was to cast off the ropes which bound them to the shore, to get two men in a boat to pull the nose round a little (and what was well worth seeing, these men were paid casually by the throwing of a coin to them over the side) and



Mossbrae Falls, Shasta Springs, California

then to start the engines slowly and push her out like that. Since they were not of the South, there was no shouting or tramping or anything of what actors call "business". My steamer went off on her voyage as a man goes out of his house putting on his hat and taking his stick. And so she headed past the Golden Gate and into the mist that covered distances on the ocean, hooting through the darkness.

Then I said to myself, "I do not know what I shall have to pay for all this! I do not know just where I am going except that I am going southward and that I am going to see a new land." And all night long we

paddled along at seven to eight knots through the mist, hooting cheerfully and receiving counter hoots from time to time from other ships; and once or twice we stopped dead when those hoots were too near. I slept a little in the warm night in spite of the dampness of the mist, taking my ease on deck; for you see America is America, and the spirit of America inhabits not only its land but also its seas and the ships that sail upon those seas.



Donahue Monument, San Francisco

A little before dark a wind had blown the mist away, the stars came out, it grew light above the waters before us (the ocean was dead calm and clear) and with the full broadening of the day, I saw what magnificent scenery my adventure was presenting to me, for there upon the left and to the south were high and lonely mountains rising right up out of the sea and against the sky. And it was also with the breaking of the day that a man came and spoke to me as though he had known me all my life, and asked me whether I would have some tea which is to the American what is coffee to the French and chocolate to the English. I said I would like to have it and also asked him what I should have to pay for my voyage, for I was getting a little anxious about this. But he was exceedingly courteous and said, "We need not speak of that now", and that is a better way of going to work than taking tickets and having them punched, checked, controlled, lost, found again and finally taken away from one, all to no purpose.

All day long those great mountains stood up out of the ocean and we paddled along (by which I do not mean that we had paddles, for we only had a lazy screw) some few miles from the shore, and I still watched the hills and read my history-book, and then watched the hills and read my book again, and the hills and the story of American Independence got

mixed together so that when I think of the one I remember the other now.

The battle between mountains and the sea has been well described by Tennyson. As for the mountains, the highest of them were still white with snow against the intense blue of the south, but their foot-hills, coming down rounded upon the ocean were green and a little clouded. There was a contrast between the jagged rocks, the sharp white, of the summits and the softer approach to the shore. And as I looked at them from day to day, I remembered the 'hilsa' streams which I know (not that I have fished or can or would fish them) and the warm sandy shores of Goaland, where one can doff his hat and play merry tunes as the breeze combs your hair and blows the cobwebs out of your eyes.

Deep down the river was Evans Pass and across the valley was Mount Harvard forded, and on one of



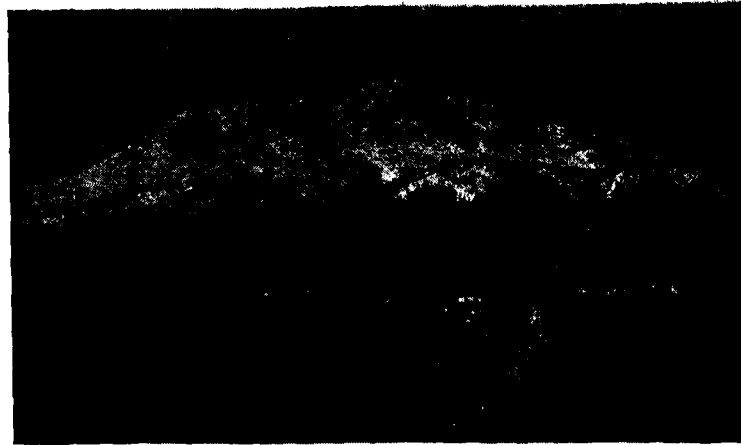
A Red Indian Family

their rare plains shut in with Snake River was La Paz. And it was upon these small valleys semicircular like a hollow shell that a band of restless men first settled after the Revolution. When Champlain came down from Canada to the lake which now bears his name, he looked at the beautiful mountains to the west and said, "Voila les verts monts! Behold the green mountains!" During the Revolution Ethan Allen, Seth Warner and others were active against the British. It was Ethan Allen at the head of a band calling themselves "Green mountain boys" who captured first Ticonderoga, on May 10, 1775 and secured military supplies much needed by the colonists. It was in the rare harbours and river-mouths that the transports anchored and many Germans landed in Philadelphia and went to Western Pennsylvania. Many of them moved even southward into Virginia and the Carolinas. The mountainous coasts down to the gulf of Honduras stood like a wall to keep back the travellers. Much of the Mexican territory has remained a desert to the present day. The people are just learning however that much of the soil needs only water to make it fertile. Accordingly the Government is building dams in the mountains so that the people may preserve the water of the melting snow for use as it is needed instead of allowing it to run to waste.

My second week's experience was much the same,

save that the mountains were a little higher, but before evening the boat was headed lazily towards the land; we rounded a point, and I was in that great harbour, where cotton could not be grown but factories manufacturing goods to sell in the south increased in number and size. And a little way further west stood like a lion's head the Great Panama which may in some remote times play a great military part. I was in California again and my two weeks' journey was over, and that was the end of the holiday.

The tramp steamer cast anchor in that wide bay, that wide inland bay which made me think of Dar-es-salaam. The sun was setting, but not yet gone. There was a pleasant light upon the low sand-hills above the shallow water. Then the man to whom I had spoken of payment came to me and asked whether I would land, and I said to him that I thought I would, though perhaps I should have been wiser and happier to continue during the next week for yet another coasting voyage. So I paid him and went over the side by a rope ladder and down into a little boat and when they had put me ashore upon the great city of San Francisco it was the end of my happy journey.



Mt. Shasta. Altitude 14,444 ft.

Now, was not that a holiday? I could draw from it, if I had space, all the morals for all holidays! I had found everything new. It had cost me much less than a travel by the Pacific Coast Railway. It had been fuller than enjoyment from books. The twelve long days had been days as long and full as the days of childhood.

But when people tell me that such things are difficult or rare, and only for a few, I disagree. All that you need is to abandon yourself and take your chance.

—:O:—

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Srimati Indira Devi Chaudhurani (Mrs. Pramatha Choudhuri) was awarded, at the convocation of the Calcutta University held recently, the Bhubannohini Dasi Gold Medal, bestowed, since 1935, once in three years on a lady who is deemed by the Syndicate as most eminent for original contributions to Letters or Science written in the Bengali language.

The medal was previously awarded to Sja. Man-kumari Bose (1935), Sja. Nirupama Devi (1938), and Sja. Anurupa Devi (1941).

Srimati Indira Devi graduated from the Calcutta University in 1892 and obtained the Padmayati Gold Medal, standing first among the lady candidates. She is the author of *Narir Katha*, a collection of essays on a variety of subjects; her other essays are yet to be collected in book-form.

She has also published, in periodicals, translations of essays and short stories from French.

A living repository of the notations of Rabindranath's songs, she published her notations of Tagore's *Mayar Khela* a few years ago, and is now editing a collection of notations of Tagore's *Phalguni* and *Kal-mrigaya*. She is at present "Pro-netri" of the Sangit-Bhavan, Santiniketan.



Srimati Indira Devi Chaudhurani



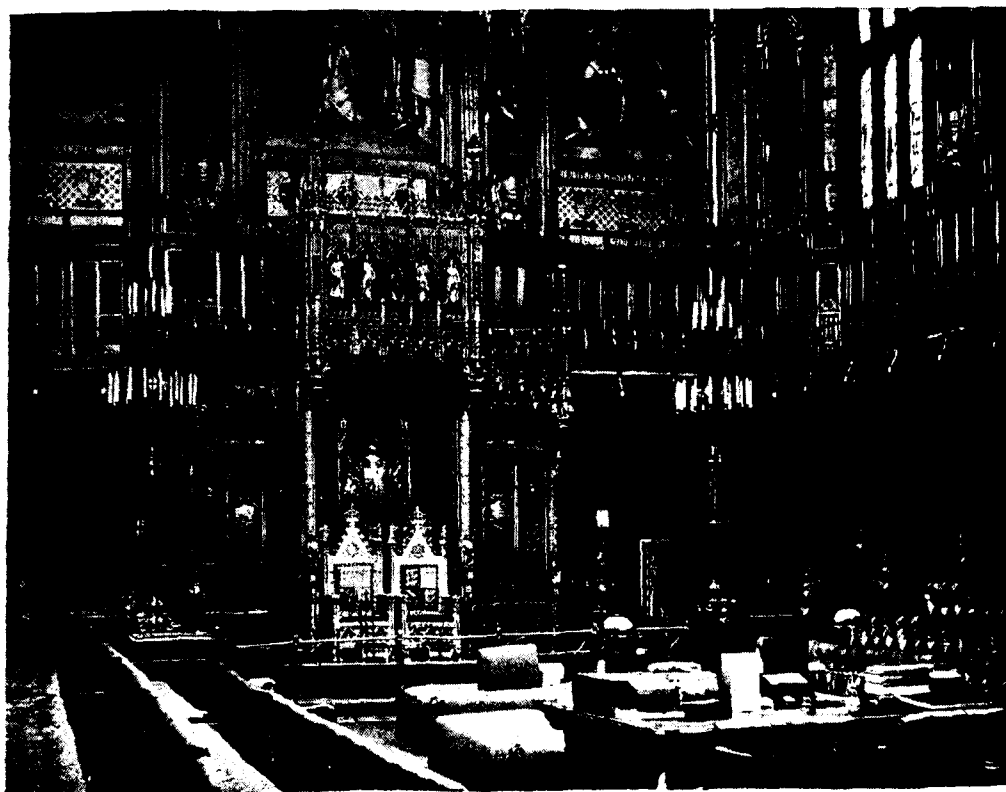
Delegates to the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco : (left to right) Wellington Koo, Georges Bidault, Edward Stettinius, M. Molotov and Clement Attlee



Saudi Arabian delegates at San Francisco : Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz and other members of the delegation



The Victoria Tower of the House of Lords was added to the Houses of Parliament in 1860 and is in the Gothic style in which the whole building was designed



The Chamber of the House of Lords. The Woolsack is in the centre and behind it are the thrones occupied by the King and Queen at the opening of each new session of Parliament

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

By GEORGE CHRIST,

Parliamentary Correspondent of the London "Daily Telegraph"

THE British House of Lords can claim to be the oldest legislative chamber in the world, and the most numerous in membership of all second chambers. It stands by itself, too, in combining both legislative and judicial authority—and that in a country that insists on a clear separation of the judicial and the political. It is paradoxical as well that, yoked to a House of Commons elected on a basis of universal adult suffrage with no sex discrimination, the House of Lords should be based firmly on the hereditary principle and should exclude women from membership. Peeresses who hold titles in their own right have unsuccessfully sought to establish a claim to a seat in the Upper House, and are today as far as ever from gaining their point.

In a country inclined to logic in its principles of government, or in one with a rigid written constitution, a system containing so many anomalies could hardly have survived. Yet after an existence of over eight centuries the House of Lords remains an essential and important part of the British constitution. It is true that its powers have frequently been modified since Norman times when it met as the King's Great Council, but its composition remains fundamentally the same, in that it comprises bishops, known as the Lords Spiritual, and peers, known as the Lords Temporal.

Before the Reformation the ecclesiastical representation had a majority, but today it is in a small minority of 26 in an assembly of nearly 800. The creation of new peerages has increased the membership of the House by about 200 in the course of the present century.

The modern practice of raising to the peerage distinguished men in all walks of life, in the professions, the arts and sciences, the Armed Forces, politics, industry, commerce and the trade union world, has introduced into the House of Lords some of the characteristics of the Senates in other countries. The titles of about a quarter of the Lords today have been created since 1800, but old families like the Howards, the Cecils and the Cavendishes, with peerages centuries old, still play as active a part as ever in its life.

The House of Commons has shown jealousy of the House of Lords ever since the two chambers became separate entities six centuries ago. Conflicts between them have been frequent, and came to a head in 1909 when the House of Lords rejected Mr. Lloyd George's budget. The House of Commons maintained that a non-elected body should have no voice in the raising and spending of public money. A bitter fight ended in one of the landmarks of British constitutional development—the 1911 Parliament Act.

This modified the powers of the House of Lords, reducing it to a delaying chamber by removing its right to amend or reject any bill concerned with public finance, and establishing that any bill passed by the House of Commons in three sessions must become law within two years, if necessary without the approval of the Lords.

As old as the legislative functions of the House of Lords are its judicial functions. These were first exercised in the Middle Ages when justice was administered by the King in his Great Council. With the growth of a more complex system of law courts the House of Lords has evolved into the supreme court of appeal, before which both civil and criminal appeals can be brought. Theoretically all 800 peers may attend judicial sittings of the House, and join in delivering judgment.

In practice it is a hundred years since any but a peer with the necessary legal status has done so. The Lords would have lost its judicial functions before now if it had not made practical arrangements to form a court commanding the highest respect. There has been a departure from the normal hereditary principle to allow the appeal judges to be made peers for life only. With the Lord Chancellor presiding they, and they alone, constitute the House of Lords when it sits as a court of appeal.

The Lord Chancellor himself embodies the dual nature of the House of Lords. He is a judge of the High Court. Yet he is a party politician, normally with a seat in the Cabinet, and its chief legal adviser. In practice no conflict ever arises between his judicial and political loyalties. To add to the peculiarities of the office the Lord Chancellor is also the Speaker of the House of Lords, presiding at its meetings from the red-covered Woolsack—emblem of Britain's original staple trade.

Unlike the Speaker of the House of Commons he does not have to eschew party politics. He has, and usually exercises, the right to speak in debates, and he has the same right as all other peers to vote. His duties as Speaker are not onerous, since the Lords keep all questions of order in their own collective hands. On the rare occasions when it is necessary to restrain a peer in debate it is done by considering a motion that "he be no longer heard."

The House of Lords still exists as an original court of trial. By ancient statute it alone can try a Peer of the Realm for treason or felony. There have been two trials of peers by the House in the past 40 years. Spectacular affairs they were, too. Every peer is entitled and encouraged to attend. Full robes must be worn. At the end of the trial each member must rise in turn, starting with the most junior, and give his verdict.

Impeachment is the other judicial function of the House of Lords. It is resorted to for offences against the State not covered by ordinary laws. It is now-a-days an event of the greatest rarity which has not risen for nearly 150 years. It is the House of Commons that acts first by passing a bill finding the charge. The Commons then take the charge to the House of Lords acting as prosecutor. The Lords try it as a combination of judge and jury.

THE Hindu Marriage Reforms, proposed by the Rau Committee, fall under three main heads: (1) Monogamy, (2) Divorce, and (3) Inter-caste and Sagotra Marriage. As natural, the orthodox section of the Hindu community is opposing the proposed Reforms tooth and nail on the plea that they are absolutely opposed to the scriptures. Here two pertinent questions may be asked: First, what exactly is the meaning of "Sastras"? Secondly, how far can the "Sastras" claim to regulate civic laws and legislations even after thousands of years and even under changed conditions? As regards the first question, there can be no difference of opinion that the Vedas are the real scriptures of Hindus; while Smritis, Puranas, etc., can be so regarded only so far as they clarify, expound and supplement the Vedas. The Smritikaras themselves admit that the Vedas are the main source of "Dharma" or laws, etc., regarding marriage, adoption, inheritance and numerous such topics. Further, they go so far as to admit even that when there is any opposition between *Smṛiti* (scripture) and *Smṛiti*, the former is to be followed, not the latter. Hence, it is clear that only those *Smṛitis* that conform to the letter, and what is more, to the spirit of the Vedas, can be taken as authoritative as scripture; and not those that are opposed to Vedic teaching and tradition. It is true that in the Vedas we do not find any systematic exposition of the Dharmas, and they are silent or not very explicit on some important questions. But still, here too, those *Smṛitis* alone that tally with the general spirit and culture of the Vedic tradition can be called real *Dharma-Sastras*, and accepted as scriptural authority. As regards the second question, it involves the deep problem of the real relation between the spiritual and the secular and between the old and the new, and how far can and ought the former influence and mould the latter. This is not the place to discuss this difficult question. But it is an admitted fact that an unwarrantable mixture of the spiritual with the secular and the failure to keep the latter on a sound, practical, scientific and common-sense level, as well as an altogether blind faith in antiquity irrespective of the urgent needs of changing times that have been the causes of many evils in our society.

Now, if by scriptures we mean only the Vedas and those that conform to the Vedas, then the objection that the proposed Reforms are absolutely opposed to the scripture at once falls to the ground. First, let us take Monogamy. It is true that monogamy has never been enforced by law in India even during the Vedic Ages. For example, a hymn in the *Rig Veda* (X. 145) contains a charm to win away the husband from a co-wife. In another hymn (X. 159) *Sachi* claims to have vanquished and killed all co-wives to rule supreme over *Indra*. According to *Maitrayani Samhita* (I. 5. 8), *Manu* had ten wives; and according to *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII. 13.), *King Harischandra* had as many as a hundred wives. Sometimes, several princesses and their slave-girls were given in marriage to the same priest. (*Rig-Veda* viii. 19. 36, etc.). But, in the *Samhitas*, some passages indicating polyandry also are found. In the *Rig-Veda* (I. 167. 4. 5.), we find a reference to *Rodasi*, the "sadharaṇi" or the common wives of *Maruts*. *Suryya*, the common wife of the *Asvins*, is

also mentioned sometimes in the *Rig-Veda*. In the *Atharva-Veda*, too, (V. 17. 8. 9), there is a reference to a woman having ten former husbands. Whatever be the case, there is ample evidence to show that neither polygamy nor polyandry, but monogamy alone was the Vedic ideal. We may cite two kinds of direct evidence for this. First, the Vedic Mantras clearly prove this. We have numerous passages in the *Atharva Veda* where constancy of conjugal affections is earnestly sought for by both men and women. (II. 30. 2. 5., etc.). The word "Dampati" frequently used in the *Rig-Veda* (V. 3. 2. etc.), and the poetic metaphor of a pair of love-birds (*chakravaka*) mentioned in the *Atharva Veda* (XIV. 2. 64) strongly suggest the ideal of monogamy. Apart from these, the famous Vedic marriage mantras prove beyond doubt that monogamy was the ideal and the rule of the day. For example, the bridegroom says to the bride, "Abide here together, may you never be separated, live together all your life . . . May *Arya* man unite us together until old age. . . . Be a queen to thy father-in-law, mother-in-law, sister-in-law and brother-in-law. May the universal gods unite both our hearts." (*Rig-Veda* X. 85.). Secondly, the status of the first wife as compared with that of other wives clearly shows that monogamy alone was the spiritual ideal, while polygamy was allowed only as a second best provision for physical considerations. The first wife alone was the *patni*, literally meaning "participator in religious sacrifices; while the other wives were mere *bhogini*, literally meaning "participators in carnal delights." Thus, in the Vedic rituals, the first wife alone participates with her husband in the rites undertaken for supreme bliss, viz., religious merit or salvation; other wives are allowed to participate only in those rites that are meant for mere earthly bliss. But even in these latter cases, it is the first wife who performs all the important rites. It is she who adorns the fire, pounds and husks the rice, occupies the best seat, eats the sacrificial cake and so on. It is she alone who participates with her husband in kindling the fires (*Agniyadhana*) and constantly keeping them ablaze (*Agnihotra*). Examples may be indefinitely multiplied to show the spiritual value of monogamy from the very high spiritual status of the first wife. Thirdly, that monogamy was the ideal may be indirectly proved also by the fact that Vedic marriages were mostly of the *Gandharva* type (love-marriages). It is no wonder that of the eight kinds of marriage known in ancient India, viz., *Brahma* (the bride is offered by her father to the bridegroom), *Daiva* (she is given away by her father to a priest), *Arsa* (the bride's father accepts a pair of kine from the bridegroom), *Prajapatya* (the bridegroom proposes marriage), *Gandharva* (love-marriage), *Asura* (the bride's father accepts money from the groom), *Paisacha* (the bride is abducted when her relatives are sleeping), and *Raksasa* (she is abducted by killing her relatives)—the *Gandharva* was the rule of the day. For as is well-known, daughters in those days, were given equal education and freedom with sons and allowed to mix with boys in houses of the preceptors, sacrifices, tournament, debates, etc. And, if love-marriage was the order of the day, then there can be no doubt that the general tendency was towards monogamy.

Even some of the *Smritis* try to hold up this noble ideal of Monogamy in two ways. First, many of them declare that only the first wife is a "Dharma-Patni", others are merely "rati-vardhini" (for carnal delight), and that religious merit can be obtained only through the former, while mere earthly benefits through the latter. (*Dakṣa*, IV. 15.) Secondly, they allowed polygamy only under certain stringent conditions. For example, *Manu* (IX. 80) holds that a man may at once re-marry only when his former wife is a drunkard, of bad conduct, rebellious, diseased, mischievous, wasteful, or quarrelsome. But if she hates him, he should wait one year, if she be barren eight years, if she be one whose children all die ten years, and if she bears only daughters eleven years before re-marrying. (IX. 81.). *Manu* further recommends that if a sick wife be kind and virtuous, the husband can marry only with her consent (IX. 82.). *Apastambha* similarly holds that a man may re-marry only when the first wife is barren and lacking in *dharma* (II. 5. 11.); but if he abandons his wife without rhyme and reason, he must expiate for it by putting on the skin of an ass and by begging from door to door for six months (I. 10. 28.). *Narada* also recommends that a man should be fined if he abandons a wife who has sons and who is obedient, chaste, sweet-tongued and active. *Kautilya* also holds that if a man violates the rules of waiting (viz., eight years in case of a barren wife etc.), he should not only be fined, but also be made to pay compensation to the wife. But in the modern Hindu society, a man may marry as many wives together as he likes, even without any sufficient cause; while a woman is not allowed to divorce her husband even on the strongest possible grounds; and even widow marriage is not tolerated by society. That the professedly Vedic Hindu society has so long fostered the utterly one-sided and unjust institution of polygamy is a clear proof how the real Vedic tradition is being ignored by us. Strange that even some educated men have thought it fit to raise their voice of protest against this very just provision of the Rau Committee!

Inter-caste marriage, too, was allowed in the Vedas. This was but natural, considering the fact that Vedic marriages were in many cases love-marriages, and love, as is well-known, laughs at external, artificial barriers of caste and creed. The cases of Brahmanas marrying *Kshatriyas* are the sage *Chyavana* who married *King Saryata's* daughter *Sukanya* (*Satapatha Br.* IV. 1. 5. 7.); the sage *Syavasva* who married *king Rathaviti's* daughter (*Bṛhaddevata*). According to *Aitareya Brahmana* (2. 19. 1.), *Kavasa Ailusa* was born of a Brahmin father and a Sudra mother. *Satapatha Brahmana* (XIII. 2.) and *Taittiriya Brahmana* (III. 9. 7. 3.) speak of kings marrying *Vaisya* girls. The *Panchavimsa Brahmana* (XIV. 11. 17) mention the sage *Dirghatamas* as the son of the slave girl *Usij* (cf. *Bṛhaddevata*). The *Yajur-Veda Samhitas* mention "Aryog" or *Arya* women married to Sudras.

In the *Smritis*, too, two kinds of inter-caste marriage are spoken of, viz., *anuloma* (a man of higher caste marrying a woman of lower caste) and *pratiloma* (a man of lower caste marrying a woman of higher caste). *Anuloma* *dvijati* marriages, or marriages of Brahmanas with *Kshatriya* and *Vaisya* women and of *Kshatriyas* with *Vaisya* girls, were allowed; and according to *Gautama* (4. 16) and *Baudhayana* (1. 17. 3), sons of such marriages have equal status. The marriage of a man of a higher class to a Sudra woman, too was allowed, but to a lesser extent, and opinion was

divided on this. According to *Manu* (3. 46), on marrying a higher class, a *Kshatriya* girl should take hold of an arrow, a *Vaisya* girl of a goad, a *Sudra* girl of the hem of the bridegroom's garment. If a Brahman marries women of all the four castes, the son by the Brahman wife is entitled to four shares, the son by the *Kshatriya* wife to three shares, the son by *Vaisya* wife to two shares and the son by a *Sudra* wife only to one share. (*Manu*, IX. 152). *Pratiloma* marriages were generally condemned. But in the modern Hindu society inter-caste marriage is not allowed in any form.

As regards Divorce, the Vedas are silent about it. Perhaps polygamy, coupled with polyandry, was thought quite sufficient. But the *Smritis*, in general, regard marriage as indissoluble. The husband, of course, may abandon a wife and marry again; but a wife, on her side, is never, under any circumstance, released from wifehood; and can never, as such, re-marry. But even here at least two *Smritis*, viz., *Narada* (XII. 97) and *Parasara* (IV. 26), hold that a woman may re-marry under the following five conditions, viz., when the husband is lost, dead, impotent, when he has become an ascetic or been outcasted. *Narada* holds (XII. 98-101) that before re-marrying, a childless Brahmin woman should wait for her absent husband for four years, and eight years if she has issue; a *Kshatriya* woman should wait three or six years, and a *Vaisya* woman two or four years accordingly as they are childless or without issue respectively. But, no such definite period is prescribed for a *Sudra* woman. In the *Vasistha Smṛiti*, twelve kinds of sons are mentioned (Chap. 17) of which the following six are entitled to property and are regarded as props and saviours:—son by a lawfully wedded wife, son of *Niyoga* (i.e., the wife is enjoined by the husband to procreate through another man), son of a *putrika* (i.e., of a brotherless daughter, regarded as the son of her father. The son of such a daughter becomes the son of his maternal-grandfather), son of a *punarbhū* (i.e., one who re-marries when her husband is dead, or is impotent, insane and expelled from caste), son of an unwedded mother (such a son is the son of his maternal grandfather), and son born in secret. From this it is clear that divorce was allowed, and the sons of such re-marriages had legal status. According to *Kautilya* (*Arthashastra* III), if a woman hates her husband and loves another man, she should return his gifts to him and allow him to go to another woman; and if a man hates his wife, he should allow her to take shelter in the house of her lawful guardian, etc. But neither a man nor a woman can dissolve marriage without mutual consent; but in some forms of marriage, divorce is allowable, when there is mutual enmity. The second condition of divorce is apprehension of danger from the other party; and here the man should return to his wife the gifts she received on the occasion of her marriage, and the wife forfeits her claim to property.

We have shown above, as briefly as possible, that Monogamy, Inter-Caste marriage, Divorce, etc., are not opposed to the scriptures, and not even to many *Smritis*. The fact is that there is a good deal of diversity among the *Smritis* on almost all important points. Most of them practically deprive women, of almost all their birth-rights; though a few may be found that very justly delegate many of those rights to them. But it is these latter few that really conform to the Vedas, for, as is well-known, the Vedic code was one of

equality of the sexes. Strange that modern Hindu society, though claiming to be based on the Vedas, has for the most part accepted the former class of Smritis, we do not know according to what criterion. And, accordingly, a great hue and cry has been raised that "scriptures are in danger"! Now, whether the further sanction of scriptures is absolutely necessary even when a measure is thought desirable from every point of view, according to all the codes of justice and according to the urgent needs of changing times—is really a doubtful question. But whatever be the case, a reformer, seeking public sanction, must, in our country, first show the scriptural authority for those proposed reforms. Otherwise, he has very little chance of being listened to, for, even many educated men hesitate to support a measure, otherwise quite alright, if it be not sanctioned by the scriptures as well. Fortunately, however, our own scriptures, properly understood, are solidly in favour of an equal status of women with men; and hence the cry of "scriptures in danger" is really an absolutely false one. We have here only tried to show generally that the proposed Marriage Reforms are not at all heretical innovations—that they are supremely desirable, imperfect though they are, on

grounds of justice and independent reasoning no less, is a fact that can never be consistently denied.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that our own Smritikaras have laid the greatest emphasis on reason. The famous Smartha Brihaspati has declared in unequivocal language that "duties are not to be determined on the basis of the scriptures alone. If there be a (blind) acceptance of a law without due reason, that would entail a failure of justice." Our own Jimutavahana also has voiced the opinion in his Vyavahara-Matrika, that "what is just and reasonable can never be made unjust and unreasonable even by a thousand texts." Hence, really Reason alone should have the final say in every matter, whether there be a further sanction of authority, or not.

१. केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो विनिर्णयः ।

युक्तिहोनिविचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥

Brihaspati-Smriti, Gackwad's Oriental Series, Vol. LXXXV, (1. 114).

२. उपपन्नमनुपन्नं कर्तुं शक्यं न हि वचनसहस्रैः ॥

—:O:—

LINGUA FRANCA FOR INDIA

By MD. SHAHIDULLAH, M.A., D.Litt.,

Principal, Azizul Haque College, Bogra

RECENTLY the Hindustani Prachar Sabha at Wardhaganj has decided that Hindustani should be the *lingua franca* for India with Nagri and Urdu scripts. Mahatma Gandhi has given his blessings to this. To me, however, it occurs that those who advocate for one *lingua franca* for India are obsessed with the idea that in one state there can be only one official language or *lingua franca*. As a matter of fact, there are several states or countries with more than one official language. Canada has English and French. Belgium has French and Flemish. Switzerland has three—French, German and Italian. U.S.S.R. recognises all the different languages under the Union.

We cannot shut our eyes to one fact that although we may ask Englishmen to quit India, we cannot and should not give up the English language. This is necessary for the acquisition of modern knowledge in science and for world politics. In fact it is the common medium of thought and communication in almost all All-India conferences like the All-India Oriental conference, Science conference, Historical conference, etc.

Now coming to practice from theory the curriculum of studies must include under the new scheme a plurality of languages. A Bengali student must learn (besides his mother tongue Bengali and the international language English) Hindustani with two scripts. A Hindu boy may naturally take up Sanskrit and a Muslim boy Arabic or Persian as his classical language. So in all a Bengali boy must learn four languages and four scripts. So much valuable time is bound to be lost in learning languages and scripts. An educationist cannot but deplore such wastage in education.

So I am of opinion that if we should have one *lingua franca* for India, we must retain English. But if it hurt

any body's patriotic sense, it may be called Indian, just as the Americans call their language American, though essentially it is not at all different from English.

If there is a strong (unscientific) prejudice against this view, my alternative proposal is to have three or four official languages for India in three zones as in Switzerland. In the Eastern zone, the homeland of Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Bihari (i.e., the old province of Bengal or Subah Bengal) Bengali should be the official language. In the middle zone, the homeland of Hindi, Urdu, Panjabi, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Kashmiri and Nepali, Hindi and Urdu should be two official languages. In the Deccan, the homeland of Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, Malayalam, Kudagu and Tulu, I shall leave the selection of the official language or languages to the speakers themselves. I should like but should not dictate that one or two of the official languages of Northern India may be adopted as their official language. As Bengali has no chance, I should like to see Hindi and Urdu as the official languages of the Deccan. This will culturally link up the Deccan with Northern India. Considering the fact that India is a vast sub-continent equal to Europe minus Russia, the proposal for 3 or 4 official languages is very modest indeed.

On literary grounds I have objections against Hindustani as proposed by the Hindustani Prachar Sabha as also against the Bazar Hindi, the pet theory of my friend Dr. S. K. Chatterji of the Calcutta University. Hindustani will be a somewhat artificial language by the side of the living and ever-spreading Hindi and Urdu. This artificial language like Esperanto may be our intercommunal or inter-provincial language.

But it cannot foster literature, which is the natural outcome of the inner urge of the author. Moreover, for scientific nomenclature you cannot have Hindustani, for you shall have to borrow words from foreign languages or Arabic or Sanskrit, as the village folk have no ready-made word for scientific terms. It will be almost impossible to coin scientific and technical words in Hindustani without borrowing. Take for example, the *centre* is in Sanskrit *Kendra* which has been adopted by Hindi and *Markaz* in Arabic, which has been adopted by Urdu. You cannot have a word for such terms which is neither Arabic nor Persian nor Sanskrit. It is better to adopt both living Hindi and Urdu in place of a single theoretical Hindustani. For one knowing Hindi it is a very easy matter to master Urdu in a few months and *vice versa*. There is no harm in having two official languages in the same province as in Canada.

As for Urdu it has a distinct advantage over Hindi. Being written in a modified Arabic script and having a number of Arabic and Persian words incorporated in it, it can serve the purpose of an international language like Esperanto from Morocco to China. I admit the script is somewhat unscientific, but it can be easily reformed. I insist on its early reform for popularising Urdu. Of course, Devanagari is a scientific script; but it is not widely known outside the midland of India. But I should like that this Devanagri script may be adopted for the different Sanskritic languages barring Urdu, Pashtu and Sindhi and for the Dravidian languages barring Tamil and Malayalam. So that before attempting the adoption of any *lingua franca* for India, we may have only three scripts all over the country—

Devanagri, Persico-Arabic and Tamil in place of ten scripts that are current in India viz. Bengali (Assamese), Oriya, Devanagari, Gurumukhi, Sarada (Kashmiri), Gujarati, Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese and Persico-Arabic (for Urdu, Sindhi, Kashmiri and Pashtu). The adoption of the Roman script for all the Indian languages will be very useful for telegraphic communication and for international purposes outside India as well. But I am afraid it will take time to remove prejudice against it. Moreover, it has its disadvantages as requiring many dotted consonants and barred vowels.

I have reason to believe that Hindustani with Urdu and Nagri scripts has been decided upon for communal considerations. If it is so, then the best solution will be to have Sanskrit and Arabic as two national languages for India. Every Hindu will bow down his head to Sanskrit as every Muslim to Arabic, which two are their sacred languages. Arabic is a living language of the Near East and shows signs of revival. Sanskrit though a dead language can be easily acquired by one whose mother tongue is a Sanskritic vernacular like Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, etc. In many European universities both Greek and Latin are taught as classical languages. So it will not be very difficult to learn both Sanskrit and Arabic. Moreover, by knowing the languages of culture of Hindus and Musalmans, there will be better understanding between the two communities, which is essentially necessary for the advancement of the country, materially and morally.

After all these alternative proposals, I again emphasize the claim of English as the *lingua franca* for India with a new name Indian and with some spelling reform, if you should like.

—:O:—

AN IMPERFECT REPORT

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

THE Famine Enquiry Commission Report on Bengal, otherwise a rather impartial document, fails, however, in certain essential points. It may be that the Commissioners wanted to avoid all references to persons and personalities and to attach praise or blame to institutions only, and through them to the actors in the most tragic drama of the twentieth century. But this is hardly sufficient to satisfy the exigencies of the situation. Through the published proceedings of the legislatures, statements of officials and press notes the public have formed their own judgment about responsibility of individuals but they would certainly have welcomed corroboration of their views from the Commissioners who had had the opportunity of meeting some of these persons and cross-examining them on relevant points.

There are other serious omissions of material facts which have robbed much force from the Report. These should have found prominent place in the document to give a complete picture of the famine, at least of the more salient points.

As the Report forms part of the history of the famine, omission of the name of His Excellency Sir John Herbert and the part he played in the drama is regretted. His Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, protested against his Excellency's "personal interference

in total disregard of ministerial responsibilities....and issuing of a mandate to the Joint Secretary....in the matter of rice removal policy." With regard to the Boat Removal Policy, the Governor had "all along been acting under the advice and guidance of some permanent officials without taking the Ministers into confidence." Mr. Fazlul Huq also recorded his strong disapproval, on Jan. 9, 1943, of the whole policy the Governor and some of his officers had been pursuing since April 1941, regarding the matter of foodstuffs and supplies. He had the boldness to charge the Governor "with partizanship and violation of his Instrument of Instructions." There was no answer from the other side. The "Report" contains, against this accusation, the following passage, "We are satisfied from the material which has been placed before us that important issues of food policy and administration were referred to the Cabinet and decisions taken in the normal way." But the grave charge of issuing mandates without the knowledge of the Chief and/or other Ministers remains unanswered and these relate to the Denial policies regarding *Boat* and *Rice*.

About Lord Linlithgow, the *zuberdist* Viceroy and Governor-General of India during the most fateful days of Indian history, the less said the better. He was at the head of the administration of India. He



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

RANJIT SINGH: By N. K. Sinha, Ph.D. Second edition. Demy 8 vo. Pp. x + 212, one portrait. A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta. Price Rs. 7.

Professor N. K. Sinha's monograph on Ranjit Singh, first published twelve years ago, has been greatly improved and expanded in this new edition, much of which has been rewritten in the light of the author's further study and reflections. He has "scrupulously avoided, as far as practicable, all personal details about Ranjit, except in the opening chapter (*viz.*, Early Years and Early Conquests). . . . It has been mainly my aim to elucidate in the light of new evidence the relations of Ranjit Singh with the Afghans on the one hand, and his Indian and British neighbours on the other. A graphic account of Ranjit's civil administration has also been attempted." Thus, there is more of political instruction than personal gossip about the Lion of the Panjab in this book, and this fact enhances its value,—less than half of its pages being taken up by mere narrative. The British Indian records and the personal reports of travellers and diplomatic agents have been fully utilised, and the author's conclusions stand on a firm foundation.

The paper is thick, the printing clear and well-spaced, and the volume has an attractive get-up; but the price of Rs. 7 for such a small thing seems to be prohibitive. Dr. Sinha has used only the short *Letters of Victor Jacquemont* (p. 205). He would have found much more useful and highly interesting material in this French savant's original *Journal de Voyage*, in 5 vols., which is preserved in the Macmin collection of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, and a liberal selection from which has been reprinted under the editorship of M. Alfred Martineau, as *Etat Politique et Social de l'Inde du Nord en 1830* (Paris, 1933) followed by another volume on South India. In the North India volume a hundred pages (364-460) are devoted to Jacquemont's travels in Ranjit's dominions (including Kashmir); these abound in acute observations and criticism, besides giving full and illuminating details of his famous interview with the Maharajah. The proofs seem to have been hurriedly read, and a correction slip would be a helpful addition.

J. S.

OFF THE MAIN TRACK: By Dr. Surendranath Sen. Published by Mitra & Ghosh, Calcutta. 1944. Pp. 116 + x.

This is a collection of papers contributed by Dr. Surendranath Sen between 1941 and 1943 to various Journals, sessions of the Historical Records Commission and so forth. Based mostly, as the author candidly admits in his short Preface, upon "unimportant records" and presenting examples of "excursions into the bye-lanes and alleys of history", they may still be remembered as throwing "unexpected light on the

social and economic conditions of the country." This claim is borne out by the contents of some of the papers notably those entitled: *Lord Cornwallis and the Slave Trade in Bengal*, and *The Confession of a Dacoit*. But in other cases, the interest is almost exclusively biographical. There is room for considerable difference of opinion on the author's arguments and conclusions in his first paper called *Survival of Some Asokan Forms in 17th century Bengali*. Dr. Sen takes it to be a well-known fact that "modern Bengali has a close affinity to Western Prakrit", and he claims to have found a fresh "link in the chain of evidence"—in a word-form found alike in the western and north-western versions of Asoka's rock-edicts and in a 17th-century Bengali work. It would have been well if the author had given fuller proofs of his challenging statement.

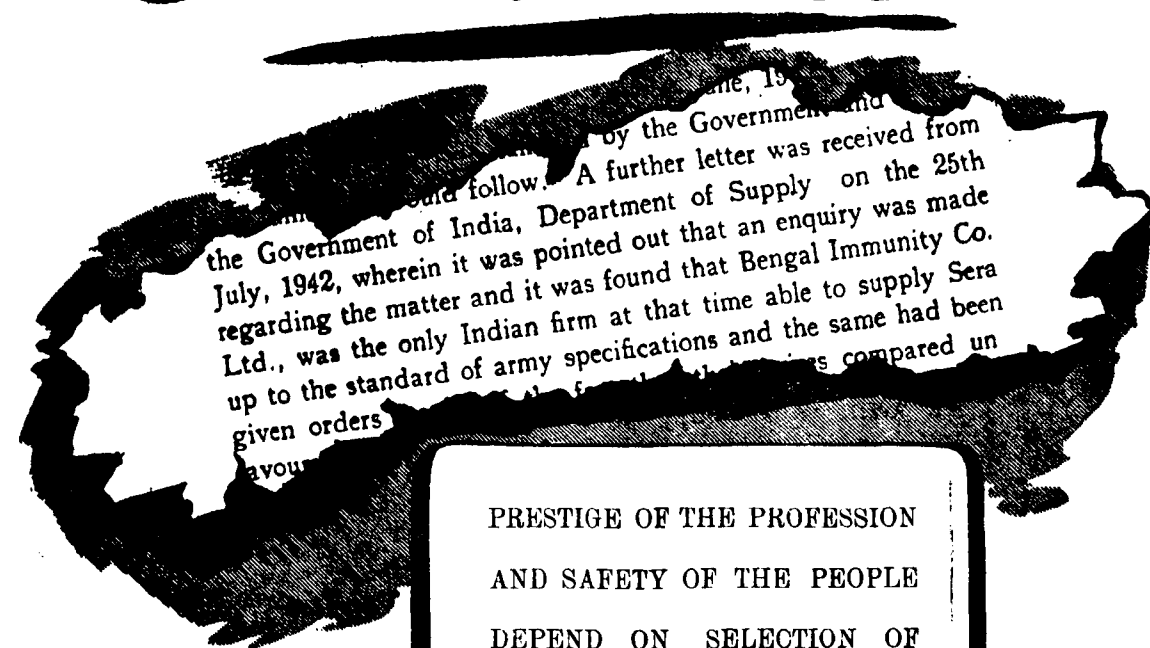
The author would have been well advised in prefacing his papers with short historical notes to enable the average reader to put himself in touch with the subject-matter. The book has a good Index, but the list of errata is too large for a modest work of 118 pages. We hope it will be possible for the author to utilise the advantage of his high position to enrich the historical literature of this country with contributions of first-rate importance on the life of the people in the early period of British rule.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ROMAIN ROLLAND (The Story of a Conscience): By Alex Aronson. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay.

Prof. Aronson has rendered a real service to the cause of international understanding by undertaking to write his study on the celebrated French Pacifist and Nobel Laureate, Romain Rolland. Within the short compass of 200 pages Prof. Aronson has given a searching analysis of the various trends of thought underlying the works of Rolland from his college days of early adolescence to practically his last days of freedom when he was in close collaboration with the makers of modern Russia, and therefore was sent to the Concentration Camp by the Nazis. The tragedy of Rolland's life was the tragedy of intellectual Europe; and this has been narrated with a rare sympathy and judgment by Prof. Aronson. But Rolland belonged as much to the East as to the West and his three masterly studies of Mahatma Gandhi, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda will ever inspire thoughtful readers of India with a feeling of profound gratitude. Rolland's relations with our national Poet, Rabindranath, with whom he collaborated ever since the publication of the "Declaration of Independence of the Mind" (March 1919), opened a new chapter in the cultural rapprochement between the East and the West. In the Library of Santiniketan Prof. Aronson found valuable materials which permitted him to work out this admirable study on Rolland almost simultaneously with the announcement of the death of the Great European. The author is to be congratulated

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was for some time also in charge of the Food Department of the Government of India. The people have not been able to know anything about the activities and achievements of the most important functionary in the whole government except that a most barren policy had been pursued during the seven years of His Excellency's stay in India, that there had been one of the worst repressions in the civilized world and one of the worst famines in recorded history. When people had been dying in millions, His Excellency was busy touring the territories of the Princes by way of farewell visits, and at a great personal risk waiting on *machans* for arranged *shikar* of wild beasts that had been ravaging the forest and killing some of its denizens. The weak must be protected against the strong because otherwise black stain would attach to the fair name (and skin) of the Executive Head of British India. When the famine was at its peak, His Excellency "was busy packing his trunks." "A friend of the bovine species, he perhaps would have been more interested, had it been a case of cattle epidemic in Bengal," was the surmise of Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Central Assembly on Nov. 15, 1943. He suggested another reason for the noble Lord's turning his face against Bengal and Mr. Neogy, in anguish, asked, "Was it because a sense of constitutional chastity prevented him from visiting Bengal in those days?"

Then, what should we say about Mr. Amery, the most notable Secretary of State for India and of the Government he represents in the India Office? The only comparison that holds good in the present case is that of the Roman Emperor Nero who fiddled joyously while the capital city was fiercely burning, dealing death and devastation to the innumerable inhabitants of the city. Mr. Amery's attitude was all along marked by uncommon light-heartedness and as having no sense of reality of the situation. In the Parliament he deliberately minimised the gravity of the situation and endeavoured to persuade people to believe and to proclaim the worst famine to be a 'mere scarcity.' He and he alone by his act and utterances prevented the kind-hearted people of other lands to come forward with help, monetary and otherwise.

Something must be said about the British Parliament and the news service, *Reuter*, which professes to be despatching international news most impartially. On September 23, 1943, *Reuter* reported that in the House of Commons "intense interest was shown by Members who flocked into the House to hear Government's view and the steps being taken to overcome the crisis." On Oct. 12, according to *Reuter*, the Secretary of State "aroused the keenest interest in the House." On Nov. 4, 1943:

"After reading for many days past the harrowing account of distress caused by the Bengal famine, Members of Parliament assembled to-day to debate the situation....The attendance, both on the floor of the House and in the galleries was mainly composed of people with special interest in India. Mrs. Amery, wife of the Secretary of State, was in the Speaker's gallery."

People will be interested to note that the attendance in the House taking sometimes 'intense' sometimes 'keenest' interest in India's food situation never exceeded 53 and was at times 35, in a House of over 600 and odd members.

Of course, the Governments of Bengal and of India have been castigated for their many sins of omission and commission, but it would have been better if the Hon'ble the Civil Supplies Minister of Bengal and his able colleagues were individually given their meed of praise and blame. The 'no shortage' propaganda has received the severest condemnation from the Commissioners but other pieces of lying propaganda of similar nature should have received the same degree of their attention. But that does not matter much, because the people of Bengal who have survived the famine would remember with indignation the exploits of the team of happy ministers brought into existence through the subterfuge of a Governor who is no less or rather more responsible for turning, in the language of the Commissioners, scarcity into a famine of immeasurable magnitude.

Of all the individual causes that contributed in a very large measure to the ravages of famine, 'profiteering' has been given its rightful place. The Report says:

"It has been reckoned that the amount of unusual profits made on the buying and selling of rice during 1943, was 150 crores."

And that

"Every death in the famine was balanced by roughly a thousand rupees of excess profits."

No more stronger, yet restrained, language could have been used on this sordid affair. But what strikes us most is the omission of all references to the immense and heartless profiteering by the Central and other provincial governments, particularly Bengal, where death was dancing in all its fury, and Sind. The Government of Bengal made huge profits over foodgrains imported from other provinces. The *Commerce*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, the then Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Sir Collins Garbett, I.C.S. (the then Regional Food Commissioner of Northern India) openly accused the Civil Supplies Department of looking more to the profits than to the interests of the people who were starving for their inability to purchase foodstuffs on account of their high prices. It is on record that

"From May to August, 1943, the profit to the Government of Bengal amounted to Rs. 33.34 lakhs, derived solely from sales of wheat to mills."

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. These are all known facts and the public has the suspicion that these transactions disclose only a tithe of the whole affair. On the transaction of rice, nothing is known. Mr. B. R. Sen, the then Director-General of Food, disclosed on Feb. 21, 1944, in the Council of State, that the Bengal Government made a profit of Rs. 5/7/- per maund of wheat, from Sept. 20, 1943 to Jan. 1, 1944 and all this wheat was supplied by the Central Government at Rs. 7/5/- per maund. The instances can be multiplied but want of space prevents further enumeration.*

The Government of India is a worse offender in this respect. They made a profit of several crores of

* For further details the reader is referred to pp. 33-38 of *Famines in Bengal, 1770-1943*, by Kali Charan Ghose.

rupees. Sardar Baldev Singh stated on Oct. 24, 1943, that

"Even the Government of India made a profit of one rupee per maund on wheat purchased on its behalf in the Punjab and sold to deficit provinces."

This was hotly contested by Sir Jeremy Raisman in the Central Assembly on Nov. 17, 1943. But the cat suddenly leapt out of the bag when on the next day Sir Srivastava regaled the House with the statement that "although the final bills of the agents had not been received yet" it appeared that the transaction "would leave the Central Government with a substantial profit."

"On December 19, 1943, the Sind Government wanted to abolish the development fund based on profit derived from grain sales because 'it is criticised by the whole world'."

It passes one's comprehension why the Commission which directed examination of account books of a certain purchasing agent of the Government of Bengal failed to make even the slightest references to the greed and injudicious policy of the several governments in India.

There is only a meagre reference to the huge waste of foodstuffs at government stores; it is one which the Commission could not ignore to mention because of the publicity it received and the quantity it involved. This refers to the large quantity of grain that was stored in the open in the Royal Botanical Gardens. The Report says that

"While we have evidence that only a small percentage of these stocks deteriorated, their storage under such conditions was undesirable for various reasons, including the effect on public opinion."

It is contended that the loss of foodgrains at the Botanical Gardens was very large inasmuch as there were thousands of eye-witnesses who may vouchsafe for the quantity and in which respect they are corroborated by the press in the following manner. On Sept. 4, 1944, several newspapers of Calcutta published photographs of fully loaded lorries with such captions as:

"Thousands of bags of half-decomposed foodstuffs have been removed by about 200 motor lorries and thrown into marshy lands in the Howrah-Belgachia dumping ground, five miles from Howrah Station....the foodstuffs were being removed from the Botanical Gardens."

There were other photographs showing 'hillocks' and very thick layers of decomposed foodgrains deposited in and also strewn over the dumping ground proclaiming unequivocally of the very huge quantity that was lost. During this period reports appeared almost daily in the press of huge stocks of foodgrains having been rendered unfit for human consumption, in *Government godowns*. The quantity involved must have been several lakhs of tons. A fairly comprehensive list was published in *The Modern Review* in its issue of February 1945 under the caption, "Strange But True" (pp. 75-77) containing a list of all cases of waste that had been published in the papers up to Dec. 20, 1944. Subsequent to this date, there have been reports of cases involving a few thousand tons of grains and published from time to time in the newspapers.

There was also a considerable waste of grains in the military circles. On Nov. 16, 1943, Mr. Frederick

James of the European Group in the Central Assembly said that he knew of a case in which a distinguished scientist was approached by the authorities of a prisoners of war camp to tell them how to make compost out of surplus bread; and that was when the people were starving. For all these reasons it is deplorable that the Commissioners did fail to take notice of such an important fact under the purview of their valuable report.

The Report speaks of the facilities created by the military for transport of foodgrains during the concluding months of 1943 and it should have given its unequivocal verdict on the failure of the earlier authorities for breaking the bottleneck and making it possible for foodstuffs to pour smoothly into the various parts of Bengal.

On Nov. 18, 1943, Pandit H. N. Kunzru stated in the Council of State that

"If the truth had been told earlier, the situation would not have deteriorated to the extent it did. Whoever had controlled the news about Bengal, had done a very serious injustice to the Province....."

While the fact was, as is stated in the Hon'ble Mr. Kunzru's statement, a small publicity in the press was characterised by a very high government official as a "tendency in certain quarters to overdramatise the situation." The Commissioners would have done well to make a reference to such facts which more than anything else aggravated the situation and caused thousands of avoidable death.

About 'large-scale' purchases, which have been one of the potent causes for raising the prices and thus denying millions of persons of humble means to procure their food, the verdict of the Commission is rather halting. The Central Government according to Mr. Neogy, was "itself responsible for encouraging employers of labour in this murderous enterprise of theirs.... Here was the Government supported by the capitalists whose needs must be satisfied at all costs, if necessary, at the sacrifice of humble lives." In support of his contention said he:

"This attitude was very forcibly expressed by a British executive officer in one of the Eastern Bengal districts when he pointed out that the life of a pack mule belonging to the military transport department was more valuable, and deserved to be preserved with greater care, than the life of people who were not helping in the war effort. That truly represented the attitude of a section of the permanent officials in this country, and that also led to the tragedy that we are witnessing to-day." (Central Assembly Proceedings, dated the 15th November, 1943).

There are other omissions of a minor nature in the Report and need not be gone into in greater detail. One word is necessary. Before Lord Wavell, no officer high or low, ever disclosed (or betrayed) any sympathy for the sufferers as if they were mere automatons without human feelings and as wooden and lifeless as a modern administrative institution is.

We would have welcomed such remarks from the learned Commissioners in the Bengal report. May we expect that the points referred to above will receive their proper attention and they will be pleased to let the public know their views on the several issues raised in the course of this article.

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on this brilliant study and I recommend it to all serious students of Comparative Literature. The book gives a condensed survey of the voluminous works of Rolland which will be very useful to general readers. From the bibliographical point of view I noticed only two gaps: (1) the last play that Rolland wrote in his "Cycle of Revolutionary Dramas" which bore the title, *Gamble of Life and Death*, of which the author very kindly sent me a copy from Paris and (2) a small illustrated scenario which he possibly wrote for some film corporation and which bore the title, *Revolt of the Machine*.

K. NAG

CHINA AFTER SEVEN YEARS OF WAR: Published by the Chinese Ministry of Information, Chungking, China. 1944. Pages 157.

A year has passed since this report was published, and fighting China has just celebrated the eighth anniversary of her war with Japan. During these twelve months Chinese soldiers have added fresh laurels to their already fine record of heroism and sacrifice, the civilian population have had to further tighten their belts and the Japanese, while yielding ground to the American forces almost in every theatre of Pacific warfare, have shown no willingness to relax their grip on China. Nevertheless, this story of China's grim and unequal struggle against a ruthless enemy lacks neither topicality nor human interest for any reader who is concerned with human freedom and human dignity. No documentary book such as this could tell more than a fraction of the full story of war-time China, but this official version of China's trials and tribulations matched only by the indomitable spirit of its people covers quite a wide ground and contributes to a better understanding of the life in unoccupied China to-day. There are in it fascinating, though somewhat poignant, pictures of government employees living with their wives and children in straw-thatched cottages around the buildings in which they work, of dramatists and novelists using literature as a weapon to fight the Japanese, of students in refugee universities, of the curious and indestructible city of Chungking and of the aviators who maintain a thin line of communication between blockaded China and the friendly world outside. China's spirit after eight years of war appears to be fittingly epitomized by that Chungking rickshaw-puller whose name is *Yu Kang-ming* which means "I Fight Fate."

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

ONENESS WITH GOD: By Minocher K. Spencer. Published by the Spiritual Healing Centre, Raja Street, Coimbatore, South India. Pp. 394. Price (Cloth-bound) Rs. 3-8.

Mr. Spencer is not a new author. The volume under review is his third book. It is foreworded by Rishi Ram Ram, the Spirit-Guide of the Centre, from which the book has been published and whose object is "to cultivate co-operation between incarnate, and discarnate spirits". Rishi Ram Ram of the Spirit World rightly observes in the foreword that "the One becomes Many under the creative impulse and the man of wisdom sees steadily the One amidst the Many." The learned author explains from a comparative study the different religions and stresses the value of realising the aspirant's oneness with God which alone can pave the way for everlasting peace and blessedness and extinguish for good the fire of suffering. He rightly proves with copious quotations from various sacred texts that all prophets are fully unanimous about this conclusion. He quotes Admiral Byrd who while detained in search of South Pole about seventy days in an Advance Base in polar-region absolutely alone in

the wilderness of frozen ice experienced and said "The Universe is not dead. There is an all-pervading Intelligence behind it. Though I am cut off from all human beings, I am not alone." This is the theme of this book and the basic teaching of all faiths. That Realisation is the unity of life or in other words oneness with God is the goal of human life, is very clearly pointed out in this book. The seven chapters of which this book is composed are all very well thought out and written in an elegant style and convincing way. The chapter on reincarnation is especially interesting and proves beyond doubt, with apt quotations from various scriptures, the immortality of the soul and the doctrine of transmigration. The book is a worthy addition to the increasing literature on the subject and deserves a perusal by those who want to understand the common ground of all faiths.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

AN INTRODUCTION TO BANKING PRINCIPLES, PRACTICE AND LAW: By Bimal C. Ghose, B.Sc., (Econ.), B.Com. (Lond.). Oxford University Press. Pages 361. Price Rs. 5-8.

The book has been divided into four parts. In Part I, General Principles of Banking have been discussed in twelve chapters. Part II contains four chapters on Foreign monetary systems of the United Kingdom, United States of America, France and Germany. In Part III Indian Banking and Money market have been dealt with in six chapters. Part IV of seven chapters has been devoted to Banking Practice and Law. The book is meant for the B. Com. students of the Indian Universities and for candidates preparing for the Examinations of the Indian Institute of Bankers. So far as the general treatment of the subject is concerned, the book has been made much attractive for under-graduates with up-to-date figures and statistics as far as available in these abnormal days. Part III will be specially useful to students in their study of the Indian Money Market. The portion dealing with the Practice and Law of Banking is rather short and as such cannot be entirely depended upon by the candidates appearing at the Examinations of the Indian Institute of Bankers, although this will satisfy the requirements of commerce students of the University. We have no doubt that the commerce students of the University will find Mr. Ghose's book a useful guide in a subject which is interesting and difficult at the same time.

AUSTRALIA—A NEW NATION: By C. E. Sayers. Hindustan Publications, 50, Zahe Place, Calcutta. Pages 61. Price Re. 1-8.

From a convict settlement to a prosperous and self-governing Commonwealth, Australia is a wonderland. In this small book everything worth knowing, viz., physiography, population, economic development, gold, wool, dairy products, livestock, fruits, manufactures, Government—State or Federal, political parties and last but not the least, Australia's part in the present war and its post-war problems, has been arranged and discussed in a business-like manner. The book is well illustrated and up-to-date figures and statistics have been given.

All classes of readers, students and traders alike, will find this book useful and interesting.

ADVERTISING TO ALL: By R. Dhara. Published by Industry Publishers Ltd., Calcutta. Pages 214. Price Rs. 4.

There are not many books to tell small businessmen how to advertise their merchandise and as a result much money is wasted in fruitless advertisement. The author of this book, an experienced journalist, discusses the subject threadbare and concludes rightly that false propaganda for trash goods does more evil than good

to the advertiser. Advertisement must be to help the buyers and not to mislead them, far less to induce them to mis-spend their money. Really useful articles should be advertised in a scientific manner to educate the prospective consumers. Ultimately honesty in business will pay. The public who are the buying members for a particular article, cannot be cheated for long. So honesty is the best policy here as well as elsewhere in human society.

This book is specially written for helping small Indian businessmen who will find it useful.

A. B. DUTTA

THE PEACOCK LUTE : Anthology of Poems in English by Indian Writers (Kiranavali No. 1). Edited by V. N. Bhushan. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. 1945. Pp. 155. Price Rs. 5; Foreign sh. 7/6.

The Peacock Lute, an anthology of poems written in English by Indian writers is a novel but needful venture in the field of Indian publication and it will be received with a delightful surprise. Indo-English poetry, has, in some quarters, been looked upon with scepticism and prejudice and remains in a neglected and straggling condition. The difficulty of collecting it, emphasised by Latika Basu in her work, is great.

But Indo-English poetry can not afford to remain neglected. Though not more than a century old, it has already grown in volume, significance and value, and holds out a high possibility. It represents, as Tagore has said, our spontaneous cultural response to English influence. It represents, as Latika Basu has said, England's cultural conquest over India. The present volume will make us conscious of these facts. It includes poems of men like Kashiprosad Ghosh, M. M. Dutta, Sri Aurobinda, Swami Vivekananda, Manomohan Ghosh, Toru Dutta, Tagore, Mrs. Naidu, Chettur brothers, Bharati Saravai and a host of other reputed poets. The book, however, does not aim at comprehensiveness and excludes many other daring adventurers into the bower of English Muse.

The editor of this volume, Prof. Bhushan, himself a poet of a high order, deserves to be congratulated upon this excellent work. The selection of poems is generally representative but the editor might include a few more of the poems, specially, nature poems, of Manomohan Ghosh, who, according to George Sampson, is a remarkable poet of ours. Specially valuable are the introductory essays attached to the book which are scholarly as well as delightful. In these essays the editor analyses the growth of Indo-English poetry from its imitative stage in Kashiprosad Ghosh to its present creative stage. It contains a bibliography which makes it conspicuously useful for study and research. The book is a successful venture and it ought to be regarded as a new cultural acquisition.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

MUDRA-RAKSHASA OR THE SIGNET RING : Translated into English from the original Sanskrit by Ranjit Sitaram Pandit. New Book Company, 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. 1944. Demy 8vo., pp. xvi + 278.

Here we have an English translation of the celebrated Sanskrit drama describing the complete overthrow of the Nandas resulting from the machinations of Chanakya. It is not the work of a professional scholar but of a man of sharp intelligence and broad outlook of life with scholarly instincts whose translation of the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana already made him famous among Sanskritists at large. The translation is followed by exegetical notes and a number of

appendices containing dissertations on topics like the Indian drama, Pataliputra, age of the Guptas as reflected in the drama under review, the Nandas, the Mauryas and Chanakya, and Iranian, Greek and Chinese contacts with India. Thus the reader will not only enjoy the drama but will profit by the sufficient material for thought and enlightenment embodied in the book. Attention may be drawn to the translation and interpretation of a few words and expressions which may not appear to be strictly accurate or quite in agreement with tradition. *Vrishaki*, the term by which Chandragupta was addressed by Chanakya, is supposed to be a term of 'great affection and esteem' meaning 'young bull' (p. xiv). But from III. 15 and the prose line preceding it the term would appear to have at least an indication of Chanakya's superiority complex over Chandragupta, a *Sudra-Kutumbini* (p. 3) is translated as 'mistress of the household' instead of simply 'wife'. *Chanakya-hataka* is translated (p. 252), as 'good as dead Chanakya' instead of 'villain' or 'wretched'. There is some discrepancy in the numbering of words for annotation on p. 143. The translation of *Javanika-vrita Sarira* (p. 143), as 'his body hidden behind a curtain' seems to be rather too free.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

DI-ANTA : Nishi Kanta. The Culture Publishers. 63, College Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

To readers of Bengali poetry, Nishi Kanta is quite well-known. In an age that is mad after material realism, rather the grosser side of it, he strikes a note of deep spiritual emotion. He does not ignore the smiles and tears of our daily life but imbues them with the glow of a higher reality. His poems come easily out of the depths of his soul and flow with a lofty serene music.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

BHAKTA MANOMOHAN : Udbodhan Karyya-laya, Baghbazar, Calcutta. 1851 B.S. Price Re. 1-12.

The book under review is the life-story of Manomohan Mitra, (1851-1903), a devout follower of Sri Ramakrishna and a close associate of Ramchandra Datta, the well-known founder of Yogodyan. He stood by the latter and made joint endeavours to spread the gospel of the saint of Dakshineswar and their efforts met with success. The gradual waning of the influence of Brahma Samaj, the overflowing tenderness for Sri Ramakrishna, the absorption of the entire being in the loving contemplation of Godhead—such a story will throw a flood of light on the life in Bengal when there was a renaissance and its consequent clash of ideals. It is also a valuable document which may be quoted to show that the current of spiritual life runs underground in young Bengal, that it has not dried up but fertilises the soil even though we cannot see it always at work. A loving heart, a determined mind, a tendency to the spiritual way of living fostered by hereditary leanings—Manomohan's biography will at once attract readers and will add to the stock of Ramakrishna literature which is still gaining in popularity in Bengal, and influencing millions to a better view of life.

P. R. SEN

HINDI

DHARTI KE GEET : Edited by Ramesh Sinha. Published by Jan Prakashan Griha, Bombay 4. Pp. 74. Price twelve annas.

This short collection of simple and instructive songs in various dialects of Hindi aims at the popularisation of anti-fascism in rural India. Some are quite realistic and have a freshness and appeal of their own.

AZADI KA ALHA : By Ramgulam Singh. Published by Jan Prakashan Griha, Bombay 4. Pp. 19. Price four annas.

These songs of freedom by a seasoned Kisan-worker have a vigorous message and appeal. Though in old and traditional style, the poet has striven to foster a broad-based international outlook towards world-freedom.

MARUDHARA : By Bharat Vyas. Published by Prachya Kala Niketan, Bikaner. Pp. 71. Price Re. 1-4.

Marudhara or Marwar is commonly known as a barren land or desert. But being born there, the poet feels greater attachment to it. He has, therefore, invested it not only with the historical significance that is its due, but also with colourful imagery, which has turned it into a veritable paradise. The poet derives a good deal of inspiration from its golden past and sings for a bright future.

M. S. SENGAR

BHAKTA NARSINH MEHTA : By "Mangal". Gita Press, Gorakhpur, U. P. Pp. 179. Price six annas.

This is the first full-length biography in Hindi of the famous fifteenth century saint of Gujarat, Kathiawar, Narsinh Mehta. Though at places there is more of legend and less of history,—due apparently to lack of authentic records,—yet the book does not entail too much of a strain on the reader's credulity. But its most attractive feature is its spirit of devotion, which cannot but evoke a similar response from the reader. The original songs,—which are in Gujarati and a selection of which is given at the end,—have been translated for the benefit of the latter.

SHAKUNTALA : By Durgadatta Tripathi. Govind Ashrama, Chabla Darvaza, Chandausi. Pp. 65. Price four annas.

This is a metrical story of Shakuntala whom Kalidasa has immortalized in Sanskrit. It is in eight cantos and makes an easy reading. It could be used with advantage for reciting the tale to the masses, who are not acquainted with the original.

G. M.

KANNADA

UKKINA MANUSHYA : By M. Haridas. Published by Minchina Balli Chavadi, Dharwar. Price Rs. 2.

The book under review is a short life-sketch of Stalin—the maker of Modern Russia. The name of Stalin conjures up a host of images in the minds of the youth of the world. The Soviet experiment and its achievement in the field of economic reorientation have a peculiarly fascinating charm—particularly so at a time when the whole world is ardently pining for an enduring peaceful social order.

Naturally, therefore, one feels curious about how Stalin could weld a mighty union of Socialist Soviet Republics out of the weltering mess of disintegrated Russian Imperialist States. Today Russia under the dynamic leadership of Stalin—the Man of Steel—stands at the apex of the pyramid of the "Big Three" powers. The magnificent work that the mighty military machine of Russia has achieved in smothering the Fascist and Nazi menace has won the approbation of even its bitterest enemy—Churchill.

Mr. Haridas gives us the relevant details of Stalin's life. He has not failed to give us the background of the Russian revolutions and the lurid picture of Czar's tyranny. Incidentally he has referred to how Lenin's

"Iskra", the spark, ignited the slumbering embers of Russian peasants' self-respect and inspired and inflamed them to revolt, and how the newspaper was a magnet to attract even the unlettered mass. The diverse vicissitudes through which Russia had to pass from constitutional liberalism to relentless radicalism are vividly portrayed and thus grip the reader to the end.

The writer has tried to put his finger on the secret of Russian success and has been largely successful. The style of the book is very lucid and the diction pleasing and picturesque.

V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

CUTCHNI LOK VARTA : By Durgarshi Dharamsy Shampat. Published by the Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 348. Price Rs. 2.

Cutch in old days was the land of heroes and their romantic deeds were embodied in a book called "Cutchna Kaladharo" written by Mr. Dulerai Karani, noticed in these columns before. The present work is an abridgment or summary of matters set out there by that veteran statistician and encyclopaedic writer of Gujarati, Mr. Durgarshi Dharamsy Shampat. The abridgment has not suffered in any way so far as the merits of the original are concerned. It is as comprehensive as the original, and we congratulate the society on selecting the book and its summariser and publishing it in these days of paper scarcity, at its present price.

PYRAMIDNI CHHAYA-MAN : By Chandrashekar P. Shukla. Published by the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, Bombay. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 2.

Ancient Egypt, the Egypt of four thousand years before Christ, till it was conquered by Alexander in B.C. 332, presents a solid front of civilization of the highest type in all branches of culture and life. Gathering his facts from about eighteen volumes bearing on the history, civilisation, myth and legend of ancient Egypt, Mr. Shukla has managed to produce a book, which is teeming with information in this interesting subject. We find in it a model hand-book in the lines of which histories of ancient countries like China and Tibet should be written. The Editor of this series—Vishwa Sahitya Mala—Mr. K. M. Munshi, we have, no doubt, is alive to this necessity.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Thoreau at Walden

4TH JULY 1845

A century ago Thoreau, the pioneer of Civil Disobedience in the U.S.A., celebrated Independence Day by commencing to live his hermit life at Walden. Mr. Hugh Harris writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Twenty miles from Boston in the State of Massachusetts, U.S.A., is the picturesque and historic village of Concord. It is celebrated as the place where hostilities started in the American War of Independence. In literature it is even more famous as the home of Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau and other writers of the Transcendentalist movement. The influence of their ideas radiated from this New England centre throughout the world, but they in their turn had been inspired by currents of thought that reached them from Europe and Asia. The year 1845 marks a focal point in this interaction of spiritual forces. Then it was that Thoreau began his experiment at Walden.

Henry David Thoreau was born at Concord in 1817, the son of a local pencil-maker. A formative influence in the shaping of his character was his close friendship with Emerson, in whose house he lived from 1841 to 1843. Emerson had abandoned the profession of a clergyman, and was seeking for a wider philosophy of life than that afforded by his Puritan environment. The teachings of India and the Orient greatly contributed to Emerson's spiritual development. Examples of his indebtedness are his essay on "The Over-Soul" and his poem "Brahma".

In March 1845, on the shore of a small lake in the Walden woods, over a mile away from Concord, Thoreau began to erect a hut. He quickly built and furnished it unaided at a cost of twenty-eight dollars. On July 4, 1845—to celebrate Independence Day after his own fashion—he went into occupation, and there he lived alone for two years and two months.

His object was to find spiritual refreshment by direct contact with Nature, away from the industrialism and machinery of Western civilisation.

Throughout his life Thoreau kept personal Journals of extraordinary interest. During his sojourn at Walden he edited his records of a voyage that he and his brother had taken six years previously in a boat of their own making. These were afterwards published under the title of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. The Journals that he wrote while at Walden went to make his even more famous book, *Walden; or Life in the Woods*.

Thoreau contemplated Nature with a wise passiveness that owed much to the Indian teachers whose works he studied in his retreat. He writes in *Walden*:

"I grew in those seasons like corn in the night, and they were far better than work of the hands would have been. They were not time subtracted from my life, but so much over and above my usual allowance. I realised what the Orientals mean by contemplation and the forsaking of works."

Both *Walden* and *A Week* are full of references to, and quotations from, the sacred books of India. In *A Week* a third part of the chapter entitled "Monday" is devoted to a sympathetic exposition of Hindu thought. In particular he praises the *Bhagavad-Gita* (a translation by Charles Wilkins).

Thoreau relates that he also greatly enjoyed the *Dharma Sastra* (Laws of Manu) in the translation of William Jones.

The entertaining fables of the *Hitopadesa*, translated by Charles Wilkins, also much appealed to Thoreau because of their "playful wisdom."

Such were among the books which Thoreau read at Walden, and which in his writings there he recommended to his contemporaries.

Oriental literature was at that time little known in Europe and America, and Thoreau made the following suggestion:

"It would be worthy of the age to print together the collected Scriptures and Sacred Writings of the several nations, the Chinese, the Hindus, the Persians, the Hebrews, and others, as the Scripture of mankind. . . . Such a juxtaposition and comparison might help to liberalize the faith of man. This is a work which Time will surely edit, reserved to crown the labours of the printing press. This would be the Bible, or Book of Books, which let the missionaries carry to the uttermost parts of the earth."

That very year, a young unknown student in Paris—Max Muller—conceived the ambition of publishing a text and translation of the *Rig-Veda*. Subsequently, he also edited "The Sacred Books of the East", translated by various scholars, in fifty volumes, and published by the Oxford University Press.

One summer afternoon in 1845, while walking from his hermitage to the village cobbler's to fetch a shoe, he was arrested and put into jail, because he refused to pay his poll tax. His refusal was intended as a protest against the country's maintenance of the institution of Negro slavery. He spent but one night in jail, the tax, much to his disgust, being paid by one of his aunts.

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Thoreau's account of this episode was afterwards elaborated in his famous essay *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*. This essay came, in 1907, into the hands of Mahatma Gandhi. It greatly influenced his adoption in South Africa, and subsequent transference to India, of the policy of *Satyagraha*.

The Peace That Comes

Without assuming the role of a prophet one can examine the forces at present working and have a guess at the composition of the Peace Conference and say which way the wind blows. M. Balasubramaniam writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

It is probable that the U.S.A. will occupy the central place in the dais at the Peace Conference. England comes second. Russia comes next. The Dominions—Canada, Australia and South Africa follow. Poland and France will be there. China will be represented and as appendages India and other countries will doubtless be invited.

What will be the policy of these nations? If History is any guide, their policy at the Peace Conference will not be completely different from what it has been so far. Though called a democratic country the United States is not as democratic, as the word implies, or as Americans ask us to imagine. For at home there is the colour problem. Not long before his death the late Wendell Willkie urged the Americans, in vain, to make the Negroes, the partners in war and suffering, partners in peace and prosperity. So long as America has not got this equality she lives in a glass-house and cannot throw stones at others—particularly at Britain for her policy in India. That explains why President Roosevelt could not interfere in Indian affairs. When Ambassador Philips exposed inconvenient truths about India, Roosevelt could do no more than recall the Ambassador.

True, America has no designs of political domination. But can it be said that she has no desire for economic exploitation?

The desire to make Germany an agricultural country—the reference is to Morgenthau plan—and cripple her industries, though said to be as a measure for securing world security, is also intended to remove one commercial competitor from the field for years to come. American entry in this war is to root out Japan which is a powerful competitor in the world market. Germany and Japan removed, America wants to retain the first place in world commerce. This is obvious to any one who has glanced through the proceedings of the several conferences—Dumbarton Oaks, Bretton Woods, Rye, Chicago—that took place recently. With this background America enters the Peace Conference. How far she will fight for a fair peace for political equality for all nations—victor and vanquished, for those which lost their freedom now or before—, how far she will help the economic regeneration of exploited countries, can be better imagined than described.

The next important country at the Peace Conference will be England.

England's aim in this war is well-known and oft-repeated. Clearly and unambiguously Mr. Churchill has said, 'We mean to hold our own, I have not become the King's first Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.' Logically he gave a limited application to the Atlantic Charter. Britain's policy in India is but translation of Mr. Churchill's dictum into practice. Fenner Brockway might say that Amery is a



pigmy compared to the giant Nehru. But Britain's policy in India is clear, not to allow Indian parties to come together, to imprison Indian leaders who wanted the application of the Atlantic Charter to India and who wanted the 'four freedoms' so loudly spoken of.

Britain's economic policy in India and elsewhere is enough testimony to her future intentions to continue the exploitation of India and other countries. The hurdles put in the way of Indian industrialisation are too many and too well-known. When Indians wanted to start major industries as building of ships, manufactures of locomotives, automobiles and aeroplanes, the Government of India did not even guarantee to purchase Indian-made cars. The Government help was so great that the aircraft factory intended to manufacture aeroplanes has remained a repair factory. Orders for ships for India were placed in Australia, a country much less equipped to manufacture them. And still Mr. Amery swears that Britain is not in the way of Indian industrialisation. To crown all this, the London paper *Indian Affairs* claims half-partnership in Indian Industries in the post-war period for the expert help that Britain may give to India. Britain's role in India will be that of the old man in the story of Sindbad the Sailor.

The third peace-maker is Russia.

Russia is said to be the greatest democratic country—at least so the communists say. But any disinterested observer will find that Russian policy is proving the maxim that power corrupts, and absolute power, absolutely. We read of the treatment given to the Poles. Britain, by the way, entered the war to defend the integrity of Poland against Germany. While the same war is on, and when Russia questions the same rights, Britain is a silent spectator. And the celebrated *Times* says that 'Britain cannot afford to meddle in Central Europe against Russia.' Such is the political record of Russia. Russia's desire to get oil concessions is proof of her economic intentions, and the harmless desire to benefit herself at the expense of others.

Gen. Smuts will represent S. Africa, it has already been announced.

His love of fairplay is famous. The British settled in S. Africa as they did in several other countries. The people they have to come in contact are the natives and the Indians who have made S. Africa, their own land. The first the British want to exterminate and the second they want to drive out. The British policy towards the natives is well-brought out in a saying common among the natives:

"When the white man came he had the bible and we had the land. Now we have the bible and he has the land."

The lot of Indians settled in S. Africa, is a twice-told story, in a word it is miserable. The S. African Government wanted to worsen it. When a harmless Indian Central Government gave out an empty threat of retaliatory action against S. Africans, a S. African paper says, with evident modesty, that the S. African Government will go on with their anti-Indian policy till an Indian army arrives in S. Africa. The typical leader of such a country will be an important member of the Peace Conference. What will be the nature of the peace?

Australian representatives will play a prominent part in the peace deliberations for will not Australia have contributed to the victory of the allies?

Canada's voice will be no less distinct and no more in favour of the oppressed.

Poland and France cannot be expected to talk against the interests of the U.S.A. and Great Britain.

Should China be critical of British or American policy, China will be dubbed ungrateful.

India's contribution to the war effort has been admitted on all hands. She will have 'representatives' selected by the Government of India, 'through the proper channel' and will be under the inspiration and guidance of the Secretary of State.

Such will be Peace Conference. Such will be the antecedents of the peace-makers. The reader may judge for himself the outcome of such a conference. But it appears that the Biblical sentence about peace-makers has to be modified to suit modern times.

Retrospect

The New Review observes:

A review of Nazi strategy may throw additional light on the Pacific War. It is undeniable that the Nazis had not at all prepared the war with that thoroughness with which they were credited. They miscalculated the fundamental situation. According to military writers, like the German Haus Delbruck, or the English J. F. Fuller, strategy has two forms, annihilation or exhaustion; in the first, battle is the only aim and weapon of war; in the second, battle is only one of the means which may lead to the political goal. Strategy of annihilation which brings about the political result in view within the shortest time and with the least expenditure supposes a war potential superior to the enemy's throughout the struggle. Short of it, war leads to destruction; it led Napoleon to St. Helena, and the Kaiser to Doorn, it has now annihilated Nazidom. In 1939, the Nazi High Command and the German industrialists were aware that their potential enemies had resources which, if given due respite, would tilt the military balance in a decisive manner. Russia was sidetracked by treaty, and America was hesitating; the problem was to overrun or

neutralize Europe before America could be ready. As England was the most powerful and most strongly entrenched enemy, her reduction was the key-problem of Nazi strategy. It is remarkable that it was neglected.

The Nazis prepared their land warfare most accurately.

Their plans for the conquest of Poland, the Low Countries, and France worked out smoothly. But they were so obsessed with their land superiority that they failed to notice the sea and neglected the water-equation of their strategy. In particular they failed to see the British Channel; yet the Channel was the focal point of the western war; one might even say that the western war could be called the Channel War, since its fortunes could be read in the Channel which was a defence moat in 1940, a no-man's water in 1941-43, and became an Allied canal in 1944-45. If we are to believe F. M. von Rundstedt, the Nazis never contemplated crossing that 20-mile stretch of water. With Britain's refusal to oblige with peace proposals, the Nazis felt at a loss; their fleet was helpless against the British Navy and could not be expected to keep any improvised invasion force protected and supplied. They resorted to air bombing, but failed to complete the preliminary task of securing air superiority; their bombing-plan was ill-articulated, and if we believe Goering's recent revelations, it was spoiled by Hitler's interference, and given up prematurely.

All the known facts go to show that the cold calculating Nazi High Command had not prepared for Britain's invasion; yet that was the key-operation of their strategy.

Had they achieved it, they would have won the war. However much Mr. Churchill may have challengingly spoken of fighting on from the distant shores of the Empire, the occupation of Britain would have been a disaster from which the Allies could not have recovered: an invasion of Europe from American shores would have been postponed indefinitely, and Hitler would have had time to organise Europe according to his Nazi pattern.

What is stranger is that even their defeat in the Battle of Britain did not teach the Nazis that the reduction of Britain's power was the key-problem of the war. Once they renounced invading Britain, there remained for them to strike a decisive blow at the Empire's naval power by overrunning Egypt, the sole bridge-head. This was quite feasible; instead of keeping inert, they should have ordered the Italians to occupy Tunisia, and so dominate the shortest sea-route to Africa, and they should have doubled Rommel's armoured divisions. Rommel would have been in Cairo by the summer of 1941, the Mediterranean would have been turned into an Axis lake, and the Allies would have had no oversea bases from which to assault the continent. Any move by Russia at that time could easily have been countered by divisions on the defensive.

Instead of this, the Nazis waited till the spring of 1941, rushed through the Balkans and occupied Crete. From all appearances they were preparing Turkey's invasion in order to reach Egypt through Palestine; they then hesitated, possibly out of fear of Russian reaction, and, soon after, they committed their second great strategic blunder. They changed their line of operations; they turned away from Britain and her Empire, which was then in a much weakened strategic position, and they shunted their war machine into the measureless expanses of Russia. What they should have done was to keep on the defensive against possible

Russian attack, until they had mastered the Near East and brought Nazi aggression to the Arabian Sea where they could have joined their Japanese partners. Their position and resources could then have sufficed to defy the Allies.

English Tradition

Sir Robert Denniston writes in *The Indian Review*:

What is tradition? As a lover of my own language I often consult a dictionary, and Mr. Webster, I think, rather rises to the occasion. "Tradition", he tells us, "is the oral delivery of information, opinions, doctrines, practices, rites and customs, from father to son, or from ancestors to posterity; the transmission of any knowledge, opinions or practice from forefathers to descendants by oral communication, without written memorials."

Why do we attach value to a family heirloom—some trinket perhaps of no great intrinsic value except that it has been passed down from father to son? We value it, I think, for its antiquity, and because of its associations. It has been said that the only true aristocracy is old age, and tradition and old age have much in common.

If we search for tradition in England we at once discover the greatest tradition of all—the monarchy. If tradition and antiquity have much in common perhaps also tradition and loyalty go hand in hand.

Where does tradition come from? What is its background? Religion? To some extent, as those will agree who remember the grandeur and nobility of the Coronation Service. History, of course, is the mother of tradition, and many present-day ceremonial customs—and extremely odd some of them are—date back to the

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knights errant of old. The navy and the army, of course, are full traditions, most of them connected with battle honours.

Tradition in England is not confined to the army and navy and you will find that nearly every little village has its old customs, the origin of which is sometimes lost in antiquity.

Our law courts, of course, are full of traditions, and there is nothing nobler in the English language than the clerk of the court's charge to the jury. If the official who administers the charge is not called the Clerk of the court I apologise, but the law and I are but slightly acquainted.

Parliament is tradition-ridden to the Nth, and in spite of Cromwell's petulant 'Take away these baubles' 300 years ago, they still remain. I can imagine the hush of reprobation when, a short time ago a truculent Scot was so lost to all sense of tradition as to scorn the good offices of his sponsors, and to declare, in effect, that he had been elected by his constituents, here he was and here he would remain, and he didn't propose to be introduced thank you.

Those who sneer at the "old school tie" will also, I have no doubt, sneer at tradition, and our schools are full of traditions, but those traditions are based on loyalty, and I can think of less desirable characteristics than loyalty. Each school has its own traditions and some of them, such as the precise angle at which the cap should be worn, in accordance with one's seniority are rather puerile, but the motto "Manners maketh man" is no bad thing to live up to—no, I do not myself come from that particular seat of learning.

No mention of English traditions would be complete without the mention of Shakespeare, who is England. There is no occasion, no event, no world shattering occurrence for which we cannot find some appropriate reference in the works of Shakespeare. Why, in happier days, was Stratford-on-Avon the Mecca of tourists from the new world? There is nothing that our orators have said for generations that was not better said by Shakespeare 320 years ago.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Vocational Guidance for Young Persons in Sweden

The following extract is made from an article under the above caption published in the *International Labour Review*:

In 1940, the organisation of the employment service in Sweden was taken under central control by the State Employment Market Commission, and at the same time special attention began to be paid to the further development of vocational guidance.

An adviser on these questions was attached to the Commission. After preliminary investigations had been made to find out the conditions which were likely to prevail in various quarters and the main lines which ought to be followed, the Commission undertook a comprehensive reorganisation of vocational guidance in the spring of 1941.

From the outset, the Commission took the view that the work of vocational guidance must be so organised as to bring it into direct contact with the employment service proper. Only in this way could vocational guidance be based on a broad and general view of the employment market and on the necessary familiarity with the various workplaces, occupations, and types of work. In addition, experience had shown that the mere assembly of a great deal of information is in vain unless it is accompanied by practical action and that therefore vocational guidance must in many, perhaps in most, cases lead directly to preparation for work or training.

From the point of view of organisation, therefore, vocational guidance activities were linked up with the public employment service, and particularly with the sections of employment offices set up for applicants for work under 18 years, the juvenile employment exchanges, and for secondary school pupils and students, with the student employment exchanges in Stockholm, Göteborg, and the two university towns of Uppsala and Lund. When the Commission took over the employment service, however, only a few of the larger offices had special sections for juveniles, and the student exchanges were also relatively unsatisfactory. Steps have therefore been taken to equip the juvenile and student exchanges more adequately for their work and to extend their services over the whole country.

The material needed to help the vocational guidance officers in their work is in the main prepared in the headquarters department of the Commission which is directly responsible for the juvenile and student exchanges. This applies to: (1) the forms needed for collecting information on the person applying for work or advice; (2) the pamphlets to be studied by the juveniles and their parents or guardians; and (3) the descriptions and surveys of occupations used by the guidance officers as a guide when giving young people the necessary information on different jobs and training opportunities.

So far as training and work opportunities are concerned, a fairly comprehensive enquiry is being made for the purpose of providing guidance officers with reliable information on different occupations and training facilities. Particulars as to workplaces, occupations, kinds of work, and means of training are systematically collected from vocational schools, employers, occupa-

tional organisations, individuals representative of particular occupations, and technical journals and literature. These particulars, after having been examined and sifted, are intended to form the basis for accurate descriptions of occupations in each branch of activity. Such descriptions have already been completed for some occupations. As soon as a particular field of work and training has been analysed, the material is placed at the disposal of the vocational guidance officers. In this way the Commission hopes that reliable information will gradually be compiled, of the type demanded by members of the Riksdag in 1938 and also recommended by the Social Board and the Central Board of Education in 1939, concerning the most suitable form for centralised information work for the vocational guidance of young persons. In this connection, it is worth noting that material from the Commission's investigation of employment conditions of certain university graduates, and from various other enquiries made by the Commission and/or by the employment exchanges (in collaboration with, e.g., the handicrafts associations) to ascertain the supply of and demand for pupils and apprentices in the various localities and occupations, constitutes a valuable basis for the work of vocational guidance.

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An Oriental Cultural Centre in London

In a snappy article in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Fred H. Andrews discusses the need of the establishment of an Oriental Cultural Centre in London:

By the reconstitution of the Archaeological Survey through the efforts of Lord Curzon, and its brilliant administration by Sir John Marshall, the appointment of expert coadjutors and the systematic training of Indian students in scientific methods of research instituted under Sir John Marshall's direction, the advances made have been very remarkable. The extent of territory indicated and now subject to the active investigations of the Archaeological Survey is, apart from other considerations, sufficient to justify amply the provision of a great museum in this, the centre of the Empire. But the geographical dimensions, extensive though they be, are small in comparison with their artistic, historical and archaeological content. And, mindful of the fact that Britain has been in administrative charge for many generations, of more or less of these great tracts with their hundreds of millions of people, their numberless languages and dialects, their varied culture and their past and present influence on the rest of the world, our obligation to recognise worthily all this in the form now again advanced, is surely incontestable and, indeed, imperative to our own self-respect. While other countries publish by snappy articles in small popular periodicals the activities of their nationals in India, conveying by implication that we British are doing worse than nothing, we by culpable complacency allow the fiction to pass as fact. It is unfortunately true, as a distinguished Indian scientist intimated recently, that "there is as little general attention paid to India in this country as to the planet Mars."

One of the effects of the present war has been to bring together in this country thousands of men and women from the Dominions and from the countries of our Allies. It is characteristic of many of these latter candid friends that they believe they have better knowledge about us and our activities than we ourselves have, and one hears the fantastic ideas entertained by the majority about India, of its people and our administration of that land. Our own people being almost equally ignorant, thanks to deficient education, are not only incapable of rebutting calumny but often enough are inclined to accept the distorted views so positively aired. The want of knowledge concerning progress made in education, sanitation, health, industry, irrigation, and in numberless other directions is deplorable, and the ignorance of the complexities of race, language, caste, religion and social customs is not only profound, but by its extent affords scope for speculative assumptions unjust alike to Indians and British. Another effect of the war has been to take thousands of our intelligent and educated men and women to the East, many of whom would have their interest in those lands awakened, and in many cases would desire to supplement and extend that interest by available means on their return home.

In the near future, with the extension of rapid travel, distance will no longer divide East and West. Short visits will be practicable and will be encouraged; and our Oriental Centre might be made an attractive and appropriate focal point for visitors, providing rooms for private consultations, for small committee meetings and such other facilities as the general idea may suggest. It should be a rendezvous for Orientals and Westerners where friendly intercourse in congenial surroundings would promote knowledge and understanding of each other.

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Franklin Delano Roosevelt

The Catholic World writes on the death of President Roosevelt :

President Franklin D. Roosevelt died suddenly at Warm Springs, Ga., April 12th, at the age of sixty-three. The news of his death came as a great shock to the whole nation that was momentarily expecting the final victory in Europe.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was born January 30, 1882, at Hyde Park, N. Y. He prepared for college at Groton Boys School and entered Harvard at eighteen. He became president of his class in his senior year and editor of *The Harvard Crimson*. He then studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1907. Meantime he had married his distant cousin, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, and they had five children.

Mr. Roosevelt entered politics in 1910 when he became a State Senator, and very soon achieved renown

by fighting Tammany, though Tammany controlled both houses of the Legislature. When Wilson became President in 1912, Mr. Roosevelt was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy and he held this post during the First World War. In 1920 he was defeated for the office of Vice-President.

The following year Mr. Roosevelt was stricken with infantile paralysis but he went on to further successes in spite of this illness. In 1928 he was elected Governor of New York and in 1932 was elected President in the midst of the depression. In the two months prior to his first inauguration 5,504 banks had closed and the country was almost in a panic. The various alphabetical agencies were brought into being to counteract the depression.

President Roosevelt was re-elected in 1936 and in 1940 was elected for a third term, breaking a precedent as old as the Republic. During this third term the President met with Winston Churchill, August 14, 1941, and they issued jointly the eight-point statement of principles for peace known as the Atlantic Charter. Four months later Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and the President asked for a declaration of war. In November, 1943, President Roosevelt met with Churchill and Stalin in Teheran in Iran. In the following year he was elected for a fourth term and was inaugurated with a simple ceremony last January 20th. Less than a month later he again met with Churchill and Stalin at Yalta in the Crimea. At the end of March the President went to Warm Springs, Ga., intending to stay for a brief rest. Death came a few hours after he had a sudden brain hemorrhage.

May his soul rest in peace !

Curtis W. Reese writes in *Unity* :

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a great man and a great President, and we shall not soon see his like again.

He was a great in his understanding of the whole sweep of human needs and he was genuinely interested in the well-being of all men everywhere.

He was great in his conception of government as a means to the realization of a full life, and he allowed no antiquated ideas of political science to deter him from applying this conception.

He was great in his strategy of dealing with all sorts and conditions of men, and he was able to marshal conflicting groups in behalf of democratic and unifying social purposes.

He was great in his awareness of world trends and the meaning of world events, and he gave direction to trends and events.

In the scope of his outlook, in the method of his procedure, and in the breadth of his human interests, Franklin Delano Roosevelt stands secure among the great of all time.

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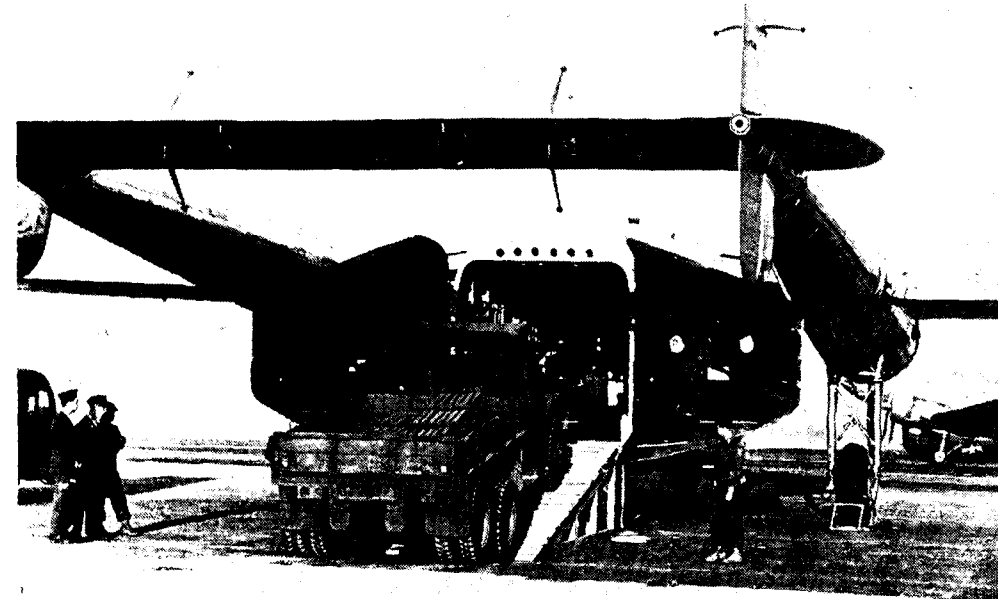
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THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER



1945

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NOTES

I. N. A.

The I. N. A. trials in Delhi have evoked India-wide agitation of an intensity that threatened to assume the form of a major mass-movement at times. Fierce demonstrations have taken place in many cities when the local authorities tried their mediaeval autocratic tactics in attempts to suppress popular feeling. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has spoken at length on this subject, in his characteristic direct and unambiguous fashion, and the Congress has taken up the defence and rehabilitation of the I.N.A. forces. The country has thus been given a clear lead and is now responding to the call of its real leaders in a fashion that has confounded officialdom and confused many observers from foreign countries. What is the reason behind all this reaction? Is it a genuine and conscious declaration of Indian India's approval and appreciation of all that the I.N.A. stood and still stands for, or is it merely a major political stunt? If it be a real declaration of faith, so to say, then the main elements underlying this declaration should be made plain now and a cold analysis given out to the world. The most notable fact, at this juncture is that Mahatma Gandhi has not as yet expressed himself at any length on the matter.

It might be thought premature on our part to attempt the analysis now, and we ourselves have to confess that in the absence of adequate data we are not in a position to undertake the job. But it might be well worth our while to consider certain facts in the light of what news is available to the public in general.

The I.N.A. is composed of professional soldiers with a fairly large sprinkling of volunteers, mainly from amongst the Indian civilian population of Burma and Malaya. In that respect the British Indian Army of to-day of over two millions is as "Indian" as the I.N.A., whether it be totally "mercenary" or totally "volunteer", regarded from the two extreme viewpoints. In one particular the I.N.A. was more Indian inasmuch as it was officered completely by Indians. In passing it might be remarked that despite total lack of air-support, with absurdly meagre equipment in armour

and artillery and with very primitive and inefficient arrangements regarding supply and transport those Indian officers displayed very considerable ability, viewed purely from a military standpoint. To resume the relation of facts, the I.N.A. and the British Indian Army in fact are not so very different in their composition. They are both of our flesh and blood and they are all the children of the fatherland's soil. As regards the question of the popular admiration for martial ardour, accomplishments and achievements, considerable sections of the British Indian Army can lay claim to at least as much—if indeed not to much more—as the I.N.A.

Indeed if the question of martial glory be raised, then the record of the Indian soldier in the three continents is second to none. In Syria and Abyssinia, in Eritrea and in the Western desert, in Libya and in Italy and in "South-East Asia" they formed the spear-heads of almost all the major assaults made by the British armies, and in the bitter fighting in the stricken fields of the Western desert the stoic courage of the Indian soldier came into full account. It is indeed a pity that such splendid material has received so little attention from the nation-builder's point of view. Mercenary the professional Indian soldier might be, but who is to be blamed for that? Almost totally, without education and guidance, without any anchorage in or contact with the stream of progressive thought, all he can be expected to achieve is the repayment of "salt" through his valour, steadfastness and fighting ability, which he has done seven-fold or more in spite of being denied the use of modern artillery and armour of his own. He has received the poorest publicity possible in these days of international news services equipped with wireless, television and aerial transport of mails at meteoric speeds. And therefore it seems to us that he deserves some little encouragement from his elders and his *bhai-bund* to show that he is still one of our own family.

In the materialistic field of concrete matters, therefore there is little to differentiate between the I.N.A. and the British Indian Army. But there is a



THE HONEY SELLERS

By Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

On September 25, the British turned "mortars and heavy machine guns" on the independence forces in a brutal attempt to drown in blood the growing uprising. "Armed Japanese troops are fighting side by side with British and French against the revolutionist Annamites," declared Bill Downs.

"The revolutionists are resisting the return of French rule which would leave them subservient as in the days before the war. Armed bands of thousands of these Annamite irregulars are now moving toward Saigon. Truckloads of Japanese troops with rifles drive through the streets toward the front." Some of the fighters for the freedom of Indo-China are armed with rifles they obtained by one means or another from the Japanese forces, "but most have only sticks and clubs and bamboo poles tipped with knife blades."

Britain Using Japs and Indian Troops for Suppressing Indo-China Nationalists

Describing how even Jap forces are being used to crush nationalist movement in Indo-China, Hansen continues:

The British Commander at Saigon, according to the September 26 PM, "is using 5,000 armed Japanese troops as well as his 2,500 British Indian troops and about 2,000 French soldiers released from prison camps." The number of American troops in use is not listed.

The resistance of the Indo-Chinese against the Japanese was launched soon after imperialist Japan seized the colony from the French. Insurrections occurred repeatedly. The first took place in October, 1940, at Bac-sou in the mountains of northern Tonkin; the second in Cochin China in November, 1940. This uprising spread to Saigon. The third insurrection was at Do-louong in January 1941. The present battle for independence began as early as last March when both Tokyo and Paris reported fighting in various parts of Indo-China. Tokyo said the fighting was over in a few days in the south and central areas and in a few weeks in the north. Paris, however, claimed the struggle continued.

On September 16, the Nationalist movement proclaimed "a general strike" and called for a boycott against all French in Southern Indo-China. By September 25 the fighting had grown intensive. The Nationalists burned the Saigon market place. This fire together with the capture of the city slaughter house left the city virtually without food. The Annamese fire department took the fire engines and joined the Nationalists.

"There is every indication that the revolt will continue in the northern section of Annam" says a September 25 press dispatch. "The Nationalists are reported to have withdrawn into the jungle country to organise resistance forces."

The Extent of the Indo-Chinese Movement

Hansen then gives an account of the scope and extent of the movement as follows:

The scope of the movement can be judged from a September 25, *Christian Science Monitor* report: "Since August 19, the Annamites have been in control of most of the coastal provinces of Annam, Cochin-China, and Tonkin, where they have set up the Republic of Viet Nam. They are being backed by the primitive Moi tribesmen from the hills."

Saigon Radio reported September 19: "Backed with 80,000 rifles and several wealthy Annamite financiers the . . . party holds marches through Saigon with youths marching in blue and white uniforms. . . Military training continues daily in a large park . . . and today the city is packed with Annamites. They live outside the city area, but come in each morning."

French Role in Indo-Chinese Movement

Hansen concludes his article with the following account of the French role in the suppression of Indo-Chinese movement:

Chinese troops in control of Hanoi have not interfered with the Nationalist administration of the city. The Hanoi Radio consequently is broadcasting to the world the Nationalist side of the struggle. On September 19 a Declaration of Independence was broadcast. It said in part:

"All men are born equal; nature has given them sacred rights—the right to be free, the right to look for happiness . . . Yet for more than 80 years . . . France refused us all liberty, thrust upon us inhuman laws and planned to set up three different administrative regimes in the north, centre and south to prevent our national unity. France built more prisons than schools, executed without mercy men whose only crime was that they loved their motherland, suppressed in blood all efforts at independence, strangled public opinion, muffled news, and used opium and alcohol to exhaust our race."

The proclamation charged the French with opening the doors to the Japanese imperialists and describes the joint French-Japanese oppression during the occupation years. The declaration concludes: "His Majesty Bao Dai abdicated and we have broken our 100-year old chains of monarchy, which have given place to the republic, and therefore we proclaim a definite break with France."

Britain under a Labour Government has now assumed the role of a guardian of World Imperialism. This may not seem unnatural. But what really appears unnatural and painful is American participation in this nefarious game of re-establishment of the British, Dutch and French Imperialisms in the East. People of Asia expected a better deal from the land of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln.

Plight of Indians in Burma and Malaya

The suggestion that a well-equipped Medical Mission should be sent from India to South East Asia is made by Mr. S. B. Adityan, Editor of *Thanthi* in Madras, who has just returned from a tour of Burma, Malaya and Siam, in an interview with a representative of the *Associated Press of India*. He says, serious and widespread distress prevails among the Indians in those places and vigorous and urgent measures are necessary to contact them. Cloth scarcity is so acute in Burma that the poor classes of Indians are still wearing sack cloth. In Malaya, Indians who are sick and destitute are dying in the streets. The situation is indeed so bad that the International Red Cross Association, Geneva, drew attention of the Government of India to the need to relieve the distress. The Government of India has placed a sum of one lakh of rupees at the disposal of the Association.

Mr. Adityan says that the funds placed by the Government of India at the disposal of their agent in Malaya is totally 'insufficient'. If the Government of India could spare seven crores of rupees to U.N.R.R.A., could they not spare one crore for the relief of Indian nationals in Burma, Malaya and Siam?

Government of India certainly cannot do it. Mr. Adityan demands money for the relief of Indians in distress. The seven crores of rupees were given to the U.N.R.R.A. because this money was demanded by White men for the relief of White destitutes.

Need for Medical Relief for Indians in East Asia

Continuing, Mr. Adityan says that a hospital in Rangoon was run by a Committee known as "Azad Hind Workers' Relief Committee" and they had a sum of Rs. 10,000 in their hands. The Medical Officer in charge of the hospital was Dr. (Lt.-Col) Lakshmi, but she had been removed to Kalaw, a village 400 miles away under orders restricting her movements. The hospital was now without a doctor. The members of the Committee had requested him to inform the Congress President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that the hospital was badly in need of a doctor and medical equipment.

Concluding Mr. Adityan said, "I am sure, if the Congress President decides to send a Medical Mission to the East, there will be patriotic Indian doctors ready to go with the Mission and serve the cause of humanity. The Congress which sent a Medical Mission to China some years ago, will be able to find the men and the means to send a similar mission to help the Indians in the east in their hour of distress."

The Government have evidently failed to do their duty. The people may now expect the Congress to act.

British Diplomacy in Palestine

A special correspondent of the Australian *Daily Mirror* has given a background of the double-faced British diplomacy in Palestine and has pointed out the fruits Britain is reaping there. Rivalry between Jews and Arabs for control of Palestine goes back to 636 A.D. when the Romans, after having conquered the Jews, were themselves conquered by the tribal followers of Prophet Muhammad. The rivalry continued through the age of the crusades and the Turkish occupation which began in 1516 A.D. It has lasted well over 400 years and is as acute today as it was at the beginning.

The argument between Jews and Arabs rests today on two promises made during that period. The Zionists or that section of Jewry which aims at the creation of a Jewish national state in Palestine, claim that Britain in 1917 promised Palestine to the Jews as a "national home" for the Jewish people. The Arabs, on the other hand, say that Britain promised them future independence in Palestine in 1915.

The Zionists base their claims on a paragraph in a letter written on behalf of the British Government by the British Foreign Secretary Lord Balfour, to Lord Rothschild on November 2, 1917. The paragraph is:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being

understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country.

This statement was made in recognition of the special aid given to Britain by certain Jews in World War I, and with a desire to enlist still further aid, particularly from Jews in the United States.

The Arabs base their contention that Britain promised them complete independence upon a letter written in October 1915, i.e., two years before the Balfour declaration, by Sir Henry MacMahon, British High Commissioner at Cairo, to the Arab leader Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca. Britain at this time was concerned in enlisting Arab support for the Allies in World War I, and to secure their aid for driving the Turks away from the precincts of the Suez canal. Sir Henry MacMahon's letter indicated that the British Government would recognise Arab independence on the Arabian peninsula subject to certain reservations. Two districts in Northern Syria and some portions of Syria lying to the west of Damascus were clearly specified and sought to be excluded from the limits demanded by the Arabs. It has been held that these reservations still left Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was to be recognised by Britain.

At the time, French had already laid claim to Syria and Palestine, and one view is that MacMahon's letter intended to exclude both from the area of Arab independence. After the war, France secured a mandate over Syria only, and the Arab have persistently maintained that only Syria and not Palestine was thus excluded from their future control by MacMahon's letter.

In May, 1916, Britain further complicated the issue by agreeing secretly with France and Russia that Palestine should be put under a special regime to be determined by the Allies. At the Peace Conference in 1920, France quickly claimed her mandate over Syria, but no country was anxious to assume the responsibility of a mandate over Palestine. Suggestions that the United States might do so was declined, and after the British military government had been obliged to cope with a long series of riots, Britain finally assumed the responsibility.

At this stage Winston Churchill appeared on the scene. As Colonial Secretary he attempted to defend Britain's interpretation of her commitments under the Balfour Declaration and Sir Henry MacMahon's letter to Hussein. In a White Paper, he disclaimed that Britain had any intention of creating a wholly Jewish Palestine or contemplated the disappearance or subordination of the Arab population, language and culture. The idea of partitioning Palestine was thus mooted by Churchill.

In 1923, partition of Palestine was tried with the separation of Transjordan from the rest of the country. The Arabs were given self-government of that area under British tutelage and the Jews were excluded from buying land there.

The partition scheme satisfied none. It did not pacify the Arabs and antagonised the Zionists. Both rejected a further proposal for the partition of Palestine when it was put forward by the Peel Commission in 1937. Conferences of the parties were held in London in 1939 but all attempts at negotiation failed. Britain then decided to foist her own decision which she alone considered as a solution. The British Government

decided to allow 15,000 Jews a year for five years to migrate to Palestine subject to the total number of Jews in the country being kept at the then existing level of one-third of the total population. This agreement terminated last year but Jewish migrants continue to find their way into the country. The influx of Jews into the country in recent years has brought a marked rise in economic prosperity from which the Arabs have benefited. But the latter fear that it would be only a matter of time before they would be dominated entirely by the superior numbers, greater wealth and more advanced industrial and political consciousness of the Jews.

Against this background, the present disturbances in Palestine may be understood.

Separatism Once Begun Knows No End

Separate electorates were, in 1919 created for the two sections of the Indian people—Muhammadans and Non-Muhammadans. In 1935, number of groups increased and separate electorates were provided for Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Europeans, etc. Attempt to create two separate electorates for the Hindus, one for Caste Hindus and the other for the Scheduled Castes, was frustrated. The creation of separate electorates was ardently supported by the Imperialist designers of Indian constitution. Now there is a demand for separate electorates among the Muslims, at least for the two sections—Shias and Sunnis. The All-Parties Shia conference has demanded that the Shias should be given separate electorates, but at the same time it had the good sense to suggest an alternative and said that it was prepared to accept joint electorate with adequate reservation of seats.

Addressing the press representatives Mr. Hoosseinbhai Laljee explained the fundamental differences between the Shias and the Sunnis, the two leading Muslim sects which had existed side by side since the death of the Holy Prophet Mohammad. The Shias had played their part in the history of the Islamic countries of the Middle East as well as in India. Among the Muslim rulers of India there had been Sunnis as well as Shias. The position had continued under British rule. The Shias by virtue of their ability and educational advance had carved out for themselves a position of importance in the body politic. At present they numbered three crores in India and 75 per cent of them were educated. But recently the Shias were being discriminated against and pushed back. In the legislatures, local bodies as well as public services, Sunnis were being given the dominant position without any regard to ability or competence. During the last six years even riots had occurred between the two communities because of the determined assault of the Sunnis on the religious rights of their Shia brethren.

It was because of these developments that an apprehension had grown in the minds of the Shias leading to the demand for protection and special rights.

The best remedy against such never-ending demands for separate electorates is the immediate re-introduction of joint electorates.

Election Prospects for the League

The election campaign in the United Provinces has brought out some significant features which tend

to show that the Muslim League is facing loss of ground, particularly in the rural areas. Frantic attempts to invoke Government aid for overcoming this difficulty is being made. The U.P. League leader Chowdhury Khaliqzaman had recently undertaken a tour of the eastern districts of the province to counteract the effects of Pandit Nehru's earlier visit which had set the prairie on fire. The League leaders have begun to feel that their candidates are not safe in the rural constituencies. Reports from Lucknow state that evidence of this fear is corroborated by the request made by Khaliqzaman to the U.P. Government to change the dates of election in the Muslim constituencies to a common day.

Why is this being done? Congress leaders in interviews to pressmen are stating that this is being deliberately done in order to prevent the results of elections in rural Muslim constituencies influencing the minds of voters in urban Muslim constituencies. Congress believes it is safe with the Muslims in the countryside. The results of rural Muslim voting would naturally influence urban Muslim voting in favour of Congress. It is a matter both of constitutional purity and political morality whether such an understanding between the Muslim League and the Government should have been reached at all.

In the western districts of U.P. the Jamiat-ul-Ulema which has always been strong is becoming stronger. Mr. Jinnah has been good enough to make a present of his elaborated Pakistan scheme. It is being torn to shreds by Congress and Nationalist Muslim leaders, and some of Mr. Jinnah's supporters are seriously doubting the wisdom of his announcement of the Pakistan scheme on the eve of the elections, when obviously it makes the case for the opposition stronger than before.

Additional factors which are believed in Muslim opinion to be against the League are the recent announcement of the Anglo-American policy towards Palestine, which in spite of all the sugar-coating is being condemned as a broad concession to American high finance and extreme Zionism, and the I.N.A. trials in which Muslim youths are standing side by side with non-Muslim youths in the dock for the crime of patriotism. Leaguers are regretting that Pandit Nehru and the Congress have made the cause of the I.N.A. their own, and the Government have by a huge indiscretion put a few more stones in the sling of the Congress.

Much had been made of the bye-election results to indicate League stronghold over the electorate. These bye-election victories had been gained when the Congress was in jail. With the Congress in the field, the League stalwarts have already begun to feel nervous. We may here recall the statement made by Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan made to the *Orient Press* after his release that the League influence was confined to the towns, it virtually has no hold over rural areas.

That by-elections are hardly any true indication of a party strength has recently been revealed beyond doubt by the British election results. In almost all the bye-elections the Conservatives had won but they were swept away when they came to face the general electorate. There is no reason why things will be different in India.

Lessons from the Frontier

The special correspondent of the *Leader*, who is visiting various provinces to report on election prospects, has just completed a tour of the North-Western Frontier Province. In his report he has given a good account of the achievements of the Congress Ministry on the Frontier. The greatest achievement of Dr. Khan Saheb's Ministry is his sincere and successful effort to meet the popular demand for the immediate revision of electoral rolls. While the other Ministries and the Governors' administrations in other provinces, as well as the Central Government, manoeuvred to sidetrack this vital issue and the Sind and the Punjab Governments imposed fees for the registration of new voters, Dr. Khan Saheb ordered a full scale revision of the electoral rolls. How this gigantic task was successfully completed within a very short time, has been graphically described by the correspondent as follows:

This revision was preceded by a magnificent publicity campaign. Fleets of lorries went round every village and town distributing leaflets, and telling people through loudspeakers that every eligible person should come forward to get himself registered as a voter. He had not to incur any expense or travel long distance for this purpose. He was only required to contact his *patwari*, near at hand, who was instructed not to delay the registration.

Thus, such a gigantic task, which the other provincial Governments refused to undertake, was accomplished in the record time of two months and seven days as against the normal period of one year.

The revised list shows a phenomenal increase in the number of voters. Whereas in 1941, there were only 290,000 voters for the Provincial Assembly, the number has now swelled to over 600,000, recording a general increase of 110 per cent. The highest figures are 270 per cent for Nowshera South and 200 per cent for Teri North and Lower Pakhli. The total figure is about 20 per cent of the entire population of the N.W. F. P. including men, women and children.

This result is the index of the political consciousness among the people of the province and their realization of the fact that this is going to be the last election under British rule.

While other provinces are still hesitant to accept the voters' insistent demand for ensuring secret vote, the Frontier Congress Ministry has already met it. It has passed orders that in future no voter will be required either to cross the ballot paper or to place it in the ballot box in the presence of the returning officer. There will be coloured ballot boxes, different colours being assigned to different candidates.

The correspondent then says that during the League regime, cities were getting a larger share of the controlled civil supplies than the rural areas. The Congress Ministry has ensured fair and equitable distribution of these commodities throughout the province. *Nepotism and jobbery have been eliminated and black-market killed.* Freedom of press and speech, unheard of during the Muslim League regime has been reassured. This Frontier example conclusively proves that nepotism, jobbery and black marketing can be stamped out in no time only if the highest administrators are themselves pure and sympathetic for the sufferings of the people.

The Ahrar Party is very strong in the Frontier Province. The policy of the Frontier Ahrars was dis-

closed to the correspondent by Maulana Abdul Qaiyum, a prominent Ahrar leader. He said, "Although the Ahrars will fight the elections independently, we will, wherever possible, support the Nationalist Muslims. There is even a possibility of an election pact between us and the Congress, but not with the League." The correspondent asked him who had the greater hold on the Muslim masses, the Congress or the League? The Maulana declared, "Certainly the Congress. The Congress Ministry has honestly served the people. That cannot be said of the League."

Fakir of Ipi Compares Jinnah with Lawrence of Arabia

The *Leader's* correspondent says that the Frontier Pathans are taking their political inspiration from men like the Fakir of Ipi who is recently reported to have said that Pakistan is a false cry and that Mr. Jinnah is playing the role of another Colonel Lawrence of Arabia fame disrupting the Mussalmans of India.

Calcutta Corporation Strike

The general strike of the workers of the Calcutta Corporation was declared on November 23, the third day of the disturbances following the students' demonstrations against the I.N.A. trials. Two facts must be noted in this strike. The strike leaders seem to have given no consideration to the fact that the city was in turmoil and 20,000 labourers were let loose at a time when they would add considerably to the turmoil—which they did.

Secondly, supply of water was totally cut off which should have been the very last resort in a strike, specially under the circumstances then prevailing. This action cannot be termed anything but inhuman. Even the wounded could not be properly dressed for want of water and there were actual cases of death amongst the citizens due to this cause.

The city fathers must in this case take their full share of the blame for sleeping over the matter for many months since the first clear indications of the strike had been given. Even when the final notice was given they did not completely shake off their somnolent attitude. If the decisions arrived at in the first settlement meeting, which were agreed upon by the President of the Employees' Association but rejected by other leaders of the strike, were given on the previous Thursday, the strike might have been totally stalled off. Many lives that were lost as a consequence of the stoppage of water might thereby have been saved.

In the main we are all for collective bargaining and presentation of concrete and factual demands through accredited leaders. But the conduct of the strike leaders has laid themselves open to severe criticism.

It is becoming increasingly apparent to the public in general that the conduct and guidance of labour affairs are now in the hands of various groups who are jockeying for position regardless of the fact that they inflict endless privations and misery which in this particular instance has resulted in a good few deaths.

We remember the general strike of 1917 in England, the first great organised strike of its kind. Everything

came to a standstill in the great city of London but the people were not left to die of thirst. A minimum of water supply was maintained by the strikers and standby arrangements were made for raising pressure in case of fire. Here in Calcutta, the labour leaders seem to be completely oblivious of their responsibilities to humanity.

The other point is about the flouting of the decisions arrived at in opening by the President of the Employees' Association and his committee. The later decisions which ended the strike were almost the same as the first. Only there were different presidents and in this instance some brother-strikers, who were mostly desk workers, were thrown overboard. Needless to say this delay meant added misery and a good few deaths to the suffering public. But what do humanitarian considerations or suffering of the public matter when the game of unscrupulous party politics is in full swing. We have every sympathy with the main body of strikers and we only wish that their lot would be raised on a level with the rest of the civilised world. But they must understand that as one group of human beings to others they must observe certain ethical principles common to all mankind.

Pacifism versus the Gestapo

The *Worldover Press* bulletin of October 17, 1945, contains the following news commentary by Maurice Cranston.

"*Dangerous Britishers*": I have been analyzing the list of "dangerous Britishers" which was discovered at Gestapo headquarters in Germany. An interesting conclusion emerges. The body of opinion the Nazis seemed to think most necessary to suppress, if they invaded England, was that of the pacifists! All the prominent members of the British anti-war movement are on the list. This is the case with no other movement.

The late George Lansbury is there; so are Vera Brittain, Ethel Mannin, Lord Ponsonby, Aldous Huxley, Reginald Sorensen, M.P., and Dame Sybil Thorndike. People who are pacifists when the list was compiled—Bertrand Russell, C. E. M. Joad, Rose Macaulay, for example—are also listed. The Society of Friends was to be suppressed, but not the Church of England.

Why should the Nazis believe that those who refused to take up arms against them were dangerous? Doubtless because they feared that in England, as in Denmark, the pacifist movement would become the spearhead of non-violent resistance. So here is documentary evidence that the Nazis, ruthless and powerful as they were, feared the prospect of people armed with nothing but their moral convictions.

The British Broadcasting Company described the Gestapo blacklist as an "Honors List". If that is so, pacifists ought to be proud of their prominence in it.

So the Gestapo was trying to benefit by the object-lesson offered in India! Our own precious exponents of Gestapo methods might give some further consideration to the matter with considerable benefit to all concerned.

Social Welfare in Australia

Progress in the field of social services in Australia, which was interrupted by the war, has been resumed as soon as the national budget is relieved of the huge cost of armaments. The Australian social service scheme touches almost every aspect of human life. It includes baby bonus, maternity allowance, education, unemployment and sickness benefits, workers' compensation, rent rebates, invalid and old age pensions and funeral benefits. It is also proposed to introduce a free medicine scheme during 1946. Health and social services take a large slice of the national budget. The Prime Minister Mr. Chifley has stated that one half of this year's non-war expenditure will be spent on social services.

The war merely delayed and interrupted important parts of the government's welfare programme. It was not altogether stopped. Even during the war it had been possible to double the outlay on social services. The total outlay in the pre-war year was Rs. 181,333,333. Last year it was Rs. 416,000,000. It is expected to reach Rs. 693,333,333 in 1945 and Rs. 821,333,333 in 1946.

In presenting the 1945-46 budget, Mr. Chifley announced that the Government proposed to charge all health and social services expenditure to one fund—the National Welfare Fund. This Fund was established early in the war but was not actively used. It will now become the mainspring of social service payments and its income will be increased constantly. From January 1, 1946, a social service contribution will be levied on individuals at a graduated rate rising to a maximum of As. 13 in the Rs. 10-10 on taxable income.

The 1945-46 budget provides for the social service expenditures in the following way:

	Rs.
Invalid and old age pensions	288,000,000
Funeral benefits, invalid and old age	2,133,333
Widows' pensions	33,066,667
Maternity allowances	29,866,667
Child endowments	194,133,333
Unemployments and sickness benefits	101,333,333
Pharmaceutical benefits	10,666,667
Hospital benefits	26,666,667
Tuberculosis benefits	3,200,000
Rental rebates under housing agreements	2,133,333
Total	691,200,000

Australia has taken the lead in another direction as well. Legislation was passed in 1943 to give effect to a reciprocal arrangement between Australia and New Zealand in relation to invalid and old age pensions. Under this arrangement, the nationals of either country are entitled to the pension benefits of the country in which they reside. The agreement is terminable by either Government giving six months' notice to the other Government. This is an interesting example of how international agreements might be achieved to provide a maximum of social services, raise the standard of living throughout the world and remove fear and want.

British Policy in Asia

In a provocative open letter addressed to Labour M.P.'s under the heading *Stop this Shame to Labour*, Mr. Fenner Brockway, Leader of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain, writes in the *New Leader*:

When all has been said, the fact must be faced that the British Government's policies and actions are serving the cause of imperialism in the East and crushing the movements of national liberation. This is dishonour to the Labour movement and if the present policies are continued, the Labour Government may become responsible, not only in Indonesia and Indo-China, but in India itself for the most thorough-going repression of people since the time of the Mutiny.

If this happens, British Labour will be eternally shamed. They should demand that the Government call for Netherlands' and French recognition of the independence of Indonesia and Indo-China and that British forces should be withdrawn, rather than be used to facilitate the refusal of this right. They should demand that India's right to independence should be recognised.

The Tragedy in Asia

Earlier in the letter discussing the tragedy that is being enacted in Asia, Brockway writes:

The logic of circumstances is driving Britain to proceed increasingly with war-like actions against Indonesians and the Indo-Chinese. The tragedy of the present situation is that, whilst the desire of British Labour and of many Socialists in Holland and France is to facilitate the liberation of Indonesia and Indo-China, the consequences of the courses, in which they have concurred and which reflect the fundamental wrong of Imperialism, have driven both the Labour Government here and the governments of Holland and France to make war on peoples who are claiming the right to self-government and independence, which every Socialist and anti-Imperialist must recognise as just.

In Indonesia, the Netherlands' offer failed principally because it had two limitations which leaders of people cannot be expected to accept. First was the insistence that Indonesia shall remain part of the Netherlands Commonwealth. It is time we, Westerners, recognised that the long record of evil Imperialism in the East has made anything less than complete Independence unacceptable to Asiatic peoples.

The second difficulty was the refusal of the Netherlands' Representative to confer with Dr. Soekarno on the ground that he had collaborated with the Japanese during the occupation. I know only that Dr. Soekarno has a record of self-sacrificing service to Indonesian people which led to long terms of imprisonment and deportation. He is accepted by the Indonesian people as their leader and the right of self-determination means nothing if it does not mean the right of people to select their spokesman.

Outrage on Asia Should Stop

Brockway concludes:

The use of force is being justified on the ground that the Extremists have taken control of the situation. Decisions which have been taken on this matter by generals in Indonesia would appear to reflect a military rather than political mind.

British Labour should assert its will over the traditional methods which the military will always be inclined to adopt. There is a retort which the Netherlands and French representatives could make to British Labour if the right of Indonesians and the Indo-Chinese to independence was insisted upon. They could point to our policy in India. Clearly so long as we maintain this policy we can be termed hypocrites if we demand a more generous attitude from Holland and France.

One particular outrage should be stopped without delay. It is infamous that the British should compel Indian troops to wage war against fellow-Asiatics engaged in the struggle for freedom in Indonesia and Indo-China.

Churchill employed Indian troops for the suppression of Greek national movement. This same shameful tactics is being followed in Asia with redoubled force by the Labour Premier Mr. Clement Attlee. Not only India, but the whole of Asia considers this act of the Imperial Labour Government as an outrage on the self-respect of Asiatic peoples.

An American Review of India's Coming Elections

Mrs. Frances Gunther, the foreign correspondent of the *London News Chronicle*, has travelled widely in India and talked with the principal personalities in this country. A very interesting review by her on India's coming elections has been broadcast by the *World Over Press*. We give below relevant portions which will show how intelligent Americans view the present Indian constitution. She writes:

Viceroy Wavell stated that it would not be possible "to undertake any major alteration of the franchise system because this would delay matters for at least two years." What are the intricacies of a franchise system that would require two years of the post-atomic era merely to alter? It is an English, not an Indian system, embodied in a British Act of Parliament, imposed on India in 1935. It multiplies a millionfold the problem of converting Viceregal India into a democracy.

Recently, U.S. Secretary of State Byrnes protested against the Bulgarian one-party voting system as undemocratic dictatorship. Mr. Byrnes, when he has time, might glance at the Indian system. It has no fewer than 17 separate voting categories. These are based not on normal political lines but on religious separatism, "statutory segregation of voters by religious sects," and on sub-divisions of sex and fascist-corporative groups. The essence of democracy is the agreed rule of the majority. But in India, the majority vote can be and is nullified by minority dissent: and both majority and minority votes can be and are overridden and voided by Viceregal decree. British rule has required either total Indian agreement—and who ever heard of 300 million people, or 390 people, or 3 people, totally agreeing?—or continued British rule. Compared to the Bulgarian one-party system, the Indian 17-party system is not more democratic, but only more complicated. It does not yield more freedom, only more headaches.

Analysing the voting system in India, Mrs. Gunther writes:

Nobody in India can vote as a normal citizen of Britain or the U.S. votes. Indians, by English-made law, must vote by religion, by sex, or by corporative position. A Hindu is allowed to vote only for another Hindu, a Moslem only for another Moslem. There are enforced suffrage separations not

better emoluments for them. The ruling group is pleased and immediately acts upon it. Like the swan, they sip the milk and throw out the water.

The Committee recommends splitting up of some districts. The ruling group sees in it more appointments—more District Magistrates, and Collectors, Additional Collectors, District Judges, Superintendents of Police with their Additional. This recommendation is approved and preparations for giving effect to it has already begun. The plea for the division of districts is that it would ensure better supervision of the people. But are the people of Bankura better looked after, more progressive, sounder in economic condition and healthier and better educated than the people of Tamluk or Contai in the district of Midnapore? Is it not a fact that Bankura is one of the smallest of districts with a full contingent of heads—Magistrate and Collector, Superintendent of Police, District Judge, etc.? Is it not a district of chronic famines with an increasing death-rate, poor education and with no irrigation? Has a single problem of this small district been solved during the last fifty years? Instances can be multiplied but we refrain for the moment.

Mr. Casey seems to have made up his mind. He has declared that "too much is expected of too few." He is determined to make this "few" many. It is useless to argue. A wider knowledge, a deeper sympathy and an ardent nationalism would have helped him to see rightly, but where these are lacking it is futile to argue. The world will judge.

Rehabilitation in Bengal

The Additional Commissioner of Civil Supplies in Bengal, a British officer of the I.C.S., has assured the people of the province through a Press Conference that the Directorate of Relief and Rehabilitation had been maintaining a continuous watch on the situation in close liaison with the Civil Supply, Agriculture and Health Departments. Both the Director and the Deputy Director had toured the affected areas and comprehensive measures of relief had been planned in consultation with the local officers to be put into effect as soon as signs of distress appeared in any locality. The Executive staff in the districts had been strengthened by the appointment of a number of special Relief Officers and jeeps were arranged for facility of touring. Any non-official organisation which wanted to take up relief work and sought Government assistance for the purpose was asked to apply to the District Officer in the mofussil and the Relief Co-ordination Officer in Calcutta.

The Relief measures which were ready for instant implementation comprised financing of drainage and irrigation projects, road construction and excavation of derelict tanks to provide work for the able-bodied; the opening of shops for the sale of foodgrains at cheap rates; the free distribution of foodgrains and cash to those who could neither work nor had the means to pay; grant of agricultural loans, etc.

Three years after the enforcement of the denial policy and two years after the devastations of the famine, an Additional Commissioner of Civil Supplies, a Director and a Deputy Director of Rehabilitation have nothing but assurance for a people whose means of livelihood had been snatched away at a moment's notice, who were evicted from their ancestral homes at a few hours' notice and who have become homeless destitutes solely due to the inefficiency and incom-

petence of a government for whose upkeep they have paid taxes for generations. When it was a question of Imperial need, the 'services' acted with lightning speed to snatch away boats which were the sole means of income for the fishermen and the boatmen and to turn out cultivators from their ancestral villages. The compensation that was given and that actually reached these unfortunate people hardly sufficed to meet the expenses of a month or two. Now, when the question of making some amends to the grave injustice done to these people comes, these very officials have failed to do anything during the last three years. They now come forward with a declaration that they are watching the situation. People believe that something will be done now in the interest of the Imperial Government, but there is grave doubt whether this will mean any relief to the really needy Bengali village. Rehabilitation now is believed to mean resettlement and relief of demobilised personnel alone and it is to be seen how many of the suffering sons of the soil find place in such schemes.

Rehabilitation in Bengal during these years have meant at least one thing. It has rehabilitated bloated officialdom. Society and its problems have been left alone. Can it be shown that a single rehabilitation scheme has survived the show outside the Appendix of the Report of the Department concerned? Has a single scheme taken root in the soil of the land? Public money has been squandered in large amounts only to keep up this show of rehabilitation. One could suggest that the funds available could be funded to be drawn upon when a machinery, efficient, honest and nationally minded could be evolved to function with a national purpose inspired by a national idealism. Every expenditure till then is sheer waste.

Future of Western Civilisation

In an article under the above caption, Prof. C. E. M. Joad analyses the Western civilisation. According to him its distinctive feature is the "disparity between our powers and our wisdom." Prof. Joad writes:

In the nineteenth century the English believed in a law of progress. Each generation was to rise upon the shoulders of its predecessors to even greater heights of knowledge, beauty, culture, goodness, wealth and comfort—especially of wealth and comfort. We who have lived through two wars feel less confident. Our own substitute, I suspect for the Victorian law of progress would be the theory of civilisations' recurrent rise and fall, described in Spengler's *Decline of the West*. Civilizations, says Spengler, run in cycles. Like the individual of whom they are composed they pass through their inevitable phases; they are young, come to maturity, grow old and fall to pieces. Spengler distinguishes eight civilizations—or rather, cultures, as he calls them—in the history of mankind, each of which has passed through a roughly parallel course. Sir Flinders Petrie, digging in the sands of Egypt and the Near East has recorded the finding of the ruins of no less than seven different cultures, each of which reached a high stage of civilization and then apparently decayed. Reflecting upon Spengler's theory and the archaeological discoveries that seem so convincingly to illustrate it, one is tempted to wonder whether there may not be some fundamental flaw in human nature which, while permitting man to raise his life to a certain level, forbids him to maintain it at the level reached for more than a certain time. When its appointed span has run, the civilization, it seems,

declines. Suppose for a moment that there is such a law. Why should we suppose that our own Western civilization is immune from its operations? What is there so particularly wise and virtuous about us, that we should succeed when so many have failed?

The flaw about which Prof. Joad is uncertain is plain enough to our eyes. It is the urge in all power-conscious peoples to impose upon the weaker and the more peaceful inhabitants of this earth and to force them into a state of passive inertia while their life-blood is being drained away for the benefit of their rulers. In short the germ of decay that has affected all civilizations of the past is imperialism, a variety of parasitism, and Western civilization is also infected by the same dread disease.

Distinctive Features of Western Civilisation

Prof. Joad continues:

What is the distinctive feature of Western civilization? It is the disparity between our powers and our wisdom. The architect of our civilization is science—science which has explored the world of physical nature, tapped its powers, and harnessed them to man's service. But while science has given us powers fit for the gods, we bring to their use the mentality of savages and schoolboys.

Look, for example, at that aeroplane humming across the summer sky; the knowledge of mathematics, of dynamics and mechanics, of electricity and internal combustion, the ingenuity in the application of that knowledge, the skill in the working of woods and metals that have gone to its making are such as to suggest that its inventors were supermen. The intrepidity, resolution, and courage which were shown by the early flying men were the qualities of heroes.

Now consider the purposes for which the modern aeroplane has been in the past, and seems all too likely in the future again to be used, to drop bombs that shatter and choke, burn and poison and dismember defenceless people, so that, as an English novelist has put it, "modern war has become a running away with one's small children and a not being able to run fast enough." These, one feels, are the purposes of idiots or devils. While the superman made the aeroplane, the ape in man has got hold of it.

This contrast, the contrast between the miracle of our powers and the imbecility of the uses to which we put them, seems to me to run right through our civilization. Just think of the things that science can enable us to do. We can talk across continents and oceans, telegraph pictures, instal television sets in the home, listen in Delhi to Big Ben striking in London, ride above and beneath the earth and the sea. Children can talk along wires, typewriters are silent, teethfilling is painless, liners have swimming baths, crops are ripened by electricity, roads are made of rubber, X-rays are the windows through which we behold our insides, photographs speak and sing, murderers are tracked down by wireless, hair is waved by electric current, submarines go to the North Pole, aeroplanes to the South. . . . Yet, we cannot in England in the midst of our enormous cities provide a little space where poor children may play in comfort and safety, with the result that we kill them with our cars at the rate of 4,000 and mutilate them at the rate of 200,000 a year (these are peace-time figures).

Lessons of the Indian Civilisation

Summing up Prof. Joad brings out in bold relief the contrast between Western and Indian civilisation. He writes:

To sum up the situation, while in power we have outstripped all our predecessors, in wisdom we have stood still. We have achieved an unprecedented mastery of the means to the good life, but in knowledge of how to live we have not passed beyond the level reached by the ancient Greeks.

This, the peculiar predicament of Western Civilization, was forcibly brought home to me by an Indian Philosopher who happened to be my neighbour, just before the war at a public luncheon. In the morning's paper there had been reported some new marvel of our technical skill. Somebody had succeeded in flying from Moscow to New York in 24 hours—or was it 24 days?—anyway, he had flown very fast, or somebody had succeeded in driving a motor along the sands of Pendine in South Wales rather faster than somebody else. And making conversation conveniently, as one does at public luncheons, I commented on the feat to my companion. "What a wonderful performance," I remember saying to him. "Yes," he replied, "it is wonderful. In fact yours is a wonderful civilization. You can fly in the air like birds and swim in the sea like fishes, but how to walk upon the earth you do not yet know."

Let us apply these generalizations to our present predicament. The moral is surely obvious enough. Give a schoolboy an airgun and he may break a few windows or shoot a sparrow or two, but that is the extent of the damage; give him a modern Tommy Gun and you turn him into a public menace. One does not, after all give the baby a box of matches, or a modern Government the atomic bomb. Yet this precisely is what science has done to our generation, with the result that we are within measurable distance of destroying ourselves through sheer inability to control the powers which it has placed at our disposal. It is not, therefore, necessary to show that mankind is worse than it has been in the past, to realise the danger in which we stand. It is sufficient to point to our need to be very much better; better, because we are so very much more powerful, all of which means in effect that if our civilization is to continue we must eliminate war.

An Administrator on Indian Civilisation

The fundamental truth of Indian civilisation is that it is a code of life. It permeates through the very existence of every person born in India. We give below an extract from a Minute recorded by Sir Thomas Munro, who had distinguished himself as an administrator, had worked for twenty-seven years in India from 1780 to 1807 and finally rose to be the Governor of Madras. He mixed with the people and observed their ways of life. Till then India was free from the impact of Western civilisation. Munro wrote:

If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience of luxury; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic; the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other; and above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people, then Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe; and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am

Government is formed. The resolution passed by the Committee after detailed examination of the subject is as follows :

The investment of foreign capital in Indian agricultural, mineral and industrial concerns, since the establishment of British rule, has resulted in the acquisition by foreign interests of a measure of control over India's economic and political life which has both warped and retarded national development.

It is important that the investment of foreign capital in Indian enterprises should not ordinarily be permitted hereafter in a form which could entitle it to ownership and management in respect of industries of national importance.

In particular, in the case of key industries, involving the use of secret processes which would not otherwise be available to the country, foreign participation in ownership and management may be permitted ; such participation should be subject to the approval of the State which will lay down the conditions and limitations which would safeguard adequately Indian national interests.

It is possible, in view of India's vast capital requirements in the coming years, that she may need capital from other countries. It is not, however, in her interest to accept it, if it is required for essential industries, except in the shape of loans or credits raised by or through the State.

India's credit in the world market is sufficiently high to justify the expectation that she will be able to secure enough capital assistance in this form and for her to insist as a matter of national policy that foreign capital should be admitted only on these terms for essential industries.

That foreign investment in India has an important bearing on the future economic and political development of the country is well understood. That the question is urgent is also admitted. The framers of the Government of India Act 1935, foresaw this and inserted a number of sections in the constitution itself for safeguarding the vested interests of these companies. The activities of such companies in India, their unfair competition in particular, had roused public opinion against them and for a number of years the people have put up a persistent demand for their total removal. The resolution of the National Planning Committee, however, is clear and realistic. They admit the need for foreign capital but at the same time it has been made quite clear that no sort of power should follow the capital. Foreign capital is desired, but it must be understood that such capital is supplied against India's credit in the world market. The nation supplying the money should, under no circumstances, claim any control over the application of that capital in India. That part of the business must be left to the Indian National Government and Indian enterprisers.

The Committee has divided industries into three categories, namely, essential industries, industries of national importance and key industries. According to it, it is not in India's interest to accept foreign capital if it is required for essential industries except in the form of loans or credits raised by or through the State; in respect of industries of national importance, the investment of foreign capital should not ordinarily be permitted which would entitle it to ownership and management; and in case of key industries foreign participation and management may be permitted only in the case of those industries which involve the use of secret processes otherwise not available to the

country and that also subject to the approval of the State and on such terms and under such limitations as the State may lay down.

The present provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 relating to the safeguard of non-Indian companies in this country have also been discussed by the Planning Committee. The relevant portions of the resolution are given below :

In order to enable India to plan her economic development on lines that would ensure and promote the best interests of the country, the special statutory safeguards provided in the Government of India Act 1935, in respect of non-Indian concerns should forthwith be repealed.

It is essential that foreign interests which now exercise a predominant control over certain vital industries in India, particularly those involving the utilisation of the State, be brought over on payment of reasonable compensation.

Foreign interests now exercising a predominant control over certain vital industries in India should be acquired by the State on payment of reasonable compensation. Where such interests are held by companies with sterling capital, the payment of compensation should be effected by means of the sterling balances.

The Government of India Act has extended to British industries in India (India Limiteds) which were counterparts of foreign concerns, the same degree of protection as to a nascent Indian industry. The eleven clauses in the body of the Act have been a source of continuous menace to Indian industrialisation. In the Central Assembly debate, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, the well-known Bombay business magnate, urged that all these eleven clauses be treated as dead for the purposes of the country's economic development plan. The only group in the Legislature to whom this suggestion was not acceptable was the European group. The clear and unequivocal opinion expressed by the National Planning Committee on the subject will prove invaluable at the time of the drafting of the future constitution of India.

Jinnah Getting Subsidy for Pakistan?

The Bengali daily *Navajuga* of Calcutta, conducted by progressive Muslims, gives the following information on the strength of a news published by a Urdu newspaper *Hakikat*. It writes that Mr. Jinnah is receiving a sum of six lakhs of rupees annually from the Government of India through the State of Hyderabad. This news was circulated by Master Tara Singh who claimed to produce evidence in support of his assertion from the records of the Income-tax department. He said that Mr. Jinnah was asked to explain the increase on his normal income by twenty lakhs of rupees. Mr. Jinnah in reply informed that this extra income has come from native States. The Urdu *Hakikat* should have prosecuted Master Tara Singh if his statement had been false. But it kept silent.

The Urdu newspaper *Anvari* of Delhi has also published the same news item and added that Mr. Jinnah was getting money not only from the Hyderabad State but from some other native State as well for the propagation of the Pakistan bogey in order to place obstacles on the way of India's fight for freedom.

This news has been published on Nov. 10. We wait for a reply.

BRITAIN'S NEW PLEDGE FOR SPEEDY SELF-RULE IN INDIA AND THE TREND OF WORLD POLITICS

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THERE must be many Indian politicians and nationalists who are skeptical of the new declaration of the British Labour Government and the radio broadcast by Lord Wavell to the effect that the British Government is most anxious to bring about "early realization of full self-government in India." This skepticism may arise from the existing distrust of Britain and also because of the trend of post-war settlements in Asia. Furthermore, some of the Indian politicians and Congress leaders in the past had only one policy—pursuing Russian policy with the native idea that Soviet Russia will aid India to be free and independent of British imperialism. Lest I be misunderstood, I must say that in the past the policy of the British Government in India has been such as to inspire distrust from Indians. The present trend in the solutions of the problems for the freedom of the subjugated peoples of Asia is not bright. For instance, instead of according freedom to the Korean people, the country has been partitioned,—Russia occupying the industrial half of the west and the United States occupying the other half and using the Japanese officials to carry on the government of the land. We know Russia has virtually secured military control over Manchuria and particularly of Port Arthur. Britain to counter-balance the situation has re-established herself not only in Hongkong, but also policing Indo-China for France so that the Indo-Chinese people may not demand and assert their freedom. It is also reported that Britain is interested in securing a part of Siamese territory. Of course, there is no reason to think that Britain is going to give up Malaya nor do the Dutch wish to relinquish their hold over Dutch East-Indies. There is no reason to believe that the status of Burma will be similar to a Dominion, in near future. Yet the British Government has made the offer for speedy self-rule for India, because the present international situation demands such a change.

To understand Britain's policy towards India, one must keep in mind the fact that India is the centre of Britain's foreign policies. Britain must not allow her rival powers to use India directly or indirectly against her. Britain must use India's strategic position, manpower, economic power to her advantage against her rivals in world politics. This has been the history of British foreign policy since the days of the East India Company and particularly from the era of the Napoleonic era up to the present time. Without going too far back into the realm of past history, it may be emphasized that during the Crimean War against Russia, during the Congress of Berlin in 1878, during the Anglo-French rivalries of the latter part of the nineteenth century, particularly when France concluded a treaty of alliance with Burma in 1885, during the Boer War, during the rising tide of the Anglo-Russian rivalry at the opening of the twentieth century before the Russo-Japanese War and during the British expedition to Tibet, during the Boxer Uprising in China, during the World War I and the present World War, India has been effectively used to maintain British supremacy in Asia and world politics. The present trend

in the developments in international situation makes it imperative that Britain must have whole-hearted support of India to maintain her position in world politics.

To understand this point one must carefully study recent developments in world politics as partially unveiled at London in connection with the Foreign Ministers Conference. Anglo-Russian rivalry exists in every front and Britain has support of the United States in many subjects of dispute. Anglo-American powers have the common foreign policy regarding the Balkan countries. Anglo-American Powers are not anxious to see that Russia gets control over one of the Italian colonies in North Africa which may serve as air bases for the Mediterranean, the Near East and even towards the Atlantic. Russian desire to have a port at the Red Sea is a direct challenge to British control of the Indian Ocean which is vital to British influence in India. Russian moves for partitioning Persia is a step towards Russian march towards the Persian Gulf which is dangerous to Indian security, recent moves of Russia in Egypt and the regions of the Near East are to undermine British position in that region. Russian occupation of Kurile Isles is heartily opposed by the United States, although the United States Government has not officially protested against it. Russian occupation of a part of Korea is so much opposed by the American authorities, that they have preferred to use the Japanese in governing Korea, instead of letting Russia march any further into Korea. There were incidents between Russian and American Forces in Korea, at least one B. 29 was shot down by the Russians.

It is the considered judgment of the Anglo-American authorities, including such military experts as Marshall Wavell, the present Viceroy of India, that Anglo-American-Indian understanding is essential for preserving their vital interests. I wish to make it clear that the British Government has not a sudden change of heart and developed a sudden love for Indian freedom; but the international situation is such Britain, nay Anglo-American Powers need Indian co-operation in world politics.

During the World War I, Indian nationalists—revolutionists—made formal alliance with the Central Powers specially Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm II and the Turks and established their provisional governments and negotiated loans, etc. During World War I, Indian soldiers, inspired by Indian revolutionists revolted at Singapore and kept Singapore under their control for several days, until the Japanese forces from Japanese cruisers relieved the situation. The growth of the Revolutionary Movement between the first World War and the second World War should be measured by what happened in India and outside of India. The British Government recognizes that there was a serious revolt in India and they had to use machine-guns and bombs from aeroplanes and imprison hundreds of thousands of Indian nationalists. Outside of India, Subhas Chandra Bose established the provisional Government of India,

convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo.

P. E. N. Secretary on Indian Demonstrations

People outside, especially in England, need to be better informed about the Indian situation—with these words Mr. Hermann Ould, International Secretary of the P.E.N., in an interview to the *Associated Press of India* summed up his impressions of six weeks' stay in India. Asked what his impressions of the political feeling of Indian people were, Mr. Ould said :

Now you don't expect me to commit myself after six weeks in your country, do you? I am not that sort of fool. But I do not mind saying one or two things.

I have had opportunities of meeting Indians of all kinds and opinions—Muslims, Hindus, and free-thinkers, Congressmen and Leaguers, Communists and Liberals, and I must confess that they all had one thing—and often only one thing—in common; they longed for Indian independence. Some of them thought it should come within a matter of months, others thought years, ten, fifteen.

Mr. Ould frankly said that people in England generally got the impression that the whole country of India was seething with demonstrations and excited against the British. But he was happy to find on direct knowledge that it was not so. *Indians, certainly, felt strongly for and desired intensely political freedom, but they were not unruly.*

Referring to what he had read the other day in papers that feeling in India was growing more intense and that hatred of Britain and Britons was in the very air and so on, Mr. Ould said : "This seems to me dangerous nonsense. I have heard plenty of criticism, bitter criticism, of British policy; I have heard attacks on civil servants in India—not only English but Indian—but I have yet to hear the expression of hatred of English people as such."

The meaning of *Quit India* has been grossly distorted by some Anglo-Indian newspapers in this country who pretend to preach balance. By *Quit India* the people of India desire to express the feeling that political domination in this country by Britain should end. It is not an ultimatum to the British people as such to leave India with bags and baggage. The demand for an immediate transfer of power is embodied in these two words. The real meaning of *Quit India* has been misunderstood to a certain extent through interested propaganda, but Mr. Ould's statement shows that it has not been lost.

Sanskrit Education in India

"When Macaulay's catastrophic experiments of trying to convert us into cultural parasites of the West was inaugurated we would have lost our national soul completely but for the fact that Sanskrit culture was deep-rooted in our hearts, tradition and life. A hundred years of such attempts to make us lose our soul has not been successful"—thus observed Mr. K. M. Munshi inaugurating the All-India Sanskrit Literary Conference at Agra.

Mr. Munshi said :

The study of Sanskrit has fallen on evil days. The old time pathshala education is out of date, unprogressive and uncritical. The Pathshala student acquires faith in form and rituals. He has not the

larger faith in the fundamentals of Culture which Sanskrit has given him. It is of the highest importance that all institutions should be knit together under a Federal Council of Sanskrit education, and the courses should be modified and brought up-to-date and the titles and degrees should have the stamp of central authority. This would involve a few leading institutions in the country combining to produce an All-India Organisation. Institutions like the oriental colleges at Lahore and Benares, the Sanskrit Association of Calcutta, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay, the Sanskrit Academy of Madras and the Sanskrit College of Tirupati, in my opinion, should all combine to produce an All-India Sanskrit Academy, which would regulate the Sanskrit studies. In this way alone you will be able to give to India an All-India University of Sanskrit.

Sanskrit education as at present imported in our universities is inadequate and mechanical. Sanskrit education should be rescued from the present mechanical mode of instruction. Most of the Indian languages owe their present richness and strength to Sanskrit. Each of these languages has a growing literature and powerful literary institutions. We have *Sahitya Parishads* in almost all languages of India. Mr. Munshi suggests that there should be clear contact between these institutions and a keener realisation of the fact that literary evolution in the country has a uniform shape and direction and only expresses the great cultural renaissance produced by the contact of Sanskrit beauty and expressiveness with Western diversity and freedom.

If India is a nation today it is because we have enjoyed a unity of cultural life. If we have a national culture today, it is because Sanskrit and all that it stands for has through ages shaped the life of millions and created languages and outlook which make us feel one. Our Epics and the Puranas, which form the very foundation of our cultural and ethical life, are in Sanskrit. We have a national consciousness because Indian leaders of modern times have sought to express the fundamental unity of culture through the modes of modern life.

Teaching by Broadcasts

A proposal for an International University from which lectures could be broadcast to students in their homes all over the world, says a *News Chronicle* reporter, is to be discussed at the United Nations Education Conference in London. It is the idea of Professor Mikolaj Olekiewicz, teacher of Mathematical Statistics at the newly founded University of Lublin and one of the Polish delegates to the conference.

Professor Olekiewicz told the reporter that an International University would provide a practical answer to many problems in Europe where text-books had been burnt, schools destroyed and teachers murdered. Explaining his main ideas, he said, "My concept of the Faculty is this—prominent men of science, art and letters will be appointed from all countries of the United Nations. These men could deliver their lecture in their own studies merely by hooking up to the University's network. There would be no resident students. Young men and women all over the world could listen in their homes and at the same time enrol in correspondence courses conducted by the University. Once or twice yearly, students of the University should be given an opportunity of meeting other students—it would be fairly easy to arrange that."

Professor Olekiewicz's proposal is most welcome. It be highly profitable for those students, who for some reason or other, cannot go abroad for higher studies. It would also enable students returned from abroad to remain in close touch with the greatest teachers of the world.

Government and Scientific Research

On November 17, 1944, President Roosevelt asked in the U.S.A. Dr. Vannever Bush, Director of the office of Scientific Research and Development to make recommendations on four points : (1) what could be done to make known to the world the scientific contributions of war time, (2) what could be done to continue the programme with particular reference to the war of science against disease, (3) what could the Federal Government do in the future to aid research activities of public and private organisations, and (4) could an effective programme be developed for discovering scientific talent in the American youth?

Roosevelt did not live to receive the report, Truman received it in July, 1945. Dr. Bush's Report is entitled *Science : The Endless Frontier*. At the very outset Dr. Bush contends that "Science is a proper concern of Government" and that "freedom of inquiry must be preserved." He observes, "We have no national policy for science. There is nobody within the government charged with formulating or executing a national science policy." Then he says :

The publicly and privately supported colleges, universities, and research institutions are the centres of basic research. They are the wellsprings of knowledge and understanding. As long as they are vigorous and healthy and their scientists agree to pursue the truth wherever it may lead, there will be a flow of new scientific knowledge to those who can apply it to practical problems in government, in industry, or elsewhere.

Scientific progress on a broad front results from the free play of free intellects, working on subjects of their own choice, in the manner dictated by their curiosity for exploration of the unknown.

Dr. Bush, in his Report, presented five fundamentals by which freedom of inquiry should be preserved under any plan for government support of science. They are :

(1) Whatever the extent of support may be, there must be stability of funds over a period of years so that long-range programmes may be undertaken.

(2) The agency to administer such funds should be composed of citizens selected only on the basis of their interest in and capacity to promote the work of the agency. They should be persons of broad interest in and understanding of the peculiarities of scientific research and education.

(3) The agency should promote research through contracts or grants to organizations outside the federal government. It should not operate its own laboratories.

(4) Support of basic research in the public and private colleges, universities, and research institutes must leave the internal control of policy, personnel, and the method and scope of the research to the institutions themselves. This is of the utmost importance.

(5) While assuring complete independence and freedom for the nature, scope, and methodology of research carried on in the institutions receiving public funds, and while retaining discretion in the allo-

cation of funds among such institutions, the Foundation proposed herein must be responsible to the President and the Congress. Only through such responsibility can we maintain the proper relationship between science and other aspects of a democratic system. The usual controls of audits, reports, budgeting and the like should, of course, apply to the administrative and fiscal operations of the Foundation, subject, however, to such adjustments in procedure as are necessary to meet the special requirements of research.

Basic research is a long-term process—it ceases to be basic if immediate results are expected on short-term support.

America is going to make up for this deficiency of a national policy of science. A bill closely following Dr. Bush's recommendations, has been introduced in the American Legislature. This bill, commonly known as the Kilgore Bill, would create a National Science Foundation which would survey and study all government financed research. The Foundation would be authorised to promote any research that is in the national interest. The Bill provides that at least fifty per cent of the Foundation's Funds be spent through contracts with non-profit educational and research institutions. The Foundation would be directed to make available to the public full data on all significant findings, but a proposed defence committee should be authorised to classify as secret any information which the President might certify as being essential in the interest of national defence.

In India, scientific research has always been neglected. At the outbreak of the war, the Government of India were kind enough to grant a sum of rupees five lakhs per annum for the creation of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. We are yet to know the activities of this body beyond some small help it rendered to the Government's war effort. At the silver jubilee celebrations of the Royal Institute of Science, Bombay, Sir John Colville, the Provincial Governor, said that many of the scientific inventions were made possible not due to the financial help and support from Government alone but also due to large donations by public benefactors and philanthropists. This might be true for Western countries, but in India both are absent. In the United States, apart from Government expenditure on research, American industries were spending in 1940 nearly 300 million dollars which amount was later increased to 700 million dollars in 1944. American Universities in large numbers offer to do industrial research at cost in fields for which they are equipped. In our country, inquiries into the possibilities of scientific research have been made, British experts have been imported to investigate, and finally reports have been submitted by Prof. Hill. But all these seem to have reached their final destination in the pigeon-holes of the Imperial Secretariat.

Indian Enterprise and Foreign Capital

The question of investment of foreign capital remains an important subject of discussion inside and outside the Legislature. Recently the subject came under fire in the Central Legislature. It has now been examined by the National Planning Committee. The discussion in the National Planning Committee is of great importance because any decision arrived at by this body is bound to have a profound influence on the economic conditions of the country when a National

formed an alliance with Japan and raised an army of more than 50,000 from Indian prisoners of war under the Japanese. Subhas Chandra Bose has been denounced by Indian leaders and others, but the British Government knows that he or his policy had hearty approval of millions of Indians. Lastly, the British authorities are fully aware of the change of circumstances due to the latest developments in air warfare. The British, the Russians and others supplied arms and ammunitions, by air, to the underground forces in Europe to fight the Axis Powers. India became the base of air-borne supplies to China. If Anglo-Russian relations degenerate into Anglo-Russian conflict, which is the opinion of many trained observers in the United States, and if Soviet Russia can induce an important faction of Indian nationalists or revolutionists to side with her, then Anglo-American position in the whole of the Near East and India, even in China, will be seriously menaced. *Thus from the standpoint of practical politics, the Anglo-American Powers want an alliance with India which will wholeheartedly co-operate with them and must not ally with their rivals in the game of world politics. They also understand that this cannot be brought about unless proper concession is made to India's legitimate demands. Thus one may say the changed international situation makes it imperative for Britain to have India as an ally.*

Some Indian politicians who do not know much of world politics and who wish to free India by using "slogans" will oppose any understanding with Britain and they will even suggest fighting Britain with the false hope of Soviet aid to India. Those who have an illusion of Soviet aid to freedom should remember what has happened in Korea and Manchuria, what is happening in Persia and Turkey and also partition of various European countries. Soviet Russian Imperialism is marching on the foot-steps of Tsarist imperialism. Some Indian politicians will suggest that it will be inconsistent to their policy to co-operate with Britain, because they have been non-co-operationists. To them, I wish to remind the teachings of Sukracharya who advised that statesmen should frame their policies regarding international relations to suit the circumstances and only for the benefit of the State, i.e., for the preservation of national interest. He suggested that under peculiar circumstances a weak nation must even concede defeat and surrender to save the existence of the State. (It

seems that the Japanese are following this principle). They should analyse what happened during the World War II, so far as Soviet Russian and Anglo-American diplomacy was concerned. Soviet Russia was in 1939 and 1940 a virtual ally of Germany, so that Germany would not attack Russia, on the contrary, Germany would attack France and Britain. Soviet Russia was also a virtual ally of Japan through a non-aggression pact, which indirectly led to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. But we find later Anglo-American-Russian alliance against Germany,—Russia partitioning Germany, so that she will be able to appropriate a large slice of Poland—and later Russian declaration of War against Japan so that she would be able to get control over Manchuria and part of Korea. Soviet Russia to save Baku and Batum from falling into British hands, just after the Revolution formed an alliance with Turkey; but now she suggests that owing to changed condition, she must control the Straits and occupy territories at Caucasus region. In international politics there cannot be any permanent policy, except preservation of interest of the State. Therefore, a nation must change its course in dealing with another nation to suit its own interests. *India's relations with Britain must be based upon foreign policies of India. Either there must be Indo-British alliance or Indo-British conflict.* This is fully understood by British statesmen, if it is not understood by Indian leaders. This is evident from a sentence of Lord Wavell's statement :

"His Majesty's Government are proceeding to the consideration of the content of a treaty which will require to be concluded between Great Britain and India."

It seems that the British Government is thinking of forming an alliance with India as it did with Egypt. This will be the first step for the Indians to assume their independent status.

If Indian statesmanship is not altogether bankrupt, it should follow the suggestions of the late C. R. Das who even during the first non-co-operation days was the first Indian nationalist statesman to suggest to Lord Reading for an Indo-British alliance on the basis of Indian freedom. Under the changed world conditions, Indian Foreign Policy must be Anglo-American-Indo-Chinese-Alliance and an understanding with Britain is the first requisite.

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THE LAST WAVELL PROPOSAL

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BARELY within a period of three months we have had two important declarations of great political import for India from Lord Wavell—the first one made on June 14, 1945 popularly known as the Wavell Plan or Wavell Offer and the second one made on September 19 last. We propose to discuss in this article some of the implications of the second declaration, but we cannot fully understand them except against the background of what are known as the Cripps offer and the Wavell offer of which the present declaration is in the direct line of succession. The Cripps offer of the spring of 1942 had

two parts—one relating to the future form of Government in India and the other relating to the interim arrangement with a view to total mobilisation of India's resources and manpower for an all-out war effort against Japan which had become urgent in view of the critical turn in the war situation in the Eastern theatre at that time. We need not recount here the circumstances in which the negotiations between Sir Stafford Cripps and the Indian leaders broke down which are only too well-known. We should simply point out that the negotiations failed over the interim arrangement on which

discussion was mainly focussed, although it is not to be understood that there were no objectionable features in the other part. We need not also recount the unfortunate events following the rejection of the Cripps offer—the so-called Congress rebellion, wholesale arrest and imprisonment of Congress leaders and followers, repressive measures, the long spell of political deadlock, corruption and inefficiency of administration followed by a devastating man-made famine on an unprecedented scale, etc. No serious attempt was made to find a way out of the impasse till the last summer when Lord Wavell took the initiative with a view to explore the possibilities of ending the deadlock and went home to discuss, it is said, certain proposals formulated to that intent on the basis of what has come to be known as Desai-Liaquat Ali pact with the members of His Majesty's Government. The outcome of the protracted deliberations and discussions he had with Messrs. Churchill, Amery and other important members of the Cabinet was the first declaration of June last. The main features of the plan announced in that declaration were :—

(a) Institution of a temporary interim government at the centre, a sort of a caretaker government, within the framework of the existing constitutional machinery;

(b) Continuance of the existing overriding authority of the Governor-General under the constitution with an understanding as to its use sparingly;

(c) Transfer to Indian members of all portfolios including Finance, Home, and Foreign Affairs and excepting Defence which was to continue in charge of the Commander-in-Chief;

(d) Composition of the Executive Council on the much criticised principle of communal parity i.e., allocation of equal number of seats in the Executive Council to caste Hindus and Moslems;

(e) Institution of an office of a High Commissioner in Delhi representing the British Government.

The declaration was followed by a conference at Simla of Indian leaders representing the principal political parties in the country, the leaders of parties in the Central Legislature, Prime Ministers of provinces with ministry functioning and ex-Prime Ministers in the Section 93 provinces. It should be noted, however, that the Hindu Mahasabha was not invited to send any representative to the conference. A strong caveat was entered by Mahatma Gandhi against what he thought to be an insidious implication in the Viceroy's declaration to deny the character of the Congress as a national organisation and to represent it as representative of caste Hindus only. On an explanation being offered by the Viceroy the Congress was ultimately persuaded to participate in the conference and despite the obnoxious nature of the parity clause and the retention of the Viceroy's veto signified its readiness to co-operate with the Viceroy in forming the interim government. It is common knowledge, however, that the conference broke down due to the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah in insisting on the claim of Muslim League to be the sole representative of the Muslims in India and consequent refusal to accord any of the Muslim seats to any other Muslim organisation. It must be admitted that Lord Wavell adopted a faulty procedure, unless, as it has been suggested in some quarters, it has been forced upon him under pressure from Whitehall or from the bureaucracy here—in conceding the right of veto to any particular group or leader. No conference of heterogeneous groups of diverse

interests can succeed if the dissent of any one element can foil its proceedings. This is exactly what happened in the Simla Conference. There was a general agreement among the invitees to the conference on broad principles of the plan, although there were differences of opinion about details. Controversy centred round the question of nomination to the Executive Council. Failing an agreed list different party leaders were asked to submit separate panels which was done by all except Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, on the ground stated above. The only sensible course in the circumstances for Lord Wavell and the British Government, if of course they meant business, would have been to go ahead with the co-operation of the other elements forming a great majority of the conference, leaving the door open for the Muslim League to come in subsequently. Such a procedure would in all probability have put an end to the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah through pressure being brought on him by the more sober and moderate sections of his following. The failure to recognise this simple truth has been imputed to the fact that the whole move was an election stunt as there was a curious coincidence in the sudden change in attitude of the Viceroy, perhaps under pressure from above or below or both, and the last day of elections in Britain i.e., July 7. Whatever may be the truth, the fact remains that Mr. Jinnah was allowed to create an insuperable roadblock in the path of the conference and on the 14th of July, i.e., exactly one month after the announcement of his plan Lord Wavell proclaimed the failure of the conference, modestly taking the sole responsibility for the failure on his own shoulders.

There was a veiled reference to a fresh attempt to reopen the talks without any commitment as to the time when that would be done. In the meantime, the results of the elections at home brought a Labour Government in power with a thumping majority. As one of the issues on which the Labour Party fought the elections was India and high-lights of the party like Mr. Bevin and Prof. Laski held out big promises to India, expectations were aroused in some quarters for a fresh move. They were heightened by the departure home of Lord Wavell to hold conversations with the new Cabinet. It was on his return to India that the second declaration was made on the 19th September last. It was no attempt to take up the threads of discussion where they were broken. It simply laid down the procedure to be adopted for a constitutional settlement in future. So far as the ultimate objective and the means by which it was to be attained are concerned, the declaration broke no new ground. Unlike both the Cripps offer and the Wavell offer of June last it did not hold out anything for the immediate present. The steps that it proposed in order to lead India on to full self-government were all to be taken after the elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures. The main points in the declaration are as follows :

(1) After the elections, discussions would be held with the representatives of those elected to the provincial Legislative Assemblies to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable, so that the representatives would not be tied down to a plan formulated in altogether different circumstances.

(2) Discussions would be held with representatives of those elected and also of Indian states "to determine the form which the constitution-making body should

take, its powers and procedure". It may be noted in passing that the language of the declaration is vague as to how the representatives of the states were to be chosen,—whether through popular election or nomination of the autocratic princes. Presumably through the latter procedure. That would introduce complications by bringing together people chosen through two different principles. The objections taken against the composition of the constitution-making body envisaged in the Cripps Plan would apply equally here. The redeeming feature is that the whole question of composition, powers and procedure of the constitution-making body would be discussed *de novo* and determined on the basis of the mandate given by the electorate so far as it can be given under the limitations of a restricted franchise and communal electorates, provided however no veto is given in the hands of the nominees of the princes.

(3) A constitution-making body would be convened as soon as possible after these preliminaries have been gone through. The constitution-making body would have its hands unfettered by the provisions of the Cripps plan or any other private understandings or pacts. It would be open, therefore, to the constitution-making body to abrogate the obnoxious features of the Cripps plan like the procedure of forming the constitution-making body, the non-adherence clause etc. This is a great merit of the present plan.

(4) During the preparatory stages the existing machinery of Government is to continue dealing with, as best as it can, the varied and urgent post-war economic and social problems.

(5) Steps are to be taken, however, soon after the results of the provincial elections are known, to reconstruct the Viceroy's Executive Council from leaders of the different parties which is to be a sort of caretaker Government pending the coming into force of the new constitution. This is almost the same as the Wavell Plan of interim government only constituted after the verdict of the people has been given through the elections and the relative strength of the different parties has been tested.

(6) It envisages a treaty which is under the consideration of His Majesty's Government by means of which the final settlement in the relations of Britain and India is to be effected. It will appear from the above summary that the declaration promises nothing for the immediate future. This is a serious defect of the whole scheme. At the present moment time factor is a vital consideration. The world is moving fast and urgent problems of reconstruction and rehabilitation, as also of external relations confront the country in common with every other country in the world which the present unrepresentative and effete Government of India is hopelessly incompetent to deal with. Even the caretaker government consisting of party leaders envisaged in the plan cannot come into existence earlier than, say, next March and perhaps near about another year has to elapse before the new constitution emerges through all the different stages and actually comes into

force. But this intervening period would perhaps be the most crucial epoch in the history of India and, for the matter of that, of the world. Decisions of immense consequence will have to be taken by the present Government which may injure the permanent interests of the nation and which may not be rectified by the future democratic government of India. It is vitally important therefore that something must be done immediately. From this angle the first Wavell Plan was a move in the right direction, only if it had been carried through to its conclusion with courage and resolution and the present plan must be judged inadequate. It should be pointed out that the constitution-making body envisaged in the present plan also will be foredoomed to failure if the mistake made in July last in giving the right of veto to any particular group be once again repeated.

Lord Wavell stated in his broadcast that His Majesty's Government were determined to go ahead with the task of bringing India to a self-government at the earliest possible date. There was a similar promise in the King's speech at the opening of the present Parliament . . . "My Government," the King observed, "will do their utmost to promote in conjunction with leaders of Indian opinion early realization of full self-government in India." Now if the Labour Government be sincere in their professions they should not like Churchill and Amery make complete agreement among all parties a condition precedent to a settlement with India and transfer of power to Indian hands, that is simply permanently blocking the way to advance. It is only plain common sense that such agreement cannot be expected among people with diversity of interests and outlook.

There is one thing commendable about the declaration and it is this that the Indian representatives, as we have seen above, can begin anew with a clean slate. The Cripps Plan may remain the basis of their discussions, but they would not be bound by its provisions. It would be, therefore, political wisdom for Indian leaders to take up a constructive and helpful attitude and explore the possibilities of the plan for what it is worth. They can expose and discard the obnoxious features of the Cripps scheme and modify it in such a way as to turn it into an instrument for the furtherance of a comprehensive social and economic programme of which the country stands in such urgent need. They can also go beyond the scheme and introduce new provisions which, they think, are demanded by the changed situation and the present needs of India. If, however, the British Government do not reciprocate to the helpful and co-operative spirit shown by Indian leaders they would have ample time and opportunity of thinking about returning to the war path. The Congress leaders have already given evidence of this spirit at the Simla conference which was appreciated by the Viceroy and even the critics of Congress in England and it is hoped they would not give it up unless forced by the unhelpful attitude of the British Government.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

THE present chaotic political situation in the country naturally gives cause for concern to all who are genuinely interested in the political future of India. In this situation, the most disconcerting factor is the growing demand for the division of India into a Hindu and a Moslem India. We think it our duty and the duty of all who share our views to give expression to our concern and to raise a timely note of warning as to the direction in which we are drifting.

In the first instance, none of us is clear in his mind as to the precise implications of the two-nation theory. Much less so perhaps are those who advocate the theory. The country has never been given any precise details of the territorial division of the country and the lines of demarcation between the two Indias. When Mr. Jinnah is asked to define the territorial demarcation, he has always evaded the issue by demanding that in the first instance the claim of the two-nation theory should be granted as the basis of any further negotiations. Those of us therefore who are *definitely* opposed to the very idea of breaking up the unity of India suffer under a handicap as we are not in a position to know precisely the nature of Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan.

Close upon two hundred years of British rule in our country have given us a uniform system of administration of a highly centralised character, a common system of laws and an education imparted in the higher stages through the medium of the language of our rulers. Whatever might be said with regard to the economic exploitation of this country under British Imperialism, and whatever the sufferings and sacrifices imposed on the people in consequence of foreign rule, the one bright feature in two centuries of slavery was the growing sense of a common citizenship linking the various peoples into a single nation. This sense of geographical unity and integrity was a slowly acquired incidental result of British domination, a result which though never deliberately intended by the unimaginative bureaucracy or their masters at home, was nevertheless regarded with intense pride and satisfaction by Englishmen.

But a blessing, so inadvertently earned by the millions of India, incurred the envy of the gods, who inspired our administrators to undo the work of their own hands when in 1906 the Morley-Minto reforms introduced in the constitution of the country the principle of separate electorates. Communities that were hitherto working hand in hand in the struggle for freedom were for the first time thereafter made to believe that their interests were conflicting and that the minority which was then about sixty millions required the protection of its separate interests by a device which stereotyped politics on the basis of religion and made it impossible to organise parties on a basis of secular interests. In this country with a foreign domination in control, the formation of parties on lines of interests, classes or opinions, characteristic of what is known as a democratic form of Government, might well have been replaced by a two-party system,—those who are supporters of the foreign rule and those who are in the opposition. But even if the ordinary alignments of parties, usual to democratic system had been advisable, they were effectively torpedoed by the institution of communal electorates. Religion was turned into a vested interest, bigotry was allowed to grow, and

parties were induced to concentrate on a division of spoils.

The institution of separate electorates was the first step in the process of creating a divided India of which the crowding achievement is the proposal for Pakistan. That measure was hailed as "a work of statesmanship", the pulling back of 19 million people from their friendship and co-operation with Hindus in the Indian National Congress. British officials have gloated over the thought that the creation of a strong and united India is now probably difficult, if not impossible. The Secretary of State for India as late as 1940 observed in the House of Commons:

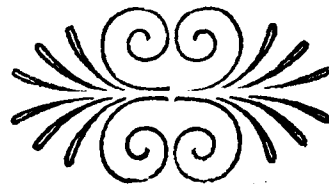
"In religious and social outlook, in historic traditions and culture, the difference between the Moslems and their fellow countrymen goes so deep, if not deeper than any similar difference in Europe."

Is there anything unnatural if we conclude that the head of the Moslem League in India is encouraged in the demand for a separate Moslem state by British political leaders?

We do not propose to analyse the various factors that contributed in the course of the last 40 years to the growing communal tension till it culminated in the present demand for a separate Moslem India. Religion was never a factor in the creation of the tension. The two communities are not fighting for the domination of their respective faiths. There is no enthusiasm for proselytising except as a political weapon for acquiring numerical strength in voting. So also the racial factor does not enter into the situation. The large majority of the Indian Moslems today are descendants of Hindu converts to Islam. Though so much has been made of difference in culture and traditions and ways of living these differences are the exaggerated products of after-thoughts prompted by economic interests. In the villages Hindus and Moslems are hardly distinguishable by their habits and customs. They speak and use the language of the district in which they live. They share even in religious festivals on a basis of mutuality. In essence the tension between the two communities is the product of a struggle for spoils, for power and for economic privileges. The increasing association of the people of the country in the work of administration has been marked by an increasing sense of bitterness and suspicion on the part of the minority community.

The presence of the British as rulers in the country may not unreasonably be said to keep alive the divisions. Left to ourselves we could have come to an amicable compromise. Whichever was the weaker party, would have yielded to the wishes of the stronger, and would have been content with taking what they could get. That the British rulers of the land should make use of these divisions is but natural in the game of power politics. But even vice has to pay homage to virtue by putting on the garb of virtue. It is equally natural that in the world of today economic exploitation could have a chance of survival only if it put on the cloak of trusteeship and sanctified its doings by its eventual concern for the chaos that would result by leaving the people to settle their quarrels.

The demand for a Moslem India separate from Hindu India has of late acquired an exaggerated



guard the freedom of the Straits. An International Commission was set up with a police force to administer the Straits as a "neutral zone". The resurgence of Turkey made a clean sweep of the Treaty of Sevres. By the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 the International Commission was abolished, the Straits again became Turkish and Turkey agreed to respect the demilitarisation of the Straits zone. In 1936, the dangers of the Abyssinian War and Hitler's militarisation of the Rhineland made a modification of the Lausanne Agreement necessary. Turkey, supported by Soviet Russia who had not been a signatory to the Treaty of Lausanne, entered into fresh negotiations with the Western powers. A European conference including Soviet Russia was held at Montreaux, and the powers assembled drew up the Straits convention of 1936 by which Turkey was authorised to remilitarise the Straits. This was substantially a return to the arrangement of 1878 created by the Treaty of Berlin. Turkey again became the door-keeper of the Straits. No hostile fleet enjoying the freedom of the Straits might enter or come out of the Black Sea. Freedom of trade was assured during peace. But warships might be excluded in time of war, unless authorised by the League of Nations or sent under a regional pact to which Turkey was a party.

The second world war seems to have thrown established conventions and long-cherished notions into the melting pot. The Straits question, like other issues at the present day, is once more under fire, and Russia is seeking, as the report goes, a new solution of the problem, although the exact nature of the Russian approach has not yet been revealed. The ancient rule that the Straits should remain in Turkish hands with England and France acting as guardians held good so long as Turkey and England and France were strong enough to maintain the *status quo* in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Berlin agreement of 1878, therefore, had been the sheet-anchor of Russian foreign policy for a quarter of a century. Even that arrangement had grown out-of-date in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Russia of 1900 was not the Russia of a quarter century before. She was forging ahead as an industrial and trading power with a growing urge towards wider seas and equal opportunities for expansion and inter-oceanic communication. During the Russo-Japanese War Russia could not send her Black Sea fleet to the Far East, because the doors to the Mediterranean were barred, and only a few Russian merchantmen escaped through the Straits with guns concealed in their holds. Russia, therefore, had to send to the Far East her Baltic fleet creating the Dogger Bank incident which almost dragged England into a war with Russia. Again, during the second world war the Eastern Mediterranean became a storm-breeding centre. The German occupation of the Balkan States, German domination of the Aegean and intrigues in the Middle East reduced neutral Turkey to a helpless spectator of grim developments around her borders. Von Papen was active in Istanbul and German warships passed clandestinely through the Straits, and this German defiance was checked when strong Allied representations were made to Turkey. Obviously, the Montreaux Convention had become unworkable and out-of-date and Turkish neutrality and guardianship of the Straits meaningless. Russia's demand for a revision of the Straits convention is, therefore, based upon experience.

The Black Sea, today, is more a Russian lake than a Turkish *mare clausum*, and an outlet through the Straits to the Mediterranean and the wider Oceans beyond is a compelling urge which, in view of recent experience and Russia's role in the Second World War, cannot be denied. If collective security is going to be a genuine thing and not the explosive balance-of-power theory over again, those who have fought shoulder to shoulder and shared the hazards of war should agree on the outstanding issues of the day without mental reservations. Unhappily, the century-old suspicion of Russia still lingers. The Russian domination of the greater part of the Balkans, the conflict of policies between the Soviet and the Anglo-American power all over South-East Europe, the growing tension and ferment in the Middle East are indications that old prejudices die hard. It is not possible yet to enter the arcana of Soviet policy. Both before and after the Second World War Soviet actions have appeared to the Western democracies mysterious, indefensible, annoying and strangely reminiscent of the shock tactics of Germany from the days of Bismarck onwards. Recent developments in Europe and in the Far East, however, have revealed the possibility of an accommodation, in spite of ideological differences, between the Soviet and the Western world. And yet Russia remains today, as always, an unknown quantity. The Russian solution of the Straits problem, whatever it is, because of its secretive nature, is giving the powers concerned considerable anxiety. But the western powers also, without whose assistance obviously Turkey can do nothing in the matter, have not completely shed their mental reservations. This is deplorable indeed, for at this moment when all the major problems making for war are being hammered out, the frankest exchange of views is a desideratum for world peace and security.

Viewed from a wider angle, the Straits question is amenable to a different solution. The time perhaps is ripe when an attempt should be made to have a single International convention for all the inter-oceanic canals and lines of communication. The Suez Canal convention should serve as the pattern for a convention for all vital waterways. An Anglo-American treaty to which all the powers of the world have tacitly agreed has given exclusive power to the U.S.A. to police the Panama Canal, because the U.S.A. is considered strong enough to enforce the freedom of passage through the Canal. The Suez Canal convention completely neutralising the Canal has been based on the notion that Egypt to whom the Canal zone territorially belongs is not strong enough to maintain freedom of passage through this important waterway. A solution of the problem of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus on the lines of the Suez Canal convention may be an urgent need at the present moment, considering the risks Turkey had to face as guardian of the Straits according to the Montreaux convention. A surrender of rights over the Straits area would not mean the surrender of sovereign rights by Turkey. In the technical language of international law Turkey would have to submit to a "State servitude", retaining theoretical sovereignty over all Turkish territories and waters. At the same time she would be relieved of a heavy burden involving great expenditure and also great risks.

But perhaps the matter is not so simple as that. A complete internationalization of the Straits would

revive ugly memories of the Treaty of Sevres which the nationalist Turkey had indignantly rejected. Any arrangement regarding the Dardanelles, which alone features in the press today, would have to be applied *mutatis mutandis* to the Bosphorus as well, for in all international transactions so far the two Straits have been dealt with together. In that case the status of Istanbul becomes uncertain and has got to be clarified. If the whole of the Straits zone is neutralized, Turkey obviously becomes a non-European power and a torso. Let it not be forgotten that during the war just ended freely expressed.

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HISTORY OF LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

II

EVEN after the elaborate recommendations of the Committee of Circuit, no improvement could be noticed. Ramsbotham thinks that it could not be maintained in the face of the mass of evidence revealed by the letters received from the districts that Warren Hastings and the Committee of Circuit had succeeded in improving the methods of collection of land revenue in Bengal. He says :—

In fact, they had introduced a more evil element than had hitherto existed by the putting up of the revenues to public auction. The revenues had been farmed long before the Company's day, but the farmers had been selected by Government from men of position, who knew the land. The new regulations introduced by the Committee of Circuit made it possible for any man to bid for the land. Those who know India will realise the consternation which such a change must have brought upon all classes except speculators. Men who were mere nobodies now bid for and obtained farms: many were speculators from another part of the country, whose sole object was to squeeze out every anna from the land and its cultivators, utterly careless of what resulted, so long as their speculation was successful. Others bid from malicious and hostile motives in order to turn out or embarrass some zemindar against whom they had a grudge; in a word, the land revenue was placed at the mercy of every kind of disreputable gambler. . . . If farming was necessary, it could have been carried out on different lines, working with the assistance of men of substance and with the existing zemindars, many of whom found themselves ousted by some bidder from the control of lands whose revenue they had collected for generations from people who knew them.

This account shows what desperate attempts were made to increase collections and the degree of misery brought upon the native people by the Company's depredations after the devastating famine of 1770. Samuel Middleton, a member of the Committee of Circuit, pointed out in 1775 that "the present revenue is beyond what the country can afford, and consequently that the increase cannot be realised without the ruin thereof." The following extract from his letter is illustrative :—

25 Ramsbotham, *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal*, p. 20.
26 Governor-General's Proceedings, April 7, 1775.

As to agriculture, population, commerce and manufactures it is too melancholy a truth that the whole country suffered a very dreadful depopulation at the time of the famine, and that the present thinness of the inhabitants manifest very clearly that the effects of that calamity still remain. The consequences, and most naturally, have been that a smaller portion of the lands are cultivated than before that event, and also that the manufacturers most particularly have suffered, as the manufacturing body are a peculiar caste who dedicate themselves to any particular branch of manufacture, not from choice or abilities but simply for the reason that their forefathers did the same, so that those members of this body who perished in the famine were a loss in great measure not to be repaired in future from the body of the community. When the manufacturers suffer, it is needless to say commerce must languish. Such being the state of the country in general, there is no doubt that the zillas I superintended must have felt their share of the general effects, and in Rajshahi . . . they have been experienced with greater extent, the manufacture of silk having been ever so considerable in the province: moreover the western part of it has been greatly detrimental by the oppressive and rapacious conduct of Amrat Singh who heretofore farmed that division. Under these circumstances, it is but too evident that the agriculture, population and commerce of those zillas (superintended by him) must be in a much worse state than before the famine . . . I must again revert to the famine as the real and genuine source from which the actual defalcation of the revenues has originated.

After the famine, not even a temporary respite from the Company's ruthless exploitation was given. Middleton says in the same letter referred to above :

"Had the proper measures been pursued after that event, probably the effects of it might by this time have been felt in a much less considerable degree. But too much regard having been then and thereafter paid to the realising as considerable a present revenue as possible to Government, those efforts have, of course, continued aggravating instead of wearing away of themselves. Had an adequate remission been made in the revenues, and every other suitable encouragement been afforded to agriculture, inhabitants would have come in to cultivate our lands from the neighbouring countries."

where they suffered the oppressions usual in black governments, and population and agriculture would have recovered. Instead of which, when a very considerable portion, supposed over a third of the whole inhabitants, had perished, the remaining two-thirds were obliged to pay for the lands now left without cultivators, and thus the native ryots being oppressed, and no particular encouragement given to foreign ryots to come in—on the contrary the oppression on the others, as it were, held out to deter them,—the country has languished ever since and the evil continues enhancing every day.

Assessments made in the districts, after the famine, were cruel, arbitrary and distinctly predatory. P. M. Dacres, another member of the Committee of Circuit, speaking from his own experience and observation of conditions in Jessore, attributes the failure to pay the revenue to the effects of the famine of 1770.²⁷ Many officers, like Dacres, had recommended remission in rent after the famine, but that was not done. Dacres wanted to remove another cause of distress and failure to pay the revenue, *viz.*, the public auction of the farms, but here also his recommendations were rejected. He wrote :

"The auction of lands for so long a period was not before known to the inhabitants of Bengal . . . it is evident that they (ryots) are taxed beyond what they can afford . . . The lands have been taken in farm at a rent exceeding their ability. The farmers to fulfil their engagement have realised from the husbandman a larger rent than he has been able to afford : under this hardship to forsake his profession and his country has been the easiest and speediest means of relief."

Two more similar remarks may be quoted. W. Harwood, Chief of the Provincial Council of Dinajpur, wrote²⁸ :

"The system of collecting the revenues of Rangpur by means of zilladars has been very prejudicial to the prosperity of that province : it has increased the charge of collection to an enormous sum. As adventurers and temporary residents in the districts, they are not interested in its welfare, and, as men without credit or responsibility, they have no concern for the good or ill-management of the public business."

N. Bateman, Chief of Chittagong, wrote²⁹ :

"Arbitrary taxes . . . prevail in Roshnabad province to such an excessive degree that they have not only banished commerce almost entirely from that country, but greatly depopulated it."

These oppressions were done by the Company's diwan.

Ramsbotham says that the Minutes of the Governor-General in Council for 1775 are full of complaints and petitions to the Board for extortion and oppression ; of "balances" which cannot be recovered ; of rivalries and jealousies between individual farmers ; of bribery and dishonest conduct against all the servants, Europeans and Indians alike, of the Company.

Dacres recommended, in his despatch dated, February 10, 1775,³⁰ the grant to the ryots a total

remission of the taxes which have been accumulating on their payments for the last 15 or 20 years past. He also recommended that let a settlement be made with the zemindars fixing the rent to perpetuity. Being disgusted with an unplanned temporary settlement which proved thoroughly unsatisfactory, unworkable and fraught with the most dangerous evils, the idea of permanent settlement was already gaining ground. Eighteen years before the Cornwallis settlement, we find Dacres suggesting it. He said that the zemindars might be trusted to a sale of their property as a security for their payments.

The real causes of the mounting economic distress had not, at the same time, escaped the notice of intelligent observers. Dacres wrote :

The great quantity of specie, which has of late years been exported from this country and the large investments annually sent home to England for which no returns are made, have also had a considerable influence in producing a decay of the revenues.

G. G. Ducarel, giving evidence before the Board attributed the unhappy state of the country "to a constant drain of money without proportionable returns, which has impoverished the country and lowered the value of the land and their produce. Whilst the revenues of Bengal were spent at Murshidabad, the great concourse of people assembled there, and the luxury of a Court, required ample supplies of all the necessities of life from the distant provinces ; their productions were then in constant demand, and regular returns of specie were made to answer the remittances of revenue. Murshidabad is now reduced to a village compared to its former state . . . The Company spent the revenues of the provinces chiefly in the maintenance of their troops, and provision of an investment for Europe."³¹

The Company was at this time in desperate need for money. R. C. Dutt points out that "in India an Empire was being acquired, wars were waged and administration carried on at the cost of the Indian people without the British nation contributing a shilling." The brunt of the cost was borne by the people of Bengal upon whose resources other provinces like Madras and Bombay had freely drawn to meet their own deficits.

Ducarel was then Collector of Purnea district. He also favoured a permanent settlement and said, "I am fully of opinion that a person of experience with discretionary power might render great service to the Company and province by effecting a permanent settlement in the most eligible mode according to local and particular circumstances, and upon an equitable valuation." Explaining his plan of permanent settlement Ducarel said, "I know it to be practicable, if the ryots can be brought to give their consent." Permanent settlement was later made but on a basis entirely different from what Dacres or Ducarel had suggested. They wanted to have it as an equitable basis and with the consent of the ryot. Lord Cornwallis rejected both these essential conditions. Ramsbotham says³² :

"The best evidence from the mofussil was unanimous in considering the settlement made in 1772 to be too high, and in condemning the irresponsible gambling introduced by the system which put the

farms up to public auction. The most arresting advice is that of P. M. Dacres, G. G. Ducarel, whose proposed remedy, *viz.*, a permanent settlement, evidently impressed Francis and was propounded by him at a later date without acknowledgment to its authors."

At the time of the arrival of Warren Hastings as Governor-General, the quinquennial settlement of 1772 was drawing to a close. The members of the Supreme Council were divided in their opinion as to the methods of collecting and settling the revenue. The majority were driven to the damaging but frank admission that "at this moment we should be very much embarrassed if we were called upon to make a new settlement of the lands, and were entrusted with power to do it." The minority, however, led by Hastings' implacable enemy Francis, wanted to take a definite step and favoured permanent settlement. Francis produced his own plan, the main features of which were taken without acknowledgement from the suggestions submitted by P. M. Dacres in his despatch, dated, Feb. 10, 1775, mentioned above. This controversy dragged on till the end of August, 1776, when Hastings expressed his anxiety in a minute with regard to the approaching settlement in 1777, in which year the Committee of Circuit's quinquennial settlement was due to expire. Hastings made some proposals of his own but could not produce any concrete plan.

The combination of Francis, Clavering and Monson had put Hastings in an unenviable minority position in his Council. On September 25, 1776, Colonel Monson died. Hastings now regained his authority in the Council through his casting vote. Hereafter he wanted to concentrate on the preparation of data for a new settlement of the different districts. Hastings proposed the establishment of a temporary office under one or two covenanted servants of the Company with a suitable staff to undertake the work. In a weighty minute, Hastings explained the necessity for creating this office. He said,³³ "The general design was to obtain an accurate state of the real value of the lands, . . . so that the burthen of the public revenue should rest with an equal weight upon the whole body of the people." In his eagerness to remove the inequality of assessment, which in his own opinion acted as a heavy oppression, he wrote, "The land tax has been collected for these twenty years past upon a conjectural valuation of the lands formed upon the receipts of former years and the opinions of the officers of the revenue, and the assessment has been accordingly altered almost every year." Hence, he said, "the necessity of obtaining an accurate state of the value of the lands to enable us to levy the public revenue with an equal weight throughout the whole province."

Although his intention was good, Hastings made the greatest blunder by dismissing the method of "actual survey and measurement" of the lands to be revalued as "too tedious, expensive and uncertain," and he gave his preference for an examination of local accounts.

General Clavering and Francis vigorously protested against this proposal of Hastings and prophesied that "all the mischief of the Committee of Circuit will be renewed." A bitter controversy raged but Hastings remained firm. The proposed office was created. David Anderson and George Bogle were appointed on the

Commission on November 29, 1776.³⁴ A week later, Charles Croftes, Accountant-General of the Revenue Department, was added to the Commission. This office came to be known as the "Amini office" in contemporary records.

On assumption of their duties, the Commission sent out amins into all the districts to collect the necessary accounts and papers. The task was not at all easy. The zemindars were not enthusiastic about showing their accounts and there were many evasions. One of the amins Ramram Basu deputed to check the accounts in the zemindary of Rani Bhowani reported, in reply to accusations brought against him by the Rani's agents, that³⁵, "They have not yet given in many papers which are necessary to check the Sadar *hastobud* and Sadar *jama, wasil, baki* with their subsidiary accounts : some say they will deliver them as soon as they can get them from the country, but they have broke several promises which they made to deliver them within a certain time. Others allege that there are none : such are the evasions of the people, and thus delay as occasioned in checking the accounts of the Sadar offices." Allegations of torture in order to elicit these informations were made against Ramram Basu but he repudiated the idea of flogging any one as had been alleged.³⁶

With the time for resettlement drawing near Hastings made some suggestions of which the following are the main³⁷ :

That such lands as are now in charge of the zemindars be left under their management, if they will consent to hold them on the *jama* and *kistibandi* (instalment) of last year.

That such lands as are now in charge of the zemindars be left under their management, although they shall refuse to hold them on the *jama* and *kistibandi* of last year, if they will consent to hold them for such a rent as the Provincial Council of the Division to which they belong shall judge adequate to their real worth.

That for all lands let to the zemindars as above directed, be it expressly stipulated in their *kabuliyats* that in case of their falling in arrears they shall be liable to be dispossessed and their zemindaris or portions of them sold to make up for the deficiency.

The experiences gathered during the five years 1772-1777 by the Company's district officers in their efforts to provide the basis for a sound revenue settlement has been summed up by Ramsbotham in the following words³⁸ :

First, and perhaps most important of all, they had learned that no imported theories could assist them in the revenue administration of the districts committed to their charge ; they recognised that some system based on local custom and tradition was necessary ; they laid stress on the corrupt and oppressive state into which that system had fallen. They realised that the Company's first attempt to collect the revenue of the Diwani lands had been vitiated by an assessment that was excessive, by

²⁷ Governor-General's Proceedings, April 7, 1775.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, June 7, 1775.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, July 7, 1775.

³¹ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1775.

³³ Ramsbotham, *Ibid.*, p. 79.

³⁴ Governor-General's Proceedings, Nov. 29, 1776.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, March 14, 1777.

³⁶ Ramsbotham, *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

ignorance of the country and its numerous customs, and above all, by the employment of a wrong agency in the wholesale use of *ijaradars* or farmers. They had found out the feebleness of the traditional collecting agency, the zamindars, and had detected, but failed to break, the collusion between the zamindars and the registering agency, the kanungoo. They had painfully discovered that no two districts had the same customs, and that in every pargana the local traditions and methods must be taken into calculation when assessing or collecting the revenue. The senior officers of the districts were unanimous in their condemnation of the system of public farming, and they recognised the danger of the centralising policy to which the Board adhered in spite of all warning and advice . . .

The defects were still glaring: the main cause of them was the weakness or nervousness of the Directors who constantly and peremptorily forbade the employment of officers by themselves in the mofussil, and in this they were to some extent supported by the Governor-General whose fixed obsession was that the revenue administration could most efficiently be handled in Calcutta by the Board working through Indian diwans and amins in the districts. No touring was permitted, in spite of repeated applications to the Board for permission. The same ignorance of the amount actually paid by the ryots, and the difference between the amount and the sums received by the Company still prevailed; but progress was being made in this respect, and the district officers were learning the right methods of obtaining that knowledge. A serious obstacle, by the irony of fate, to a vigorous district administration of the revenue was the Governor-General himself, whose acumen and judgment enabled him to select good officers, but whose ignorance of the work required from revenue district officers, and whose fixity of purpose, for good or bad, was responsible for that rigid central control which was so detrimental to an efficient revenue administration and which was never relaxed so long as he remained in India.

The need for a long-term settlement of land tenure had by now been well appreciated. Dacres and Ducarel, as we have seen, were the first to suggest permanent settlement and Philip Francis was the first to emphasise it. In his Minute, dated, January 22, 1776, Francis had amplified his scheme of settlement with the zamindars, as of right, in perpetuity.³⁹ Barwell had previously advocated a settlement with the zamindars for one or two generations. Warren Hastings agreed with the claims of zamindars in preference to farmers, but before committing the Court to any definite plan, he wanted to ascertain in detail the resources of the country. There were two conflicting claims. This conflict has been described by Ascoli⁴⁰ as follows:

The claim of the zamindar at this period was the right to hold his estate in perpetuity, subject to his agreement to pay the revenue fixed by the Company from time to time; in case of his refusal to agree to the revenue as fixed at any time, he considered himself entitled to a maintenance

allowance known as *malikana* or *mushahara* (moshaira) from the farmer who accepted settlement. His right rested on one of two facts—either he was a permanent official with an hereditary right to collect the revenue of the estate, or he possessed a proprietary right in the soil. The farming theory rested on the assumptions that the proprietary right vested in the state, that the zamindar was not a permanent hereditary official, and that the Company possessed the right of its capacity as Diwan, to let out estates on lease (farm or *ijara*) temporarily to any person selected by the Company.

This problem has been extensively discussed in the Grant-Shore controversy. When it suited the Company they flouted the zamindars' claim of hereditary proprietary right and farmed out land to anybody and everybody they liked for short periods. When however they gradually began to realise that it was impossible to establish an effective system of revenue collection without the help of some powerful local agency, they leaned back on the zamindars for this purpose. By 1776, the Company was able to realise the difficulty but was unable to take any definite step. In that year, just before the term of quinquennial settlement expired, the Court of Directors replied to the Hastings-Francis controversy in the Council:⁴¹

Having considered the different circumstances of getting your lands on leases for lives or in perpetuity, we do not for many weighty reasons think it at present advisable to adopt either of these modes; but in the meanwhile we direct that the lands be let for the succeeding year on the most advantageous terms and that none be in future let by public auction.

This order was carried out in spite of Hastings' Minute advising inquiry into the resources of the country. Hastings had not given up his own idea and had already appointed the Amini Commission. Amidst great odds, this Commission concluded its labours and submitted its report in March 25, 1778. This Amini Report was the first technical and professional explanation of the system employed in collecting the land revenue of Bengal. On this basis annual settlements were made, ordinarily with the zamindars, for 1777 and the three succeeding years. By the appointment of this Commission and by arrogating the power of revenue settlement in his own hands, Hastings had practically reduced the provincial councils to mere figureheads.

Drastic changes now took place. The Supreme Council had decided on the course of complete centralisation in Calcutta. The Committee of Revenue was placed in full control aided by a Dewan. Provincial councils were abolished on February 9, 1781 and collectors were again appointed over the various districts. In order to maintain the centralised structure of the new machinery, Collectors were denied any interference with the new settlement of the revenue. Special officers were appointed for the purpose. Even as collecting agencies, the Collectors were not trusted and the zamindars were encouraged to pay their revenue direct into the *khalsa* or Exchequer in Calcutta. In the districts, kanungos were reappointed to assist the Collectors, but they were placed under Sadar kanungos who acted under orders of the Committee of Revenue.

The new Collectors were thus mere figureheads. The settlement of 1781 was made principally with the zamindars for varying periods not exceeding three years, in different districts. Annual settlements of 1784-86 showed an increase on the figures for 1781, but the defects of the new system were already apparent. In 1782, Shore had stated his opinion, "The real state of the districts is now less known, and the revenues less understood, than in 1774; . . . the system is fundamentally wrong and inapplicable to any good purpose."

The first attempt to change the land laws of India was made in 1784 when the Act for the "Better Regulation and Management of the Affairs of the East India Company" was passed by the Parliament "to settle and establish . . . the permanent rules by which the tributes, rents and services of the rajas, zamindars, polygars, talukdars, and other native landholders should be in future rendered and paid."

In passing this Act, Parliament no doubt did the first land legislation for India but it did not prescribe a permanent settlement. It merely established permanent rules for the payment of rent. Nor did the Parliament direct that zamindars other than actual proprietors should be declared proprietors of the land, to the exclusion of other proprietary rights. The permanent rules, for the payment of rent were directed to be consistent with justice and in accordance with the laws, customs and constitution of India. This principle, however, was not followed. The Court of Directors, in 1786, ordered that the settlement of land revenue should in all practicable cases be made with the zamindars.

The centralisation plan of Hastings had failed. Sir John Shore next developed a new reform scheme aimed at a complete decentralisation. The new scheme was published on April 7, 1786. The whole of the province was divided into small districts each under the control of a Collector. The Collector made the settlement and collected the revenue of his district. The Committee of Revenue merely retained a general power of sanction and control. Native dewans were abolished and the kanungo was revived after a thorough revision. On the very day of the publication of this great reform, James Grant was appointed Sheristadar with the special object of reconstituting the kanungos department. The office of Sheristadar at that time corresponded to a Keeper of the Records and was an office of great importance.

The division of the province into districts was the backbone of the reforms. The new districts were territorial units and were thirty-five in number. The revenues of each of them approximated to eight lakhs of rupees. On the suggestion of Shore, these districts were reduced in 1787 to twenty-three in number. Ascoli⁴² points out that the process of rendering the districts more compact continued until 1793, but the system evolved by Shore, based on a series of compact districts, each controlled directly by a Collector, who was responsible for the whole administration, subject only to the general control of the Board of Revenue, has formed the basis of all subsequent administration. The Collectors were also given the powers of the Judge and the Magistrate. A strong local administration on a decentralised model was thus created.

The Committee of Revenue was dissolved in 1786 and re-established as the Board of Revenue. Its power of interference was taken away, its duty of making settlements of revenue was ended. Its main duty was now to sanction, subject to a certain extent to the control of the Council, the settlements made by the Collectors.

The reforms of 1786 laid the foundation on which the Permanent Settlement subsequently rested. In September, 1786, Lord Cornwallis landed in Calcutta. The Court had instructed him to make a decennial settlement. At the beginning of 1790, regulations were issued for the decennial settlement of Bengal.

During the period, till the inauguration of the permanent settlement, two great controversies must be noted,—the Grant-Shore and the Shore-Cornwallis controversy. Three treatises by Grant may be mentioned, the Political Survey of the Northern Circars, published on December 20, 1784, the Analysis of the Finance of Bengal issued on April 27, 1786 and the Historical and Comparative View of the Revenues of Bengal, issued on February 28, 1788. In his first treatise, Grant attempted to show that the zamindar was merely a temporary official, and that the right of property in land vested absolutely in the State. In the second he justified the amount of the assessment in the last half century of Mughal control and in the third, he tried to prove that great defalcations had occurred in the Company's revenue since the commencement of the control of Muhammad Reza Khan. His implication was that while the full assessment of the Mughal days was being realised, only a small portion of it was being actually paid to the credit of the Company. His attempt to show that the assessment in the Mughal period was a practical figure capable of realization was considered as the weakest feature of his case. Grant recommended that settlement should be made of the Dewani lands at the highest Mughal assessment as found in 1765. In respect of the ceded lands, however, he maintained that assessment should be made after a detailed measurement.

Shore replied to Grant's treatises in a monumental Minute on June 18, 1789. The Minute is an elaborate exposition of the status of the zamindar and the cultivator, so far as it was understood at that time. Shore was the first to admit the incompleteness of administrative knowledge at that period. The minute concludes with detailed proposals for a decennial settlement, which was to be based on the previous year's revenue. Shore abandoned Grant's proposal that the highest Mughal assessment should be adopted as the standard, he also abandoned as impracticable the principle that one-fourth of the gross produce should form the basis of the revenue and accepted the experience of the twenty-four years of the British administration. Shore based his arguments on "practical experience in the collection and management of the revenues, which Mr. Grant does not profess to have acquired." There was a very important distinction between the two men. Grant, with his intimate knowledge of the old records and books of account and no practical experience, beyond an unofficial connection with the settlement of Dacca in 1771, did not attempt to test his conclusions by the facts of experience, while Shore threw aside theoretical speculation and based his argument entirely on the facts of experience which however he admitted to be incomplete. There had been two distinct schools

³⁹ Francis, *Plan of Settlement of Revenue, 1776; Fifth Report*, p. 327.

⁴⁰ Ascoli, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴¹ Ascoli, *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁴² Polygar: A military chieftain in Southern India, not found in Bengal.

⁴³ Ascoli, *Ibid.*, p. 39.

of thought on this subject—the one headed by Philip Francis who had maintained in 1776 that Bengal was grossly over-assessed, the other headed by Grant who insisted that Bengal was capable of paying a higher revenue.⁴⁴ Although arguing from different premises trying to contradict Grant, Shore himself arrived at a conclusion which was not much different from that of Grant. He admitted that the assessment up to the death of Aliverdi Khan was not abnormal, and probably did not cover the imposts levied by the zemindars on the raiyats.⁴⁵ He leaned on the side of a high assessment but wanted to make it thorough and scientific. In his masterly exposition, he argued throughout that any settlement must be based on the immediate experience that had been acquired. He stated that it was first necessary to discover the real paying capacity of every village and every pargana. He suggested a decennial settlement because he believed that this discovery could be made in the course of a ten years' settlement by compelling the zemindars to deposit detailed lists of villages within their estates, showing their boundaries, areas and assets; during the course of the settlement such lists could be tested. This opinion together with his great reforms shows that Shore was really the first Imperialist who wanted to push the revenue assessment at the highest possible level consistent with the cultivators' ability to pay and sought to create an effective administrative machinery able to collect the revenue that was assessed. Despite some subsequent modifications, Shore's scheme provided the most thorough Imperialist machinery for Bengal which remains the foundation of her administrative structure even to this day.

The Court of Directors had made up their mind. They were bent upon doing two things—first, to make the assessment such that the highest revenue was obtained and second, a permanent settlement of the land with the zemindars should be made. They had decided to win the zemindar over their side leaving the cultivator to his fate. The selection of Lord Cornwallis was not without significance. Ascoli says⁴⁶, "A man of the highest integrity and loyalty but possessed of no conspicuous originality, he had doubtless been selected for the post of Governor-General under the conviction that the orders which he carried with him would be executed punctiliously and successfully, and without criticism." The claims of Shore, a calm and clear-headed administrator who had gained experience of all the phases of administration since 1769, "a man of great honesty and integrity who had remained poor while his brethren in office had amassed wealth,"⁴⁷ was passed over because he held pronounced views of his own which conflicted with those held by the Directors. Shore was appointed a member of the Supreme Council in 1787 and remained Cornwallis' chief adviser until the end of 1789. Cornwallis differed from Shore on one important point only, the question of permanence and his determination to carry out the orders of the Court induced him to override the experience of Shore. In his first Minute of June 18, 1789, Shore advocated decennial settlement and maintained that a period of ten years would be fully adequate to enable the zemindars to attend to the development of their

estates; he feared that a permanent settlement would only tend to perpetuate abuses, which might otherwise be abolished at the end of the ten years' term. Cornwallis, in his Minute of September 18, 1789, affirmed that the Court of Directors were determined to make the settlement permanent, provided that their servants did not betray the trust placed in them. Shore's proposal, limiting the term of settlement with the proprietor to ten years, implied that at the end of the term settlement would again be made with the proprietor, subject to such assessment and such obligations as the experience of ten years might prove to be necessary. Cornwallis did not attempt to argue with Shore on this, the essential part of Shore's case. Cornwallis was no champion of the old zemindar families. He wrote, "It is immaterial to Government what individual possesses the land, provided he cultivates it, protects the raiyats and pays the public revenue."⁴⁸ The penalty for failure to pay the revenue had already been determined by Shore and accepted by Cornwallis, viz., immediate sale of the whole of the defaulting estate.

In his second Minute on the same date, Sept. 18, 1789, Shore delivered a reply to Cornwallis and suggested the grant of conditional ten-year leases in favour of men of known capacity who would promote cultivation by bringing more land under the plough by a speedy clearance of the jungle. He pointed out that a permanent settlement would perpetuate abuses in the case of bad but capable landlords. In his third Minute of December 21, 1789, Shore stated that the permanent settlement would result in an unfair distribution of the assessment because in the absence of a survey, the settlement must be made on the basis of indeterminate boundaries and unascertained areas and profits. He argued that, in case of a decennial settlement, at the end of ten years the revenue would be less than at the beginning and maintained that Government should retain the right to recover that loss at least by a fair redistribution of the assessment. His other important argument was that if the zemindar was to be treated as a proprietor in the sense intended by Cornwallis, Government would not be justified in interfering in the relations between the zemindars and cultivators.

A few days after he wrote this Minute, Shore left for England. Cornwallis replied in his Minute of February 3, 1790. He did not agree with Shore's opinion that the revenue would tend to decrease. He thought that the profits of the zemindars would increase so rapidly that the Government revenue would be fully safeguarded even against the effects of drought and famine. He believed that the ability of the proprietor to dispose of his lands at will would consolidate his position and the power to sell or mortgage would safeguard the interests of Government. Replying to Shore's second argument, Cornwallis maintained that Government must retain the power of interfering in the relations between the landlords and tenants.

Cornwallis never succeeded in returning a convincing reply to Shore's arguments. From the beginning of the controversy, Shore appealed for further experience and warned against the undue haste in perpetuating an experimental and untried scheme in the provinces, the conditions of which even the most experienced men in the Administration had failed to understand. On February 10, 1790, the rules for the Decennial Settlement of Bengal were issued and on March 22, 1793, in accord-

ance with the orders of the Court of Directors despatched on September 19, 1792, the Decennial Settlements of Bengal and Bihar were declared to be permanent.

The permanent settlement was not received submissively. Ascoli says⁴⁹:

"Contemporary official correspondence proves that the larger zemindars were very strongly opposed to the measure . . . The main points of objection were the amount of revenue assessed, and the means that had been adopted for the enforcement of payment. The zemindar was faced by the immediate prospect of being liable to pay a revenue, which, in view of the difficulties of realising rent from his tenants, was very heavy. Over his head was brandished the axe of sale, ready to descend and destroy him if the smallest arrear accrued; it was the law of sale that rendered the Permanent Settlement unpopular."

By the time the permanent settlement was introduced, it was abundantly clear that the people of Bengal were not going to accept the British Company as their natural Ruler and pay revenue submissively to them as they had done to their own monarchy. They denied the British administrators all knowledge of revenue matters and non-co-operated with them to the best of their ability. Sir John Shore's Minutes show that even the most astute administrator with the wide experience felt a degree of helplessness in the face of this systematic non-co-operation and hesitated to impose any system in this country which might prove unnatural to the people of the land. Even Warren Hastings faltered. But the Directors were impatient and wanted to increase the revenue at any cost so that the expenses of wars might be met and more dividends might be declared. They decided upon permanent settlement with the biggest loophole in it which, we may say, was left purposely open for the loyal zemindars to enter. The rent payable by the zemindar was permanently limited without permanently limiting at the same time the rent payable by the cultivator. Cornwallis might have contemplated a permanent assessment or fixed rent from the ryot to the zemindar of exactly the same character as the permanent settlement with the zemindar. But this was not attempted either by Cornwallis or by the Directors. It was Sir John Shore who sought to secure some safeguard for the peasant against zemindary oppression. In his Minute of June, 1789, he wrote⁵⁰:

In relying therefore on the example of good faith which the Government gives to the zemindars, we ought not, while the example is taking effect, to abandon the ryots to caprice or injustice, the result of ignorance and inability. . . . At present we must give every possible security to the ryots as well as, or not merely, to the zemindars. This is so essential a point that it ought not to be conceded to any plan.

This shows that Shore did not want the ryots to become tenants-at-will under the zemindary settlement. The loophole in the permanent settlement scheme was left open in spite of Shore's warning, and this significant fact leads to the only conclusion that it was deliberate. It succeeded in its main objective, the revenue of the Government was now fully secured and the collection

was easier, but it worked at a tremendous cost to the sons of the soil. The rights in wrongs had now become vested rights.

The assessment on the zemindar was high enough to make the corresponding levy on the peasant unbearable for him. The peasant's second stable source of income through cottage industries was being destroyed by means of the unfair competition of imported goods made in England. The land became the cultivator's sole means of subsistence. The oppressive rent killed all initiative of improvement of agriculture and extension of cultivation took place only when the prime motive of self-preservation demanded it. Within two decades the oppressive nature of the rent was apparent and even an Imperialist like Lord Grenville remarked, in the House of Lords debate on the renewal of the charter, on March 16, 1813, "No system of taxation could be more detestable in a country than a tax upon the abilities and industry of the husbandman. This system left to the agents of the Company all the villainous oppression of the Mahomedan government and imposts were levied upon the cultivators of the ground according to their discretion." The oppressive and ominous character of the land tax was well understood but the greed of the Company goaded them to continue their predatory policy and to impose a tax which pressed on the people. It was seen later that the apprehensions which led Grenville to utter those memorable words were fully justified. In 1873, the Bengal Board of Revenue reported that under that settlement, the majority of the zemindars were impoverished; the conditions of a large proportion of ryots were bad, and the only class that had signally and chiefly benefited was that of the moneylenders, who thus crowned the pinnacle of England's honour and glory from the permanent zemindary settlement.

The great mischief of the permanent settlement was perceived by others as well. Sir Edward Colebrooke wrote on July 12, 1820⁵¹:

The errors of the permanent settlement in Bengal were two-fold: first, the sacrifice of what may be denominated the yeomanry, by merging all village rights, whether of property or occupancy in the all devouring recognition of the zemindar's permanent property in the soil; and secondly, in the sacrifice of the peasantry by one sweeping enactment, which left the zemindar to make his settlement with them on such term as he might choose to require. Government indeed reserved to itself the power of legislating in favour of the tenants, but no such legislation has ever taken place; and on the contrary, every subsequent enactment has been founded on the declared object of strengthening the zemindar's hands.

In his Minute of February 3, 1790, Cornwallis had asserted⁵²:

"In order to simplify the demand of the landholder upon the ryots, or cultivators of the soil, we must begin with fixing the demand of the government upon the former; this done, I have little doubt but that the landholders will, without difficulty, be made to grant pottahs to the ryots upon the principles proposed by Mr. Shore for the Bengal settlement."

⁴⁴ Fifth Report, Ed. by Ascoli, p. 170, para 9.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 171, para 44.

⁴⁶ Ascoli, Ibid, p. 63.

⁴⁷ Ascoli, Ibid, p. 63.

⁴⁸ Fifth Report, p. 473.

⁴⁹ Ascoli, Ibid, p. 74.

⁵⁰ Fifth Report, p. 486, para 532.

⁵¹ Revenue Selections, Vol. III, p. 167.

⁵² Fifth Report, p. 486.

Colebrooke's comment shows that the wishful thinking of Cornwallis did not materialise.

It was expected that the zemindar, having the advantage of all the revenue from bringing waste lands into cultivation, would conform to the law which prohibited him from increasing the ryot's rent. But the strained relations between the zemindar and the ryot, and the multitudinous suits for enhancement of rent, have long since dispelled this illusion. Sir Frederic Halliday wrote⁵⁶, on September 2, 1856 :

"The intention of the permanent settlement was to recognise and confirm existing rights in the land, to prevent encroachment on those rights for the future. The effect of the settlement was, however, to erect into landowners men who were mere tax-collectors, and to give them almost unlimited power over all the old village proprietors, thus exposing to hazard a vast mass of long existing rights and creating new and unknown rights of property where they had never been before. The consequences of this have been deeply injurious to the great body of real proprietors whose rights were sacrificed on the occasion; and the bad consequences of the measure may be traced at the present day in many of the evils which penetrate into and vitiate so much of the constitution of our rural societies. The only chance of breaking any part of this system down (and every breach of it is a blessing to thousands) is through the purchase of zemindaries by Government at auction sales . . . Every zemindary so purchased is a population redeemed and regenerated."

Enhancement of rent had been similarly condemned by Sir John Peter Grant. Sir John wrote⁵⁷, on February 10, 1840 :

"The right to enhance according to the present value of the land differs not in principle from absolute annulment of tenure."

It was expected that the zemindars, with a fixed land tax (and it might be added, with the acquisition of a new proprietary right in the properties of millions) would lay out capital in improving agriculture. The testimony recorded is, that the zemindars have done little or nothing, the ryots everything, for the extension and improvement of cultivation. The Court of Directors themselves observed⁵⁸, on May 9, 1831 :

There is scarcely any fact to which there is more frequent testimony in your records that the improvidence and prodigality which characterise the zemindars. On the subject of their inattention to the improvement of their estates, the following declaration of Mr. Ernst, in his answer to the questions which were circulated in 1801, may serve as a specimen of the body of evidence which fills your records : "I have never seen or heard of a zemindar in Bengal who took any measures for the improvement of his estate on a large and liberal scale. Landholders do not carry their views beyond granting waste lands on the terms which are customary in the pergannah; they hardly ever encourage cultivation by digging a tank or making advances to the ryots." . . . The words of the Board of Revenue are : "The ryots generally clear and cultivate the lands at their own expense. The period of exemption from rent may in some instances exceed that specified in the talookdar's grant, but the burthen of expense, generally speaking, falls on the ryot."

Mr. Holt Mackenzie stated⁵⁹, on April 18, 1832 :

The system must oppose a serious obstacle to the successful cultivation of new and better crops. The zemindar, who is neither agriculturist nor owner of the soil, and stands in a position little favourable to the growth of enlightened and liberal ideas, must be expected to act as a tax-gatherer, and as a short-sighted tax-gatherer nipping in the bud and seeds of improvement. And we cannot hope that any new or increased demand for the produce of the country can be met with that promptitude which might be expected if the occupants were secured in their property, so long as the contractors for the Government revenue were on their watch for every new occasion of exaction, and the ignorance or inefficiency of our courts permit them unjustly and arbitrarily to tax the industry of the country."

Frequent ejectments had become a source of unmitigated curse to the peasant. Harish Ch. Mookerjee, Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot* and Sambhunath Pandit wrote⁶⁰, on September 27, 1851 :

"Frequent removals of habitation (ejectments) are proverbially injurious to the industrious classes of the Bengal peasant, who builds his own hut, irrigates and manures the land at his own expense, and owes his landlord nothing but the use of the bare natural powers of the soil, who is absolutely without a reserved capital, and is almost always encumbered with a family ; a single removal completes the ruin."

Justice George Campbell wrote⁶¹, on June 1, 1864 :

The great zemindar, as a rule, (and the exceptions are most rare), does not spend a farthing on the improvement of his estate. He neither himself cultivates and introduces an improved agriculture, nor does he prepare farms for his tenants to build farm-houses, fence fields, drain and plant,—he does nothing whatever of all this, he performs none of the functions of a landlord in the English sense ; he merely permits ryots to cultivate at their own expense and takes from them the dues to which the law entitles him, or more if he can get it.

Among the foremost results of the permanent settlement may therefore be placed the destruction of those rights of millions of cultivating proprietors which in theory were recognised in the Proclamation of the Zemindary Settlement. The Select Committee which submitted the Fifth Report, stated that in India "subordinate rights were found to exist, which justice and humanity required should be protected, before the privileges of the zemindars, under the new system, were declared fixed for ever." But this was not done. On August 1, 1822, a Government Resolution⁶² stated :

As far, therefore, as concerns the ryots the perpetual settlement of the lower provinces must be held to have essentially failed to produce the contemplated benefits with whatever advantages it may have otherwise been attended.

As a natural consequence of the permanent settlement, the ryots' rights were destroyed ; they passed away *sub silentio*. By permanent settlement the country has profited nothing. The ryots have lost heavily. The zemindars have benefited but little. The bulk of the zemindars today are poor and mostly in debt.

(Concluded)

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64, App. IV.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, App. IV, p. 67.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Revenue Selections*, Vol. III, p. 386.

RESEARCH : THE FOUNDATION STONE OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL SUCCESS

Du Pont Research Laboratories—A Great Example

WHEN a great industrial laboratory devotes itself to fundamental research—the study of science instead of its commercial application—the results are unpredictable. Nylon, for example which in peacetime made the most glamorous of women's hosiery and now in a dozen forms is an essential war product, is one of the results of such pure research by scientists of the laboratories of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company in the United States.

Research by du Pont was initiated with the very beginning of the company in 1802. The founder, Eleuthiere Irenee du Pont de Nemours, was a pupil of Lavoisier, called "the father of modern chemistry." From him the 17-year-old student learned not only how to make gunpowder but also the importance of continued research. After the French Revolution young du Pont went to America with his father and a brother and set up a powder mill near Wilmington, in the Atlantic Coast State of Delaware. Successful from the start, it furnished much of the powder used by the U.S. Army in the early part of the 19th century. One of the early scientific investigations completed for the company was made by Lamot du Pont, grandfather of the present chairman of the Board of Directors, when in 1857 he invented a successful blasting powder based on sodium nitrate instead of the conventional potassium nitrate.

Du Pont's first formal research laboratory, erected in 1902, was one of the first chemical research laboratories in America. It was devoted to research solely in the field of explosives ; a year later an experimental station was opened to explore the various other fields in which the company had become active.

The policy of the company has always been to diversify its activities by acquiring companies well established in certain lines of industry, such as plastics, paints, coated fabrics, electrochemical products and sporting arms and ammunition. By purchasing patents and processes from established companies in other countries, especially Great Britain and France, du Pont began the manufacture of intermediates and dyes, ammonia, rayon and cellophane. The acquisition of each new business was soon followed by the establishment of a laboratory devoted to improving the product and the processes involved, and to developing new products in the same field. Today the company maintains 33 such laboratories, employing nearly 3,400 workers.

CENTRAL CHEMICAL DEPARTMENT

In addition to these specialized laboratories is the Central Chemical Department, with laboratories at the experimental station. This department, because of its independent position, is not troubled by daily problems



A corner of the main analytical laboratory of the chemical department of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.

arising from manufacture. Its field is fundamental research with freedom to investigate any problem in the entire field of chemistry. Its fortunes do not follow a profit and loss curve, for the company realizes that research must be continuous. During the depression days of the 1930's Lamot du Pont, then president of the company, told the chemical director that "it is more important to carry out research than to pay dividends."

Both nylon and neoprene, the first commercially successful synthetic rubber, were children of the depression. When Dr. Wallace Carothers of Harvard University joined the du Pont research staff in 1928, he chose to work on the project of making big molecules out of little ones, the process technically called "polymerization." The molecules which result are formed of regularly recurring units and are often compared to a chain of paper clips hooked together. While Dr. Carothers was experimenting with the polymers, Father Julius Arthur Nieuwland, professor of organic chemistry at Notre Dame University, was working with acetylene. Some of his results were suggestive of the du Pont aims, and so a patent and royalty agreement was made, and his ideas were turned over to Dr. Carothers and his picked team. In 1931 du Pont introduced neoprene, the first synthetic rubber which could be used successfully for tires. Better than rubber in some respects, it resists the deteriorating action of sunlight and heat, gasoline and lubricating

⁵⁹ "Zemindary Settlement in Bengal", App. IV, p. 61, para 2, 54 *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, App. IV, p. 63.

oils and many chemicals. Because it is more gas-tight and air-tight than natural rubber, it finds a wide war use in barrage balloons, life rafts and airplane de-icers.

NYLON DEVELOPED

With neoprene safely launched, Dr. Carothers returned to his laboratory to continue on fundamental research. William Haynes, telling the story in *This*



A batch of neoprene, the first commercially successful synthetic rubber, is being poured from the polymerization kettle of the Du Pont Co.

Chemical Age, describes the scientist as a "curious, melancholy enthusiast who relished a really profound chemical problem as a connoisseur enjoys a vintage wine." He felt that a new type of synthetic fiber was the most promising possibility among the polymers he had been studying for so many years. Working with his associate, Julian Hill, he found a chemical compound which when hot could be drawn out through a hypodermic needle into a fine thread; unlike the other plastics, upon cooling the thread remained elastic and pliable. His material was a compound of members of two large families of chemicals. Any member of either family might combine with any one of the other group to form a better material; the possible combinations are almost infinite in number.

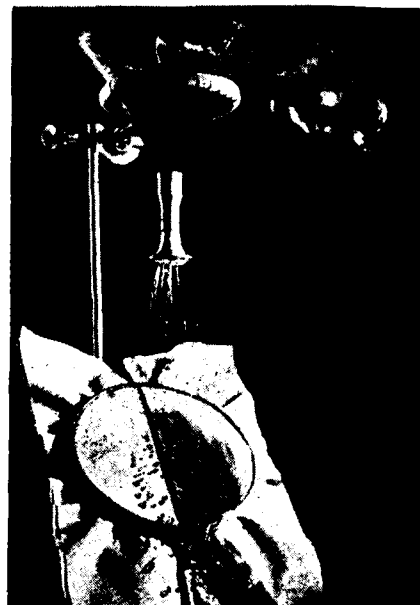
Two years of intensive work led to the selection in February, 1935, of one particular fiber, made from a compound chemically known as "polyhexamethylene adipamide" and generally referred to as "66". When it was decided that this was the ideal fiber, light, tough, elastic and resistant to most solvents, the company determined to reduce to a minimum "the time between the test tube and the counter." About 230 chemists and chemical engineers were assigned to work on the new fiber. By October, 1938, a manufacturing plant was begun for the new yarn, now christened nylon, which had been tested and approved by hosiery manufacturers. Within 16 months the plant was in operation, turning out nylon at the rate of 8,000,000 pounds a year.

With nylon now dedicated entirely to the war, current production figures are not disclosed, but it has proved invaluable as material for parachute fabric and shroud lines, cords for bomber tires and tow rope for gliders. In the jungles, nylon resistance to mildew and rot had made it increasingly important for tents, insect netting, ponchos, hammocks and even shoe strings. Nylon itself is a plastic, the fiber being only one of its many forms. It is widely used for wire insulation, carburetor diaphragms and surgical sutures. Experimentally it makes machinery packing bearings, window screens, transparent packaging, zipper fasteners, coated fabric and coil springs, all fabricated from nylon sheets, rods, tubes, liquid or molding powder.

DEVELOPED DYES

Before the war of 1914-18 the United States depended for most of its dyestuffs upon Germany, which had built up a virtual monopoly among the coal-tar dyes. When the war cut off these foreign deliveries, all the American textile, paint, paper and other dye-consuming industries were in desperate straits. It was with great difficulty that even enough dyes could be obtained to color military uniforms for the last war. To meet this urgent need, du Pont began the manufacture of the simpler dyes, indigo and sulphur black, meanwhile working out the formulas for the more complex secret dyes.

From this beginning has grown up the plant of the Chamber Works, across the Delaware River from the



The standard spray-testing equipment used to determine the water-repellancy of a treated fabric in the laboratories of the Du Pont Co.

company's headquarters in Wilmington, where today more than 7,000 men and women are contributing to the war effort, not only in the manufacture of dyes but in many other war materials. When an official of the company recently asked how many products manufactured there were in the construction of the B-29

Superfortress, a list from the Chamber Works, admittedly incomplete, named 86 different materials.

Paints and dyes and related chemicals are even more vital in this war than in the last. The armed forces are using three or four times as much anthraquinone vat colors, one of the most important types of dyes, as the whole population used before the war. At present, the Organic Chemicals Department is supplying not only increased quantities of dyes, but more than 2,000 other materials, each contributing directly or indirectly to the conduct of the war. They include rubber chemicals, such as accelerators and antioxidants; extreme-pressure lubricant bases; tetra-ethyl lead, which makes possible the powerful high-octane aviation gasoline; synthetic camphor; textile finishes; "all-water" soaps; wetting agents; seed disinfectants; photographic chemicals; synthetic Vitamin D; and chemicals for smoke screens.

MANY WAR USES

War uses of familiar products are many. Moisture-proof cellophans wraps dehydrated foods and Army rations. It serves in the hospitals as a "germproof" wound dressing. "Freon," the fluorine chemical used in many pre-war electric refrigerators, is used for air-conditioning equipment on naval vessels, especially submarines, because it is non-toxic and non-explosive.

The crystal-clear plastics perfected in the du Pont laboratories find many wartime uses. "Lucite," methyl methacrylate resin, in curved, highly-polished sheets, is used as cockpit and gun turret enclosures on Flying Fortresses and other fighting planes. This plastic meets the U.S. Army specifications for good vision, lightness of weight, weathering properties, toughness and ability to withstand shock at low temperatures. The U.S. Coast Guard uses a plastic-protected electric water lamp attached to a life-preserver which lights automatically when it touches the water. Lucite's chemical resistance makes it valuable for lining acid plating tanks and transparent pipe sections which permit constant inspection of the flowing material. In medical research laboratories the ultra-centrifuges have small Lucite rotors spinning at 60,000 revolutions a minute, at a cost of \$5 as compared with \$1,000 for the metal ones they have replaced. Lucite is fast supplanting metal in bone grafting and plastic surgery. The ability of Lucite rods to transmit "cold light" around curves makes it particularly good for the familiar combination flashlight-tongue-depressor and similar instruments used by the physician. Because of Lucite's excellent optical properties, it is used in many types of unbreakable lenses, such as contact lenses which are worn on the eye to replace spectacles.

In the field of plastics a new material called polythene is proving to be particularly valuable for electrical insulation. Originated by Imperial Chemical Industries in England and further developed by du Pont Laboratories, it can be flame-sprayed onto metals to form a protective coating, and it has been developed as a wire insulation which gives remarkable protection against many kinds of corrosion.

The story of du Pont plastics in wartime would not be complete without mention of a new pressure-sensitive cement developed by du Pont as an accessory product. While in manufacture, transparent plastic sections for fighter planes are protected against scratching by a tough-masking paper, which must cling tightly

yet peel off easily leaving a clean surface. Before the war the best adhesive used for this purpose was a rubber latex compound. To replace this du Pont chemists experimented with over 150 formulas before they developed a new adhesive far better than the old one.

Recently announced is a chemical treatment that improves wood, transforming it into a new and harder substance. Soft wood becomes hard and hard wood



A colour expert making a series of tests of a dye being developed in the laboratories of the Du Pont Co.

becomes almost steel-like, and may actually replace steel in certain machinery parts. The treated wood resists splitting and scratching, is resistant to rot, insects, flame and moisture. Furniture so treated can have close-fitting doors and drawers which will neither swell nor stick. The chemicals used are inexpensive; urea, also called carbamide, and dimethylolurea, known as DMU. When forced into the wood by vacuum-pressure process, the chemicals react with each other and with the cellulose to form a resin within the structure of the wood. The process is the result of long-range investigations conducted by du Pont and other laboratories in co-operation with the Forest Products Laboratory of the U.S. Forest Service.

INGENIOUS APPLICATIONS

Ingenious war applications have been made of the special properties of materials obtained through research. It was found that the seepage of gasoline from bullet holes in self-sealing airplane fuel tanks created a highly inflammable vapor. To eliminate that hazard, synthetic cellulose sponges, first treated with a water-repellant so as to prevent them from absorbing moisture, were placed around the tanks to take up the leaking gasoline. Another example of adapting materials to war is a special use of dyes. Smoke brightly colored with special dyes is used to identify tanks on the ground to pilots of airplanes.

Early in the war, buildings camouflaged with paint could be detected by enemy aerial reconnaissance cameras loaded with infra-red film for trees and grass reflect the infra-red in sunlight differently from ordinary camouflage paint. Chemists specialising in paint then developed the so-called infra-red reflectance paint which reflects the sun's rays to the same degree as the surrounding vegetation.

Scientific tests of DDT led to its use to kill body lice which carry typhus. This material is credited with preventing a typhus epidemic in Naples. Investigations on the ability of DDT to kill other harmful insects are now under way. Although DDT was developed by others, du Pont participates in its manufacture, and the company's improved production methods recently made possible a 40-per cent price reduction on DDT to the U.S. Government.

While devoting their peak effort to speeding victory, the chemical laboratories such as those of du

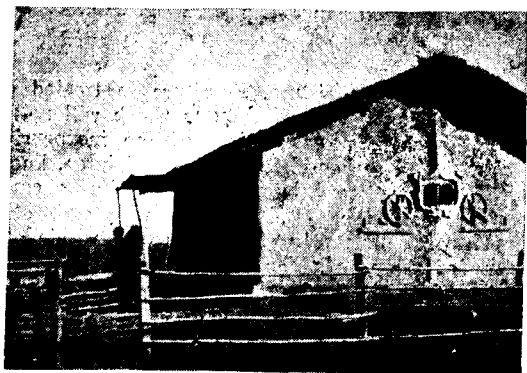
Pont will be able to turn quickly, when the time comes, to the work of contributing to a better living standard. Some idea of the volume of new products created by industrial research can be gained from the fact that in 1942 nearly one-half of du Pont's sales consisted of products that either did not exist in 1928 or were not then manufactured in large commercial quantities. Research has provided millions of jobs—approximately one-fourth of the Americans gainfully employed owe their jobs in whole or in part to developments based on scientific research.—USOWI.

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A PEEP INTO THE GANDHI ASHRAM AT SEVAGRAM

By PROF. R. V. RAO, M.A., B.T.

FAR away from the bustle and hustle of life, the Gandhi Ashram at Sevagram looks like a different world altogether. It is well-known that many a fateful decision which affects the present and the future of India is taken in this little hut of Gandhiji at Sevagram which is but a hamlet of Wardha, aptly spoken of as the unofficial capital of India or to put it in the words of Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, "the *de facto* capital of India, since the service of the country is the function of a capital city." The man stays here not giving sermons on the mount but practising his



Mahatma Gandhi's hut at Sevagram

philosophy of life and giving an object lesson to the nations of the world particularly as regards the constructive programme.

It may be said that, we may have big plans for the economic development of India. Grandiose plans may be prepared in the seclusion of secretariats and these may place before our mind's eye a painted picture of prosperity which may after all prove to be a mirage, a delusion or even a utopia. We may say "industrialize or perish", "mechanization is the best"; but we must know that in the ultimate analysis it is the manpower or labour that is the true wealth of the country and all our plans must give gainful occupation to the abundant labour force we have in India. Our emphasis must be on the human factor. His emphasis upon the constructive programme is, therefore, full of tremendous possibilities. It is but natural that, simplicity is the keynote of the Ashram life. Even though

Gandhiji was still recently like a volcano without fire in the absence of the working committee members still he was full of hope since he is a firm believer in India's destiny.

It is not possible to give in this brief contribution a vivid description of the Ashram life. Suffice it to say that though originally an insignificant village—Segaon—as it was then called, with not even a cart track leading to it, in the course of the last few years (after Gandhiji went there and named it Sevagram—since he wanted to be dedicated to service), it has become a centre of world attraction and a place of pilgrimage. No external decorations are to be found here as at Adyar or Gurudev's (Rabindranath Tagore's) Santiniketan. Further, the Ashram recognizes no difference of race, language or caste. Gandhiji has, indeed, been trying to make it an ideal place to live in. All his ideas regarding buildings, diet, organization, etc., are all experimented here since an ounce of practice is more than a ton of theory. Again no work is regarded as mean or degrading and the Ashramites are expected to clean the latrines and look to sanitation themselves. They also work from morn till night according to a time-table. One has to refer here to the services of Kasturba Gandhi who, alas! is no more but when she was alive was a source of solace to the Ashramites and any visitor to the Ashram used to be struck by her proverbial simplicity.

GANDHIJI AT WORK

All of us talk about man establishing living contact with nature. But many of us do not mean it seriously. But, Gandhiji, *Bapu* as he is endearingly called, leads the life of a villager. His residence which is but a small hut is built of mudwalls and it is here that he transacts his business. His secretaries open the letters. Alas! Mahadev Desai is no more. He, indeed, out-boswelled Boswell; but for him posterity would have lost the spoken words of Gandhiji. Gandhiji has also remembered his services and no leader has done so much to honour his secretary as Gandhiji does. Every evening, he goes to the building where he used to stay and spins for one hour. Gandhiji as the readers know takes spinning as the chief thing which according to him is the greatest factor in our achievement of freedom. Gandhiji sits on a mat and even when he is speaking to the streams of visitors he spins on the Takli (a small spinning instrument).

He observes Mondays as days of silence. They are

in reality not so much meant for rest as for getting through his writing work which piles up during the week. Gandhiji offers prayers in the open, sleeps in the open and preaches the ethics of open life with the propagandist zeal of a prophet. When Lord Lothian visited the Ashram he suggested to him to sleep in the



Mahatma Gandhi snapped at A.I.V.I.A., Wardha. Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa is seen standing by his side

open assuring him that he would not catch cold and the wonder is that he did not catch cold.

Bulk of his time is occupied in other directions as well, because he is the physician, an arbitrator of disputes in the village, an adviser to numerous people who gather round him every day from the Himalayas to Dhanushkoti. The funny part of it is that he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress.

WANTS TO LIVE FOR 125 YEARS

The cream of India gathers here and it is really heartening that there are prospects of the Congress coming back to power. He wants to live for 125 years. Sitting in the tiny village created by his magic wand, he is giving a new lead as a sentinel would do on the watch tower with the followers ready to answer the clarion call. He has now given a reorientation to the activities of the All-India Spinners' Association. Every wearer of Khadi, he says, must spin yarn and every spinner must wear it. One can visualize that a bright era is opening for Khadi.

'Earn while you learn' may be a good slogan for recruiting people for war effort, but this has equal application to the spinner who earns while he learns. Not only this, basic education or "Nai-Talim" as it is called, emphasizes this point. Gandhiji is no doubt trying his hand at many things. What magnet is to a needle he is to constructive activities. Critics may call them "Gandhi's last fad" or "Gandhian utopia"; still they are enough "to brace up India's millions to a new way of life in accordance with our ancient traditions

and culture." Our great men are what we make them and the sooner we realize their greatness and follow them, the better it will be for the regeneration of India.

To many it may be a news that a leper used to stay in the Ashram, he is the veteran Sanskrit scholar—Parechur Shastri who recently died and for whom Gandhiji used to have great regard. Shunned by every one, he went to Gandhiji and almost decided to undergo a fast unto death. In the meanwhile, Gandhiji's treatment with "Sarsu" oil did him good and so he gave up the idea of the fast. It will be wonderful to note that Gandhiji used to spend over two hours a day for him. Some of our leaders come here for rest and treatment among whom mention may be made of Srijuts Vallabhaji Patel, Rajendraprasad, and others.

Gandhian ideals of simplicity based upon non-violence and decentralization are bound to have their effect upon the present war-ridden world. The distinctly important place attached to cottage industries and rural uplift in Indian Economics even by theoretical writers is entirely due to Gandhiji. He has, indeed, made simplicity sublime and poverty beautiful. To the mind that is moved by the spirit and to the eye that can see, Gandhism shall never die.

Coming to the lighter side, representatives of the Press want to flash something big every day which is rather difficult. That is why they have to try to get inspiration from their fertile brain and flash something about the "projected fast", "what next", etc. Gandhiji is the *Bapu* of not only Sevagram but of India and Sevagram is, indeed, India's real capital where the various institutions for the political and economic regeneration of India are working. He represents the seven



Acharya Vinobha Bhave snapped at the Ashram

laes of Indian villages whose life is typified in this Ashram. That is why the simple and unostentatious Ashram at Sevagram has become the cynosure of the world. Let us hope and pray that Gandhiji may fulfil his mission in life and live long !*

* For other details the reader is referred to the present writer's *Wardha: The Unofficial Capital of India*.



COOPER UNION OF NEW YORK

A Free School for the Advancement of Science and Art

ONE of America's most unique educational institutions—Cooper Union—was established in New York in 1859. It is a seven-story brownstone building on Cooper Square in the heart of New York City. Here, more than 200,000 young men and women have been pre-



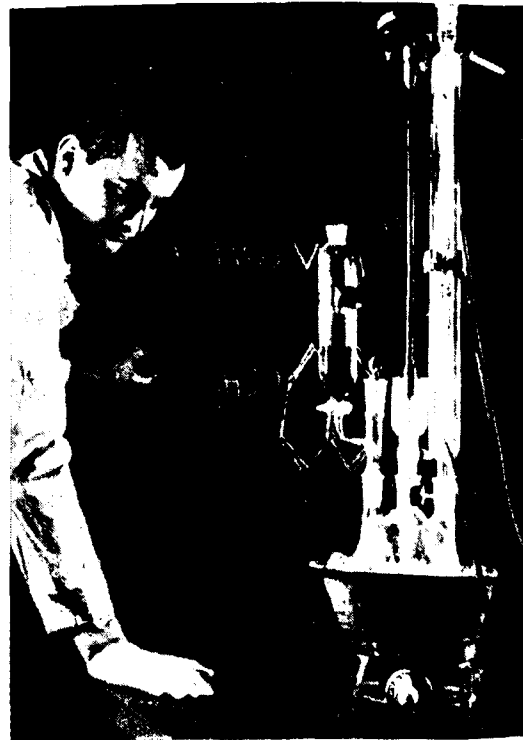
Immortalized in bronze, Peter Cooper who founded Cooper Union stands in front of the school

pared for practical careers in the sciences, arts, and engineering since it was founded. All instruction at the school is free, and is open to all who meet the entrance requirements, irrespective of race, creed, or color.

Students may take courses at night after work, or during the day. Cooper Union's school of engineering offers standard training in civil, electrical, mechanical, and chemical engineering during a six-year night school course, or a four-year day school course. Art and its industrial applications may be mastered in a three or four year course. Students have full access to the school's well-equipped library which was New York's first great public library and reading room. Both engineering and art students enjoy the fine museum of arts where they receive visual training through such unique displays as a famous collection of textiles, a great collection of 17th and 18th century drawings of ornaments and decorations, and an extraordinary collection of wallpapers, textiles, and clippings and photographs relating to the decorative arts. Some of the fabrics in the museum's collection date from 1500 A.D. The director of the school, Dr. Edwin Burdell believes that



The Director of Cooper Union confers in his office with a student and his professor



An American mechanical engineering student at Cooper Union works out a chemistry problem in the chemical engineering laboratory

COOPER UNION OF NEW YORK

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good health and recreation help make good students and has established a thousand-acre camp in the country where Cooper Union boys and girls may go on week-ends to paint and relax out-of-doors.

The founder of this great institution, Peter Cooper, was born in New York 152 years ago. Famous as a



An American student sketches before a giant painting, one of the art treasures in the museum of Cooper Union



American students build wooden instruction models which illustrate assembly line techniques in modern industry at a class in industrial design at Cooper Union

The Great Hall of Cooper Union is famous in the history of political education and reform. Free lectures for the public are given here by world famous scholars and scientists under the auspices of the Department of Social Philosophy. Here in 1860 the great Abraham Lincoln gave the famous address which led to his nomination for the presidency in the following year. Here, also, John Tyndall, the English physicist, gave lectures on light which stimulated the building of scientific laboratories in American universities. For nearly a century the Hall has carried on its tradition of free speech before intelligent, enthusiastic audiences of mingled nationalities such as those which still gather there for discussion and enlightenment.

Cooper Union, true to its great liberal traditions, has equipped students in special skills to help the United Nations to victory. During the war the school offered special speeded-up courses in all phases of engineering for men prior to their entering the armed forces. Women were trained in industrial design and camouflage for war, as well as in science and engineering, in order to replace men in industry. The school offered special war-training courses at night while retaining daytime



American students in a class in war camouflage at Cooper Union are shown how to disguise a building through the study of shadows

pioneer industrialist, as an inventor and as a philanthropist, his social ideals were a century ahead of his

times. A poor boy, who had won wealth as a man, he pleaded for a program of public works to relieve unemployment and headed the successful fight to secure a free public school system in the United States. And

the Cooper Union of New York today serves as the splendid realization of the life-long dream of a noble man whose feelings, desires and hopes embraced humanity throughout the world.—USIS.

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“PAALADAS” OF THE ASOKAN EDICTS

By DIWAN BAHADUR T. BHUJANGA RAO

THREE Asokan Rock Edicts, found respectively in (1) Girnar in Guzerat, (2) Kalsi in the lower Himalayas west of Mussorie, and (3) Shahbazgarhi north-east of Peshawar, state that, within the limits of Asoka's empire, various tribes were conforming to the king's "instruction in morality". The names of two of the tribes are coupled together in the Edicts. One of them is the tribe of Andhas or Andhras, later generally known as Aandhras (with an elongation of the vowel in the first syllable). The other tribe has been respectively referred to as *Paarindas*, *Paaladas* and *Palidas* in the three several edicts. The question of the identity of this latter tribe has led to differences of opinion amongst scholars.

Dr. Buhler equated this latter tribe with the Pulindas, relying on the form of the name in the first, i.e., the Girnar Edict. Pulindas are generally referred to as savages in the old Sanskrit works. But in some places, especially in the Narmada Valley, some of the Pulindas had become civilized and had cities and kings, as is referred to in the Digvijaya sections of the Sabha Parva in the Mahabharata. It is thus not impossible that the reference in the edicts was to the Pulindas. But the chief difficulty in accepting Dr. Buhler's theory is that it is not quite in accord with the forms of the name of the tribe given in the other two edicts. So the theory has not found acceptance with scholars like Dr. Hutzsch.

Mr. Sathianathaier of the Annamalai University has recently advanced another theory. He thinks that the reference in the Edicts was to the Pallavas of Thondaimandalam, i.e., the Kanchi area. His theory no doubt fits in with the forms of the name of the tribe as given in the Kalsi and Shahbazgarhi Edicts. But there are three difficulties in the way of accepting Mr. Sathianathaier's theory. The first is that it does not easily fit in with the form of "Paarindas" found in the Girnar Edict. The second is that no Asokan Edicts have been discovered in Thondaimandalam up to now and the existing evidence about its having been a part of the Asokan Kingdom is so scanty and unacceptable that scholars like Vincent Smith have excluded Thondaimandalam from the Mauryan Empire. The third is that, though Thondaimandalam may have been included in the Mauryan Empire, there is no satisfactory evidence that the Pallavas existed in Thondaimandalam as a race or tribe in Asoka's day. In fact, several scholars are of opinion that the Pallavas merely founded a kingdom in the Kanchi area and constituted the ruling dynasty in Thondaimandalam. It is said that they emigrated thither subsequent to Asoka's day but did not form a part of the indigenous Tamil population of Thondaimandalam. It is also said by some scholars that the Pallavas of Kanchi were merely Pahlavas of the West

Coast who in Thondaimandalam chose to take the Sanskrit name of Pallavas.

There, however, seems to be room for a third theory with reference to the identity of the tribe referred to in the Asokan Edicts. In the *Harivamsa* there is reference to a tribe known as the "Paaradas".* The tribe is said to be a Mlecha tribe (i.e., speaking a language not known in India and hence unintelligible). The members of the tribe are said to be warriors (Kshatriyas) but without a study of the Vedas or an observance of the (Aryan) Dharma. They are said to differ from the Mlecha tribe of Pahlavas by not wearing beards like the Pahlavas. There is also a reference in Chapter 52 of the Sabha Parva in the Mahabharata to these Paaradas. It seems to the present writer that there are reasons to hold that these "Paaradas" were early Parthian settlers in India, and that the reference in the Asokan Edicts is probably to these "Paaradas".

The article on Persia in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th edition, Vol. 17, p. 566) shows that the Persian name for Parthians was "Parthavas", a name which can easily take the corrupt form of "Paaradas" in India. The same article shows (at p. 578) that originally the Parthians did not wear beards. As in the *Harivamsa* the "Paaradas" are described as martial non-Aryans who did not wear beards, it looks very probable that the "Paaradas" were the early Parthian settlers in India.

That the reference in the Asokan Edicts was to these early Parthian settlers seems to find support from philological considerations. The word "Paaradas" seems certainly to suit the forms "Paaladas" and "Palidas" found in the Edicts. Further, the article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* already referred to shows (at p. 578) that the most important of the Parthian tribes, in fact the ruling tribes, was known as "Parni." It is, therefore, likely that the Parthians were also known as "Parnivas" in India, a name that would take the corrupt form first of "Paarinvias" and then of "Paarindas". So the "Paaradas" of the *Harivamsa* may well be the "Paarindas" of the Girnar Edict.

There are some other considerations also which make it probable that the Asokan Edicts refer to the early Parthian settlers. These Parthians, who must have come in the early days of the Parthian period in Persian history, if not earlier, must have lost their old Zoroastrian moorings and must have become not merely domiciled Indians but people liable to conversion to the faiths existing in their new environment. Asoka's Empire comprised the whole of India except some portions in the extreme south of India. So the early

* पाण्डाः

Parthian settlers in India (who are not known to South Indian History) must have been citizens of the kingdom of Asoka; and there would be nothing surprising therefore in their "conforming to the king's morality" and adopting the Buddhist faith (like the Andhras). The Andhras occupied the country to the south of the Vindhya. The early Parthian settlers, considering the country of their origin, must have settled in Konkan and other parts of Western India and must have been the neighbours of the Andhras. This probably throws light on why the two races or tribes were coupled together in the Edicts.

It may be noticed that the present writer has referred to the "Paaradas" as early Parthian settlers, as if there were later settlers from Parthia. Undoubtedly there were such later settlers; and they are known in ancient Indian History as the Pahlavas. The *Harivamsa* refers to the Pahlavas as wearing beards; and hence they must have come to India after the wearing of

beards became the rule in Parthia (i.e., during the Sassanian period of Persian history). That they were Parthians is suggested by their very name, for, as stated in the article already referred to on Persia in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (at p. 578), the "Palhavi" language is merely the language of the Parthians. The "Pahlavas" were also known in India as "Pahnavas" (as stated by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao in his work *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*). This is significant, as showing that the name of the original ruling clan amongst the Parthians was either given to or adopted by both the early and the later Parthian settlers in India. It may be here added that it is not impossible that after the downfall of the Andhra Empire, some of the later Pahlavas emigrated to Thondaimandalam and founded a kingdom there and were known as Pallavas, adopting Sanskrit surnames such as "Varman" and issuing charters and grants in Sanskrit and Prakrit in the Tamil country of Thondaimandalam.

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THE INDONESIAN FERMENT

By PROF. K. K. GAJRIA

THE efforts made by the Indonesians to secure freedom for their own country and to prevent the re-establishment of the Dutch imperialistic rule over their territories, have attracted the attention of the entire civilised world. Indonesia or the Dutch East Indies are a group of islands, nearly two thousand in number, over which the Dutch have ruled for nearly sixty hundred and fifty years. These islands are, at least, sixty times the size of Holland. The population of Indonesia approximates to seventy millions, over which eight millions of the Dutch have perpetuated their imperialism. The majority of the inhabitants of Indonesia are Muslims. For the Dutch, these islands have proved to be a veritable gold mine, a sort of prolific magic hen which lays millions of golden eggs. The Dutch East Indies are very rich in both mineral and vegetable resources. Apart from sugar, rice, tobacco and tea, the colony has huge rubber plantations, petroleum wells, and tin and coal mines. It has been estimated that more than 20 per cent of the world's supply of tin comes from these islands. Until the fall of Holland, they were ruled by the stout burghers of Netherlands, to whom they pumped a steady stream of invigorating wealth. Writing about the enormous natural resources of these islands, John Gunther, the celebrated author of *Inside Asia*, mentions the following facts:

"The dominating fact about the Netherlands Indies is that, like Croesus and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., they are rich. They are the Big Loot of Asia. They are packed tight with natives, under the steaming sun, who both produce and buy wealth. In the old days, the days of the Dutch East India Company, trade was a simple business of profitable barter: glass beads which cost little, for spices and cinnamon which brought profit. Nowadays it is—or was—a tremendous international process. The Netherlands Indies can pour out an illimitable stream of copra, sugar, rice, tea, coffee, oil, iron and gold. They produce normally 95 per cent of the world's supply of quinine, 30 per cent of its tobacco,

22 per cent of its tin, 85 per cent of its pepper and 10 per cent of its petroleum. If necessary they could totally supply the world's rubber." (*Inside Asia*, 1942 edition, page 227).

The Indonesian Archipelago includes Sumatra, Java, Madura, Celebes, Billiton, Bali, Lombok and large portions of the island of Borneo. Of these islands Java is one of the most densely populated regions of the world—the density of population being nearly 700 persons per square mile. With an area less than that of Great Britain, it has a population of about the same number, viz., forty million souls.

After giving these few facts and figures about Indonesia and her people, I shall now describe the origin and development of the national movement in these islands. The national movement in Indonesia had started long before the outbreak of the Second World War. The leader of the Indonesians, Dr. Soekarno was sentenced to four years' imprisonment in 1929 for leading the national movement. Dr. Soekarno is a colourful personality and is the idol of the people. The Indonesians consider him to be their saviour. In his eyes they find solace and from his speeches they derive vigour and energy. He occupies the same place and enjoys the same respect among the Indonesians, as Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru enjoy among the Indians. Against this man the Indonesians will not tolerate a word. The Dutch, however, consider him to be a "Quisling", who, according to them, worked hand-in-glove with the Japanese and made violent speeches against the Allies, during the days of the Japanese occupation of these islands. A correspondent of *The Daily Express* of London describes Soekarno as a "cool, graceful, self-possessed figure—smooth-spoken and rapier-minded." His righthand man and Vice-President, Dr. Mohammed Hatta, is said to be the real brain of the party. Dr. Soekarno, however, brushes aside suggestions of Japanese collaboration. He said to the same correspondent:

"We hate the Japanese and all totalitarian

systems, but I admit that we are so determined about our independence that we were ready to accept it even from dirty hands."

The Indonesians, in common with the people of other Asiatic countries, were preparing themselves for a national struggle all along. In the beginning of the twentieth century, specially after the victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, surging tides of nationalism were gaining momentum in every Asiatic country, and a whole continent was being awakened from its slumbers and shaken off its inferiority complex. These national movements, naturally, could not leave the people of Indonesia unaffected. In 1918, in response to the vigorous demand of the Indonesians, the Dutch thought of establishing some sort of self-rule—of course, keeping the central citadel of power in their own hands and surrendering only the out-houses. A hotch-potch assembly, called "Volkrasad", consisting partly of nominated and partly of elected members, was established to discuss the budget, and advise the Government on matters of general importance. This was to be the first step towards the development of responsible government—Indian History repeating itself in Indonesia. By the constitution of 1918, powers of a limited nature were given to the Indonesians. The control of trade, finance and defence continued to remain in the hands of the Dutch and the powers transferred into the hands of the Indonesians were rather nominal. The administration of justice for Europeans continued to remain in the hands of the Europeans. In the defence of their country the Indonesians were not given their proper share. The majority of the services, both in the army and the civil departments, were manned by the Dutch. Even after three hundred and fifty years of Dutch rule 95 per cent of the Indonesians continue to remain illiterate. 75 per cent of the total investments belong to the Dutch and 61 per cent of the total exports go to Holland. It is interesting to note that the wages of the Indonesian labourers ranked from eight annas to twelve annas per day, while with the sweat of their brow, rubber, sugar, tin and other exports went into Holland in a regular stream to raise the standard of living of the "White Sahibs" there.

The first open revolution in Indonesia against the Dutch imperialism took place in 1926, but it was ruthlessly and silently suppressed. The outside world was kept completely in the dark. Be it said to the credit or discredit of Dutch diplomacy, that this fact of the Dutch suppression of the Indonesian national movement remained a closely guarded secret as against the outside world, and the people outside remained completely ignorant of the political earthquakes and rumblings that were taking place inside Indonesia.

In 1933, when the national movement gathered momentum and brought about sufficient political awakening among the masses, the Governor-General was empowered to declare the national party an illegal organization (like the Congress Party in India), to put a ban on the holding of public meetings and taking out of processions. These harsh and repressive measures succeeded in strangling the national movement for some time. In October, 1936, however, a resolution was moved before the Indonesian Assembly to give "Dominion Status" to these islands. That resolution was passed on the 15th June, 1937. Fortunately for the Indonesians, the Muslims there, unlike the followers of the Muslim League in India, are imbued with the

spirit of nationalism to such an extent, that the policy of "Divide and Rule", on the part of the Dutch imperialists was out of the question. Even the Eurasians voted with the national party. It is interesting to note that the Indonesian leaders draw their inspiration and guidance from the Indian struggle for independence under the dynamic leadership of persons like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Dr. Soekarno in collaboration with Dr. Mohammed Hatta has succeeded in building up the national will on firm foundations.

When these islands were occupied by the Japanese in 1942, the Indonesians, who had fought the Dutch Imperialism with unflinching determination and singleness of purpose, were brought face to face with new masters. The Indonesians, however, under their two leaders, Soekarno and Mohammed Hatta, told the Japanese in unequivocal terms that they were out to establish self-government for themselves. At this time Queen Wilhelmina of Holland also made a declaration promising complete independence to the Indonesians after the cessation of hostilities. The Indonesians, on several occasions, had to resist the Japanese who wanted perpetuation of their militarism; but the Japanese who had raised the slogan of "Asia for Asiatics", tried to satisfy the Indonesians by handing over complete control over internal matters to the accredited leaders of the people. Thus, during the period of the Japanese occupation of these islands, the Indonesians enjoyed full independence in internal affairs, and the Japanese only ran their war-time administration for the successful prosecution of the war against the Allies.

After the defeat of the Japanese and their consequent surrender, the Indonesians established their own national government and made an appeal to the Allied nations to lend their support to it by giving it full recognition. Drs. Soekarno and Hatta made a public appeal to the British Government:

"The Indonesians", they said, "are fully confident that the British nation and all other democratic peoples will render their assistance to us for the preservation of the independence of this young republic, which had declared its willingness and preparedness to co-operate with the United Nations in the construction of a World Peace and Justice based on mutual respect."

This appeal of the Indonesian leaders, however, has fallen on deaf ears. Major C. R. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, like his predecessor, Mr. Winston Churchill, also believes in supporting tottering imperialisms everywhere, and giving them artificial props to give a longer lease of life to them. Mr. Churchill had declared, sometime ago, that he had not become the King's First Minister to "preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." Major Attlee goes a step further, and displays a missionary zeal in preserving intact not only British imperialism, but, also, Dutch imperialism over the politically awakened Indonesians. The Indonesian leaders asked for bread and they received stone. They appealed for the recognition of their newly born republic, but what they have received is British bayonets and British bullets. It is a pity that Indian soldiers are being used for enslaving the brave people of Indonesia, and perpetuating in their islands the hated rule of the Dutch imperialists. From all over India strong protests come against this policy of using Indian troops for the suppression of the national movement in a sister Asiatic country. *Maulana*

Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Indian National Congress, has also registered his vigorous protest against this policy. In a statement, which he issued sometime back, he said:

"Things in Indonesia and Indo-China have come to a point when the Indian National Congress will have seriously to consider what steps to adopt to prevent the use of Indian men and materials against Asiatic peoples fighting for their freedom. Indians, who are fighting for their own freedom and democracy, cannot but sympathise and fall in line with the struggle of the Indonesians and the Annamite nationalists. The character of this true people's war has been instinctively recognised both by the workers and the exploited classes of the world and their imperialist masters and exploiters. We, therefore, find the dock and the port workers of China and Australia refusing to load munitions and other war materials for use against these East Asiatic nationalists, and on the other hand, the British, the French and the Dutch imperialists joining forces for restoring the status 'ante bellum'."

We must, however, realise clearly that to-day

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DECIMALIZATION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

By H. L. RAY, M.I. Chem. E., A.B. (Harvard), Dr. Eng. (Berlin)

RECENTLY the Government of India in their circular No. F2 (76)-F (44) have asked for public opinion regarding decimalization of coinage. This is only a half measure. Decimalization should be adopted for all weights and measures. Movement for this purpose is an old one, and the Indian Science Congress in 1934 accepted a resolution proposed by Dr. S. K. Mitra to the same end. The wordings of the resolution and a short history of the movement in India and other countries of the world contained in the proceedings of the Congress are reproduced below for general information.

Resolutions proposed by Prof. S. K. Mitra, D.Sc.:

(1) That considering the diverse systems of weights and measures in use in different parts of India, this Committee is of opinion that it is high time that the government of this country do take steps to standardize the system and adopt for this purpose the Metric System which is in use in most of the civilized countries of the world and make its use compulsory in all government and private transactions.

(2) That a committee of five members to be called 'The Metric Committee of the Indian Science Congress' be formed to devise ways and means to press upon the Government the urgency of the reform in weights and measures by the compulsory adoption of the Metric System throughout the whole of India.

Attempts made by the Government of India to introduce a uniform system of weights and measures in India:

Indonesia is not so much under Dutch control, as under the control of Indo-British troops and the Japanese. It is really unfortunate for the Indonesian nationalists, that in their country, the Japanese enemy is joining hands in this unholy work with the Allies to maintain law and order, till Holland is able to send enough troops to re-establish its rule over the Indonesians.

The position of the Indian troops which are called upon to suppress the national movement in Indonesia is peculiar. They are under military discipline and run the risk of being court-martialled if they disobey the orders of their military officers. On the other hand, their sympathies are with the patriots who are fighting for their mother-land. India has no desire to get a bad name in East Asia for her nationals, by fighting for western European imperialism, and it is imperative that the Government of India should withdraw Indian troops and leave the Dutch and the Indonesians to fight among themselves. But if the British Government cannot escape participation in the measures taken or to be taken for the suppression of the Indonesians, then, let that dirty and unpleasant work be done by British troops and not Indian troops.

In 1867 a Committee was appointed by the Government of India to deal with the question of unification of weights and measures in India. The Secretary of State in approving the terms of reference of the Committee forwarded to the Government of India a report of the representations made by a deputation from the Metric Committee of the British Association on the subject of the introduction of the metric system into India. The Committee appointed by the Government submitted its report in 1868 and its majority recommended the adoption of the English standard of weights and measures and length. Three members of the committee, Colonel Strachey, Colonel Hyde and Mr. Graham, however, submitted a strong note of dissent urging the adoption of the metric system.

In 1870 the Indian Weights and Measures Act was passed (Act XI of 1870) for gradual introduction of the metric system into India. The Secretary of State, however, refused sanction to the Bill, because it was thought to be too extensive, and ordered revision of the Act.

In 1871 a new Act was passed (Act XXXI of 1871) making the 'seer', the primary standard of weight equal to one kilogramme and the volume of one seer of water (i.e., 1 litre) the primary standard of capacity. In order to introduce the decimal system the Act further ordained that all subsidiary units should be integral multiples of the primary standard and should be expressed in decimal parts. Lord Northbrook's Government, however, recommended that the introduction of the provisions of this Act should be subject to the consent of Railways. The Railways, on being consulted, could not come to a unanimous decision about the simultaneous adoption of the new measure

of the weight, and the Act, though still in the statute book, is entirely a dead letter.

In 1875 the Government of India decided that the Indian maund of 40 seers (each seer 80 tolas) should be standard in use on the Guaranteed State Railways. (Resolution No. 21-R, dated 9th Oct., 1875.) This is the origin of the so-called Government 'seer' of 80 tolas. Previous to this in 1870 the Indian Coinage Act (Act XXIII of 1870) defined a tola as 180 grains Troy being the weight of a rupee. The Indian Railways Act (Act IX of 1890) also adopted similar definitions of the maund and the seer.

In 1889 the Measures of Length Act (Act II of 1889), in which the British Imperial Yard was made the primary standard of length for use in India.

Between 1890 and 1913 the policy followed by the Government of India had been to prescribe, as necessity arose, standard weights and measures for particular districts or groups of districts similar to those adopted by the Indian Railways and Government departments.

In 1901 the Secretary of State forwarded to the Government of India copies of a paper presented to Parliament regarding the adoption of metric system of weights and measures in European countries and suggested that the first step in India would be to accustom the public to the new weights by adopting them on Railways, at Customs Houses, and in Post Offices. To this despatch the Government of India replied that though they recognized the advantages of the decimal system yet they were averse from taking any action in the matter at that time owing to serious obstacles in introducing any new measure and preferred to wait before proposing a change until the United Kingdom had decided to adopt it.

Between the years 1901 and 1913 the various Provincial Governments made attempts from time to time to introduce a uniform system of weights and measures in their respective provinces and corresponded with the Government of India for the purpose. The Government of Bombay in particular appointed a Committee in 1913 to discuss the question as far as their province was concerned. Some of the Chambers of Commerce and Trades Associations also addressed the Government of India pointing out the urgency of the reform and making various suggestions.

In 1913 the Government of India decided to reopen the question of the feasibility of securing the use of uniform weights and measures in India and appointed a Committee to enquire into the whole subject.

In 1914 the Committee of Weights and Measures submitted its report. For weights they recommended the standardization of the Indian system (maund, seer, chatak), for length the British system (yard, foot, inch), for areas of agricultural land the same system (acre, etc.), for small areas the squares of any authorized measures of length and for capacity the volume of 1½ seer of water at 30°C as the primary unit. One of the members of the Committee, Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell, I.C.S., submitted a minute of dissent in which the wholesale adoption of the metric system was strongly urged.

No substantial effect has been given by the Government either to the majority report of the Committee or to the minute of dissent owing probably to the Great War which broke out immediately after the publication of the report.

Countries in which the use of the Metric System is compulsory :

Asia : Philippines (1860), Indo-China (1911), Siam (1923), Japan (1924).

Europe : France (1794), Belgium (1820), Luxembourg (1820), Holland (1820), Spain (1860), Italy (1861), Germany (1872), Portugal (1872), Austria-Czechoslovakia-Hungary (1876), Switzerland (1877), Norway (1882), Yugoslavia (1883), Rumania (1884), Sweden (1889), Bulgaria (1892), Finland (1892), Iceland (1907), Denmark (1912), Malta (1914), Greece (1922), Poland (1924), U.S.S.R. (1927).

South America : Chile (1884), Columbia (1854), Porto Rico (1860), Brazil (1862), Ecuador (1865), Peru (1889), Bolivia (1893), Uruguay (1894), Venezuela (1914), Guiana (1910).

North America : Cuba (1854), Mexico (1906), Haiti (1921), Costarica, Panama, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Salvador (1912).

Africa : Algeria (1843), Tunis (1895), Portuguese East Africa (1910), Congo (1911)

Metric System is legally optional or partially compulsory in the following countries :

Canada, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Great Britain, Ireland, Irish Free State, Paraguay, Turkey, United States.

Looked at from a philosophical and mathematical point of view "Decimalization" is a few thousand years old counted from the introduction of the decimal system of notation and that of the invaluable zero, and its place of origin is India. This system has advanced civilization by a good few centuries. For testing the truth of this statement one is simply to compare it with the cumbrous Roman system previously prevailing in Europe.

Decimalization of weights and measures and its use in everyday life amongst the common people was first started in France in 1794, the time of the French Revolution. Since then gradually it has been accepted by most countries of the world, English-speaking countries being the important exceptions. Even amongst them the system has penetrated into some of the items, e.g., dollars and cents in U.S.A. coinage.

Up till now no valid reasons have been advanced by any one against decimalization of weights and measures. Human nature, as a rule, is conservative and fights shy of any change. Main objection against it is the temporary dislocation and inconvenience during the first year or two. Moreover, it will involve some initial expenditure; the existing weights and measures will become so much scrap. Weighing machines will require only slight alteration, re-marking of the scales. We can roughly calculate the cost to be incurred for bringing this change into effect. The population of India is about 400 million and assuming that for every 400 people there is one set of weights in use, the total cost of converting these into scrap and replacing them with new sets of weights according to the metric and decimal system including the incidental expenses would be about Rs. 20,00,000. Besides this expense there will be the temporary trouble of getting accustomed to the new system. Every other objection against decimalization is more imaginary and insignificant than real.

The advantages of the metric and decimal system have been explained many times all over the world and admitted. But still there is opposition against the introduction of the system amongst English-speaking people,

and India is politically and mentally dominated by them. Why should we not at least shake off this slavery of the mind? For a fresh consideration of the matter it is worthwhile to review the situation.

From the educational standpoint it is found that the time devoted to the teaching of arithmetic to the school students can be halved if the weights, measures, and coinage be decimalized. And considerable saving of time in higher studies can be achieved by the introduction of this system. Similarly calculation involving weights and measures will be more directly accomplished with the help of slide-rule and logarithmic table. The amount of man-hour saved in one year will more than compensate for the money spent once only for the conversion of weights and measures for the change over to the new system. Moreover, the school-children will be spared the tedious task of committing to memory the various tables of weights and measures—foreign and Indian. In Bengal various units of weights, measures, and money are designated by different symbols. Legislators who can bring about the decimalization will earn for themselves the blessings of all future generations of school-children.

In English text-books on physics, chemistry and other pure sciences the metric system (which is based on decimalization) is generally used but English text-books on Engineering use the British units. The consequence is confusion and unnecessary work of conversion of one unit into another. There is no method in this madness.

We are, in the words of Goldsmith, though vanquished still arguing. Decimalization is slowly penetrating into our affairs. In the Land Revenue Survey periodically carried out by the Government of Bengal

the unit of area is the acre, and the areas of individual plots of land are denoted by hundredths of an acre. In sports in India under the Olympic rules lengths and heights are measured according to the metric system.

At present different parts of India use different units of weights though the law prescribes only one. With the introduction of decimalization there should be only one unit which should be strictly enforced.

The Government of India at present have asked for opinion regarding decimalization of the coinage. But why this half-measure? There is one good thing about coinage; it has at least uniformity throughout the country. As regards weights and measures the country is like a veritable tower of Babel. To add to the confusion the British units are also used in the form of pounds, hundredweights, tons, miles, yards, fathoms, inches, acres, gallons, pints, ounces, grains, etc.

In the reform proposed the first point is decimalization and the second is the choice of the units. Against the first objective there should not be any objection, India being the originator of this system of numeration. Regarding the second point there is a possibility of difference of opinion. But considering that different parts of the world are coming closer together by means of easier communication and that international trade and commerce will go on increasing, the adoption of the metric units will be more advisable. It will also bring about uniformity of units between pure and applied sciences.

India along with the rest of the world will be passing through vast changes in the immediate future and this change of units of weights and measures is a small part of the whole process. The initial inconveniences must be accepted as an inseparable accompaniment of every new birth.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Lingua Franca For India

IN an article in *The Modern Review* for August, 1945, Mr. Md. Shahidullah, M.A., D.Litt., has made a number of proposals for solving the linguistic problem of India. While I fully endorse his remarks regarding Hindustani, it is hard to see why English should be our *lingua franca*. U.S.S.R. has undoubtedly recognised all the different languages under the Union, but it has also made Russian the *lingua franca* of the Union. We too must do the same. No multi-lingual country of the world has made a foreign language, the vernacular of no part of the country, its *lingua franca*. English is certainly the international language but for that reason it has not been made the *lingua franca* of even such small countries as Belgium and Switzerland, or of Canada. If countries like U.S.S.R. and China can manage without making English their national language, surely we too can make an Indian language our *lingua franca* or national language. An Indian language like Hindi will anyway be infinitely easier to learn by Indians than English. Also our present dependence on English, which is due to our alien education and alien rule, need not continue, U.S.S.R. and Japan have not abolished or neglected English but they do not depend on it for

All-U.S.S.R. or All-Japan purposes. Many provinces of India are of the size of Japan. If Japan can impart the highest scientific and technical education in Japanese without being the loser for it, surely our provincial languages can be so developed as to make English unnecessary for the highest education. It is also possible to make the *lingua franca* of India the medium of higher and scientific education throughout the country just as in U.S.S.R. There is no reason why in a free India the present place of English in the curriculum up to, say, the Matriculation stage should not be given to the Indian language which we may accept as our *lingua franca* or national language.

Above only the arguments (scientific?) given by Mr. Shahidullah in favour of English as *lingua franca* have been discussed. As a matter of fact, there are other very substantial arguments against English as *lingua franca*, not the least of which is that, in the words of Pt. Nehru, "The entire genius and atmosphere of the language is foreign and not Indian." English is not a vernacular of India. Not more than 1 per cent of the population understands it while about half the total

population of India can easily understand and speak Hindi (Hindustani).

The surprising thing, however, is that while Mr. Shahidullah advocates that English, the international language, should be the *lingua franca* of India, he wants Urdu (and not English) to be the international language from Morocco to China. He says :

"As for Urdu it has a distinct advantage over Hindi. Being written in a modified Arabic script and having a number of Arabic and Persian words incorporated in it, it can serve the purpose of an international language like Esperanto from Morocco to China."

The inconsistency is too apparent. Also he conveniently forgets that Sanskrit (together with its script Devnagari) and Pali have so profoundly entered the life and language of the people of Nepal, Tibet, Burma, Ceylon, Siam, French Indo-China, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, China and Japan through Buddhism, cultural contact of India with these countries for thousands of years and colonisation of many of these countries by ancient Hindus, and even to-day have so much interest for them, that Hindi, being written in the same script as Sanskrit, being derived from Sanskrit and having a large number of Sanskrit and Prakrit (Pali included) words incorporated in it, can serve the purpose of an international language from Karachi to Tokyo, comprising half the population of the world. Sanskrit is one of the three great languages of the ancient world with original literatures (Sanskrit, Greek and Chinese). On the continent too Sanskrit has profoundly affected the life and language of the people and together with its script is even to-day much more popular and much more widely known than Persian or Arabic. Professor Maedonell says :

"The intellectual debt of Europe to Sanskrit literature has been undeniably great. It may perhaps become greater still in the years that are to come."

Sanskrit is the corner-stone of Indo-European group of languages. The similarity between the original roots of European languages and Sanskrit is so striking that many philologists are inclined to the view that the latter is the mother of the former. In the matter of script too, Sir William Jones says :

"Devnagri (old Nagri i.e., Brahmi) is the original source whence the alphabets of Western Asia were derived."

So which language—Hindi or Urdu—can serve like Esperanto from Madrid to Tokyo?

Moreover, while on the grounds of script and vocabulary Mr. Shahidullah has proclaimed the advantage of Urdu over Hindi as an international language from Morocco to China, he does not seem to be prepared to concede on the same grounds the same—rather much greater—advantage to Hindi over Urdu as the *lingua franca* of India or the language of inter-provincial intercourse which is much more important

than international intercourse. All the Indian languages that matter except Urdu (for Kashmir, N.W.F.P. and Sind have adopted or are adopting Urdu for all literary and administrative purposes and so Kashmiri, Pashto and Sindhi⁵ are under the shadow of Urdu and need not be considered separately) go to Sanskrit for words of higher culture, such words are common to them all and Hindi, the language of Madhyadesha, is the natural inter-provincial language for the speakers of these languages, specially of the Sanskritic languages, Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Punjabi (Gurmukhi), Gujarati and Marathi. In the matter of script too, Devnagari is also the script of Marathi and in its slightly modified or rather cursive forms it is the script of all the other Sanskritic languages. (While Mr. Shahidullah has grouped together Urdu, Sindhi, Kashmiri and Pashtu scripts as Persico-Arabic, he has separately enumerated Bengali, Oriya, Gurmukhi and Gujarati though the difference between them and Devnagari is merely a result of separate treatment of Devnagari in different regions and for one knowing one of them it is a matter of only a few hours to learn any other of them.) Even the scripts of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam are phonetically the same as Devnagari. Moreover, Devnagari is the script of Sanskrit, the classic and religious language of India, for which Prof. Max Muller says :

"Yet such is the marvellous continuity between the past and the present in India, that in spite of repeated social convulsions, religious reforms and foreign invasions, Sanskrit may be said to be still the only language that is spoken over the whole extent of that vast country. . . . Even at the present moment, after a century of English rule and English teaching, I believe that Sanskrit is more widely understood in India than Latin was in Europe at the time of Dante."

Mr. Shahidullah's statement that Devnagari is not widely known outside the midland of India is absolutely misleading. Dr. Chatterji calculates that the Perso-Arabic script at a liberal computation cannot claim more than 30 millions, mostly in North-Western and North-Central India, but Devnagari, in its pure, unmodified form, is in use among 140 millions and more. From the statistical point of view, on the basis of census of 1931 the question can be presented in this way : Out of 10,000 men in India :

(a) 7,235 speak languages of the Sanskritic family, the literature and vocabulary of which have been shaped mainly by Sanskrit ;

(b) 4,053 of these use languages which are written in the Devnagari script ;

(c) 2,662 use languages which are written in some

4 "Kashmiri is a Dardic speech profoundly influenced by Indo-Aryan and Sanskrit." (Dr. S. K. Chatterji).

5 "Sindhi, though it bears many marks of Arabic and Persian influence and is written in a form of Perso-Arabic script, is nearer the original Sanskrit than any other Indian language." The Persian script was adopted in 1857. Before that Devnagari was used. Many old Sindhi books, written in the Nagari script, are preserved in the libraries of Sind. Shah Abdul Latif (1689-1752), described as the Shakespeare of Sind, has used Sanskrit words profusely in his famous *Risala* (Poetical Works); out of 20,000 words used by him in all his works, more than 12,000 words are Sanskrit. Regarding the unscientific attempt of the present Sind Government to Arabise Sindhi arbitrarily and forcibly, vide, Swami Jagadishwaranand's article in *The Modern Review* for August, 1942.

6 India : What Can It Teach Us ? p. 78.

form of Devnagari, that is, in all 6,715 persons can easily accept the Devnagari script.

So both in the matter of script and vocabulary, Hindi possesses tremendous advantage over Urdu in India, and if the use of Urdu and not English can be advocated for international communication from Morocco to China, certainly Hindi and not English can serve as the inter-provincial language or the *lingua franca* of India.

Regarding Mr. Shahidullah's proposed division of India into three linguistic zones, it is hard to see why the official languages of India west of Bengal should be two—Hindi and Urdu. What shall be the common language of this zone? If this zone can have two official languages Hindi and Urdu, surely the whole of India can have two official or national languages, Hindi and Urdu. Mr. Shahidullah says :

"For one knowing Hindi it is a very easy matter to master Urdu in a few months and vice versa. There is no harm in having two official languages in the same province as in Canada."

The same will apply if both Hindi and Urdu are national languages. In fact, there should be no need of duplicating work, wasting time, money and energy by having both as national languages. Only one—Hindi—should do. If Mr. Shahidullah can ask speakers of such highly developed languages as Marathi and Gujarati to accept Hindi and Urdu as official languages in his Hindi-Urdu zone, surely he can ask speakers of Urdu in India to accept Hindi as national language of India. Turkey is getting rid of unnecessary Arabic and Persian words from her language and Persia is similarly reviving native Persian words in place of the alien Arabic. If speakers of Urdu cannot Indianise their language Urdu, certainly they can accept an Indian language Hindi as national language like Russian in U.S.S.R.

If India must be divided into linguistic zones, each zone or territorial unit must have a single official language. It is one thing for people in different provinces or zones having different official languages but quite another for people in the same province or zone rather in the same locality or in almost adjoining houses having two official languages. The analogy of Switzerland or Canada does not apply in the Hindi-Urdu region. Every administrative unit must have a single official language, which should be the predominant language of the unit, to serve as the language of administration, of the Assembly and as the common language of the unit for higher purposes. At least the two-language zone—the Hindi-Urdu zone—of Mr. Shahidullah must be broken up into two—one comprising Bihar, C.P., U.P., Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra having Hindi as official language and the other comprising the Punjab, Kashmir, N.W.F.P. and Sind having Urdu as official language. If speakers of Marathi and Gujarati can accept Hindi as official language in the Hindi zone, the few speakers of Urdu in the Hindi zone and the few speakers of Hindi in the Urdu zone can also accept Hindi and Urdu respectively as official language. They can learn Hindi and Urdu respectively in a few months according to Mr. Shahidullah himself. In this way infinite complications, tremendous duplication of official work, waste of time, money and energy would be avoided. There is also no reason why Southerners should adopt both Hindi and Urdu as official languages. Either they should select a Southern language for this purpose or, if adoption of a Northern

language by them is necessary for cultural link-up, they should select a single Northern language in their discretion, Hindi being their choice in all probability. The Bengali zone may also accept Hindi as official language. In any case, the inter-zonal language of these zones can be Hindi, the language of the mid-zone and also otherwise most suited for this purpose.

Regarding reform of Urdu script advocated by Mr. Shahidullah, I must submit that reforms in scripts are very difficult to carry out. For all his efforts, Bernard Shaw has not been able to introduce any reform in the unscientific and incomplete Roman script. However, there is no harm in trying. But changes of script suggested by Mr. Shahidullah are beyond the realm of practicability. Bengalis cannot be expected to accept Devnagari in place of Bengali script for their language. Moreover, the entire Bengali literature will have to be re-published in Devnagari which is an impossible proposition. The same applies to other languages. Roman is also out of question *vis-a-vis* Devnagari. If China has not given up its most cumbersome script in favour of Roman, it is impossible for an ancient country like India proud of her civilisation to prefer the unscientific, incomplete and foreign Roman to her Swadeshi, complete and most scientific Devnagari, the mother of most Indian and many foreign scripts. If there are any changes of script that can be put forward with any show of justification they are that Sindhi should revert to its original script Devnagari, and Urdu, which is a form of Hindi, should give up its unscientific and foreign script in favour of the Hindi script.

In the light of the above discussion, the alternative suggestion of Mr. Shahidullah that Sanskrit and Arabic may be made national languages needs little comment. Arabic never was and is not a vernacular of India. To-day Sanskrit and Arabic are the mother-tongue of none in India. Sacred language is a different thing. Arabic is as sacred for Russian, Chinese, and Persian Muslims as for Indian Muslims but for that reason it is not the national language of Muslims in those countries. Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament, is not the national language anywhere in Christendom. Most important of all, all Hindus are prepared to accept Hindi and all Muslims are prepared to accept Urdu as national language. So if communal considerations have to be taken into account, nothing is gained by substituting Sanskrit and Arabic for Hindi and Urdu. Difficulties are not lessened but multiplied hundred-fold for very obvious reasons. Then there can be no linguistic zones. In the smallest administrative unit both Sanskrit and Arabic will have to be made official languages rendering it impossible for administration to carry on. Moreover, Sanskrit and Arabic are fundamentally different while Hindi and Urdu are not so. One knowing Sanskrit cannot as easily acquire Arabic as one knowing Hindi can acquire Urdu and *vice versa*. As more and more Hindus will express themselves in Hindi and more and more Muslims in Urdu, better understanding between the two communities will be equally promoted by knowing both Hindi and Urdu. So if we must have two national languages, let them be Hindi and Urdu rather than Sanskrit and Arabic and let every unit in the Hindi-Urdu region select one of them for administration, official work and other common purposes, though I would again emphasize the claim of Hindi to be the one inter-provincial language or the *lingua franca* of India.

PT. RAVI SHANKER SHUKLA, M.A., Ph.D.

1 *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 42.

2 Urdu script is most unsuited for typing, quick printing and other modern appliances. Turkey has given up Turkish script in favour of Roman. Other Middle-East countries may do likewise. Then the Urdu script will not have even that advantage which Mr. Shahidullah has supposed. No Indian language will have advantage over another on the ground of script if his proposal that all Indian languages should adopt the Roman script materialises.

3 *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, p. 423.

KAUTILYA, THE INDIAN MACHIAVELLI

The Mauryan Polity in Retrospect

By D. R. DUTT, BARRISTER-AT-LAW

We may here pass in brief retrospect over the political philosophy of Arthashastra, the monument of Mauryan polity, of which the authorship is attributed to Chanakya who is also designated by the name Kautilya. The author of this treatise lays no claim to being the founder of a new political school but admits his obligations to as many as ten previous writers on the subject, from whose works he has profited largely and borrowed quite liberally. So even in this field, of which the sole credit has hitherto gone to the ancient Greeks, they will, we are afraid, have to yield the palm to their Indian cousins.

There should really be no two opinions about the authorship and date of the Arthashastra since Chanakya was a puissant historical personality and ruled the destinies of an empire. But since it has become customary with some of the European historians to indulge in something of a hair-splitting controversy on the subject, we are perforce obliged to refer briefly to it. Keith, to whom no logic is puerile and no argument fallacious if he can by this means spoil India's credit for her achievements, beats the record of his perverted distortions by declaring that since Patanjali makes no reference to this work it must not have existed. He is not quite content with ridiculing himself thus by his oft-repeated trick of argument from negation but seeks further to find some Greek affinities in the work itself so as to discover a foothold however slender, for the purpose of deliberately post-dating it. The attempt is too weak-kneed and should be treated with the contempt it deserves. Scholars like Jacobi and Meyers and Sanskritists like Shama Shastri, Ganapati Shastri and Law have all upheld the traditional view regarding the Arthashastra, which is quite sufficient for disproving any fantastic theory that men like Keith may prefer to advance.

After this rather enforced digression we come to the work itself. The thesis of the work is split up into fifteen well-defined sections. The first one of these deals with the breeding and education of a prospective ruling prince such as would fit him out for the onerous duties ahead. He is to be conversant with a knowledge of things both human and divine. Besides, a faithful performance of the peculiar duties attaching to his caste, under the bending sickle of the compass of his intelligence should come trade and industry, politics and criminal administration, economics and agriculture and other pastoral pursuits in general. It next drifts to a description of the king's ministers and the council, elaborating a good deal on the functions of the spies. These are to keep the sovereign well-posted with all manner of information, more particularly such as would help him in safeguarding his person as well as realm. A vigilant eye must pursue every detail of the slightest development along the borders. Then follows a chart on the duties associated with his position as the administrative head of the state. Elaborate precautions are pointed towards his conduct in the zenana so that no lurking assassin or intrigue can touch his person there. The next section embodies a minute parcelling out of administrative duties under different heads. The third deals with the province of law while the fourth covers the numerous penalties that should not only fit

the crime but also exercise a deterrent effect in addition. It is curious to notice in connection with the last that cheating in whatever form, be it from a dealer or a trader, an astrologer or a spiritualist, a black-marketeer or an adulterator, a false weigher or unfair measurer, invited upon itself dangerous penalties. In section V some shrewd expedients are suggested for getting rid of the ministers who have virtually served their turn and by continuing longer in office are likely to prove detrimental rather than useful. It ends with some clever ruses and devices, which, however, are only to be resorted to in time of real need for replenishing the depleted state treasury. In the sixth the seven main props of administration, namely, the King, Minister, Land, Fort, Treasure, Army and Ally come in for treatment. There is also a fine theoretical dissertation on inter-state relations. Next section (VII) concerns itself with peace, war, neutrality, attack, alliance and wavering attitude. Book VIII deals with the causes that make the land a prey to hastening ills. Among these are mentioned the self-indulgence and other vices to which monarchs are known so often to succumb and the distress that results from the calamitous visitations of nature such as fire, flood and the like. The next two sections (IX & X) deal with war, for the successful prosecution of which, manoeuvring treachery and deceit are considered as necessary as military prowess. Once a war has been declared, the king becomes primarily the leader of the host and has to imbue the soldiery with something of his own fire and flame. In addition to the armed forces he has to equip a suitable propaganda machinery through the employment of astrologers, priests and bards. Ways and means are next (XI) suggested for sowing the seeds of dissension and discord in the ranks of the enemy through cunning artifices and the employment of decoy women, who are to become conquerors with more than their eyes. The twelfth unfolds a scheme of things whereby a weak king can reinforce himself for a career of aggrandisement by summoning to his aid spies and secret agents, harlots and poisoners, etc. These are to operate from within the coveted territory as saboteurs and fifth columnists in general. Section XIII informs us about devices whereby the morale of a besieged people is to be undermined by a propaganda which aims, at showing that the invader is the recipient of God's peculiar pleasure and is fully in the know of all that is happening within the walls. The spy who has earlier wormed his way into the confidence of the enemy king could, when the latter is hard pressed, entice him away to listen to the soft, seductive logic of a supposed miracle working ascetic, and when off his guard quietly despatch him there. In the possible alternative of winning through a forced assault, the conquering hero directly on supplanting the old regime, should be ready with a vast scheme of pacification which will earn him a place in the affections of the subjugated people. He is above all to show himself to be one of them by according due deference to their religion and social customs and by shedding off every tinge of alien predilections. He should flourish his favours about rather liberally, grant a general amnesty to all those who had fought against him and make him immune from exacting



Mao Tse-Tung, Chairman of the Communist party of China, and U. S. Ambassador to China, Patrick J. Hurley at the Chungking air-field



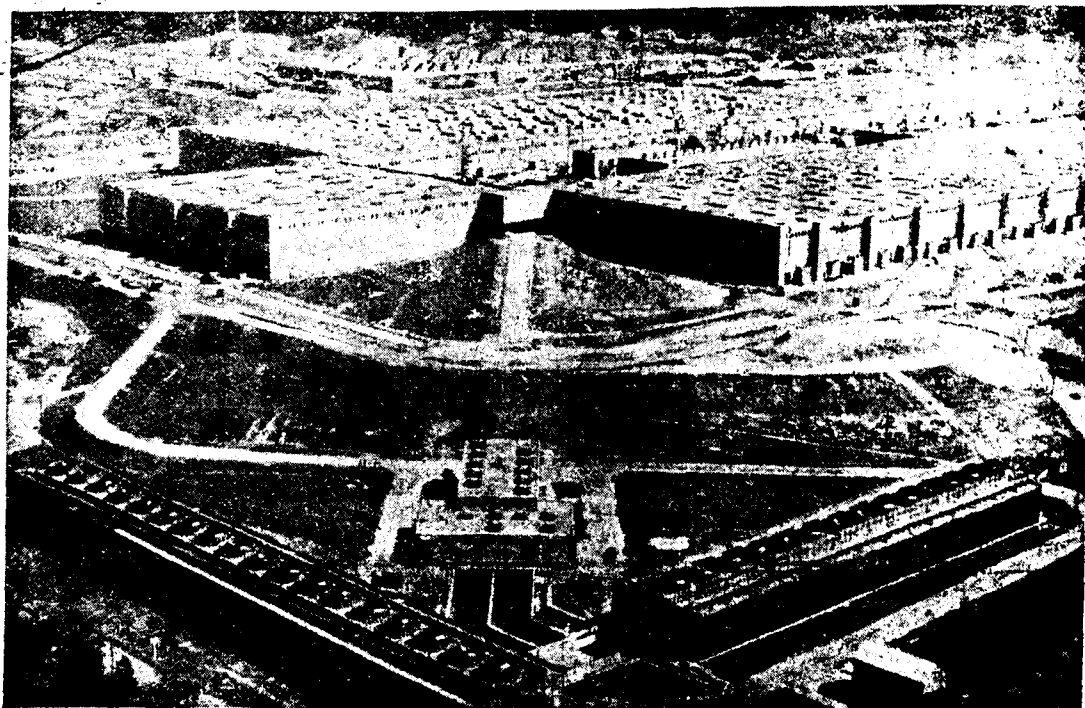
The "cold light" of a firefly is reproduced in a pitcher during a lecture by Samuel G. Hibben, director of applied lighting for the Westinghouse Lamp Division



Shooting out from the spillway tunnels of Fontana Dam excess waters are dispersed into a vast spray to reduce river erosion



DDT, the powerful insecticide, is used at the American seaside resort of Jones Beach near New York City in the form of an experimental oil-fog spray to exterminate sand flies, fleas and mosquitoes



An air view of the Clinton Engineer Works at Oak Ridge in the southern U. S. State of Tennessee where atomic bomb production is carried on

impositions. All his efforts should be directed towards excelling the deposed monarch in virtue. The penultimate section embodies instructions of a miracle working variety. We are told now a man can make himself invisible, see in the dark, tread unharmed through live embers, change his physiognomy and put men and beasts to sleep at will. Recipes are provided for causing death, blindness, madness, etc. All this is fantastic and even shocking. But in the light of what our own civilised world is witnessing, we have perforce to make ourselves shock-proof. The book concludes with an enunciation of thirty-two methodological principles bearing on its main thesis.

The foregoing review of its contents shows that it embodies a frank and ruthless exposition of statecraft and has hence been likened to the work of the notorious Florentine, whose Prince has enjoyed such unabashed popularity in Europe for the past 400 years and has come to be an eternally prescribed text book in the varsities. The main difference between the two is that whereas the former is very much in the nature of a theoretical dissertation the latter pursues a historical method. Another point of difference is that Arthashastra being the work of a Brahman theologian as well as politician does not succeed in bringing about a complete divorce between politics and morals, which is so characteristic of Machiavelli.

"The state, we may say with Machiavelli and Mussolini, is all in all, but the Arthashastra means something quite definite by the State, namely, an order of society which the State does not create but which it exists to secure. The ways of King, for the text assumes that the rule must by royal, are dictated by the necessity of preserving his power; as Hobbes logically and deliberately, so the Arthashastra implicitly argues, the King's duty of securing the welfare of the system of which he is protector, gives to him a morality of his own. Mere *raison d'état* cannot justify everything nor over-ride everything. Moral sanctions are ever there to point a limit to a ruler's sovereignty."—Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 455-56.

He does, of course, many times trespass the bounds of the accepted canons of the Hindu ethics but he seldom preaches an utter neglect of moral principles.

Arthashastra, in the words of Ganapati Shastri, is "a method of Government by which a king should rule for the welfare of his millions of subjects, cautious and dexterous in preventing treachery; watching over the conduct of subjects and officials."

The King's will, though regarded supreme, was to be conditioned by definite moral sanctions. He was enjoined to guard against avarice, pride, anger, drunkenness and insolence. He was to shun as the very devil the four special temptations: Hunting, Gambling, Drink and Women. He was in the last resort but a leader of the people and hence the interests of those who were to be led must be a matter of paramount consideration with him. He was above and beyond all a protector of his people and any neglect of public weal left him open to serious punishment such as the last Nanda had courted for himself by his continued and gross misdemeanour. Kautilya drew out a chart of king's daily duties with such austere rigidity that it must have been honoured more in breach than in observance. Practice must have varied a good deal

from the precept, as what Kautilya was so sedulously putting down was intended to evolve an abstract theoretical system for universal and permanent application. Machiavelli, on the other hand, portrayed the Prince as he had found him in flesh and blood in the person of the unscrupulous Caesar Borgia.

The four objects of government according to Chanakya were the acquisition of territory, its preservation, its extension by further annexations and finally the proper utilization and enjoyment of all that had been gathered in. It will thus be seen that the Arthashastra and the Prince were both treatises written for the 'new prince', the usurper, the self-made tyrant who has not been born to power but has risen to it. Not having the support of traditional loyalty and affection, he was to be guided by precepts in order to maintain himself in the seat of authority. This was the function that these two political philosophers, flung so far apart in point of time tried to discharge in order to prop up the new regime in the seat of authority. Both are equally concerned about devising means by which their respective heroes could gain complete domination of the state and keep their iron grip securely fastened on all that pertains to its governance and administration. The protection of the King's person is with both an object of earnest solicitude. In the absence of the habitual loyalty of an affectionate people to a legitimate and long-standing dynasty, a counterpoise had to be found if any insidious attempts, aimed at effecting a change of masters, were to be successfully thwarted nay nipped in the very bud. Kautilya's circumspection would not exclude from suspicion even the princes of the royal blood who are to be employed far from the capital and preferably on the frontiers. All conceivable thorns in the side of the state are to be eradicated so that they do not develop into a malignant tissue importing a menace to the state. The methods suggested are appallingly drastic.

Kautilya and Machiavelli are both at one in suggesting that the new sovereign should make himself feared so that through weak courses and pusillanimous conduct he does not make himself an object of contempt. His work according to them would be easier if the family of the dethroned monarch is completely wiped out. He is, however, not to touch the property of his subjects since the sores of the disinherited fester for ever. The paeans of his glory and might should be trumpeted abroad and all acts of clemency or of generosity should redound to his personal credit and let the odium of all dirty deeds fall upon his ministers and other functionaries. A heart of flint and an iron heel are the essential hall-marks of a great ruler. Weakness, vacillation and undue brooding over what ought to be done are sure to send a ruler down the vale. A pretence of virtue and of straight-dealing must be maintained at all costs but even a suggestion of being soft-hearted is to be totally avoided. Whatever has to be done must be done thoroughly and well with a show of full force as the snake is not to be scotched but killed. Kautilya further believed with Machiavelli that the severities that become necessary and unavoidable should be inflicted all at once and not administered in small doses as their moral effect will thus be utterly lost and which is more important besides, that a prolonged state of insecurity and suffering can betoken a real danger to the State. The weapons of fraud and force both should be in the armoury of a successful ruler or as Machiavelli

would put it, he must have the slyness of the fox combined with the strength of the lion.

Power politics are alike the keynote of both and hence their insistence on the proper organisation, maintenance and equipment of the armed forces. Be prepared for defence but never be afraid to strike at the first opportunity. States prosper best through aggrandisement. The martial spirit of a people is thus prevented from going into decline. Neighbouring states should be prevented from developing into formidable rivals. When two large states are at war it is futile to sit on the fence as passive spectators. You are thus despised by your friends and foes alike. The former feel betrayed while the latter interpret it as a sign of your inherent weakness. And the victorious power is not likely to spare you, it will swallow you up if it feels it to be manageable proposition. How truly applicable to the neutral states of today and the lesson inculcated here has been brought home to them but alas too late!

Machiavelli's advice could well have been followed today. He suggests that while making war on a nation do not give an impression that you are out to wipe out the whole nation but let it be known instead that your hostility is limited only to a few individuals. And Kautilya's counsel in this respect is tuned in a similar key. Kautilya covers all the ground traversed by Machiavelli but he has much more to tell besides. And his intimate prying into all details of administration makes him Machiavelli and Bentham rolled into one.

The curious similarities between the 'cute' Florentine and astute Brahman, explored by us at some length, make it not unlikely that the latter's work was somehow known to the former. The trade contacts between Italy and India through the old land routes being a matter of familiar history, permit us in safely premising cultural contacts. Similarities between the two are too marked to be taken as mere chance coincidences. The foregoing survey is by no means to be interpreted as implying that Kautilya has furnished a

system of political philosophy for the guidance of hard-boiled bureaucrats only. There is much in fact, in his comprehensive thesis which is informed by broader humanities. The sparing of cows from being yoked for manual work and the consideration for the treatment of animal life in general are among the instances in point. Nor did his conception of an all-embracing legislation and administration seek to rule out the rudiments of self-governing institutions which were a part and parcel of the Aryan heritage of freedom and liberty. Village communities and even tribal republics were left completely free to operate their self-governing institutions. Sanitation was the people's concern and Megasthenes bears witness to the surprising degree of efficiency attained in this respect. Medical aid was well-organised and made easily accessible. Widows, orphans, the sick and the infirm were duly cared for and afforded relief. Cornering of grain, adulteration of food and monopolising of trade are strongly condemned by him. The extension of the principle of extraterritoriality to foreigners involves a singular tribute to his legal acumen. Slavery was confined to Shudras alone and no Aryan was to be made a slave. These are among the factors which help to relieve, though we are afraid very partially, the sordidness of a political cult which was ruthless in its conception and execution alike. The political philosophy of Kautilya, with but a few softening touches was harsh and even drastic. It was dictated by the needs of the time and had its vogue. But above the surge of ungenerous and even caustic criticism which has assailed his system through the ages, rises the calm, cool, contemplative figure of Chanakya in its serene and austere majesty, pleading excuse and justification with every nerve and pointing with an unerring finger to the most extenuating of all circumstances, the law of cruel necessity. India had to pass through the crucible of stern politics and get properly schooled in discipline before she could emerge into a united and unified nation.

—O:—

INDIA'S NEEDS PRESENTED FOR ANGLO-U.S. LOAN NEGOTIATIONS

ANY American credits extended to Britain should make it possible for India to obtain the dollar resources necessary to enable her to purchase the American capital goods needed for her industrialization. Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, said yesterday in a letter sent to Assistant Secretary of State, William L. Clayton, who is representing the U. S. Government in current conversations with British negotiators.

India does not need American money, Mr. Singh pointed out. It needs the power to convert its frozen sterling balances into dollars, he said. The industrialization of India "alone can overcome its poverty and make it a consumer of American exports," he added.

The full text of Mr. Singh's letter to Assistant Secretary Clayton follows:

"In your discussions of American aid to Britain, I earnestly hope that the urgent needs of India's 400 million people will not be overlooked.

"Poverty is India's main problem. Its standard of living must be raised if India is to develop itself and provide a market for American goods. But its standard of living cannot be raised unless India is industrialized.

Industrialization means capital goods. The only nation from whom capital goods can now be bought is the United States. And this means that India needs American dollars.

"Let me make it perfectly clear that India does not seek a loan or a gift from the United States. India has ample credit, but it is now frozen in London in the form of unusable sterling. In this connection, I hope you will give favourable consideration to the proposal made by the International Section of the New York Board of Trade that Britain no longer freeze dollar credits that might accrue to India in the normal course of trade.

"But that would only be a small beginning. It is in the interest of both India and the United States to insist that, of any credit extended to Britain, a portion be set apart which will enable India to buy in the American market all the capital goods she needs for her industrialization.

"The disturbing suggestion has been made that one of the objectives of the United States Government should be 'to get the British to agree to refund and scale down' the debt she owes to countries like India,

in the same way as the United States is planning to forego her lend-lease claims against Britain. I hope this cruelly unjust suggestion will not be entertained. To put Britain's debt to India on the same basis as its debt to the U.S. is to disregard the vast difference in the economic status of the U.S. and India.

"May I emphasize that the sterling balances acquired by India do not represent that country's surplus wealth; rather they represent the bitter sacri-

fices made by the destitute people of India during the war-sacrifices symbolized by Bengal's one million famine dead.

"Considerations of justice and humanity demand that any arrangement for American aid to Britain guarantees: 1). The necessary dollars resources be set apart for India's crucially necessary industrialization, which alone can overcome its poverty and make it a consumer of U.S. exports, and 2) an end of all freezing of currency exchange."—*India League of America*

—O:—

TOLSTOI, TAGORE, ROLLAND

Their Passage Through Purgatory

By SUBHENDU GHOSE

It is in the nature of intellectual man, and, above all, the artist, that he observes and tries to overcome his inward crisis.—Stefan Zweig.

In *Fragments From My Diary*, Gorky has drawn an intriguing pen-picture of Tolstoi:

"Several times I noticed on his face, in his look, the cunning and contented smile of a man who unexpectedly discovers something which he has hidden away. He hides it and then forgets about it. Where can it be? He spends long days of great anguish pondering incessantly. 'Where, oh, where did I put that thing that I want so much?' He is terrified lest the people round him should notice his anguish, should get to know of his loss and worry him about it or injure him in any way. Then he suddenly remembers and finds it. Delighted at his success and no longer afraid to show his feelings to others, he watches those about him with a cunning glance, as much as to say, 'you can't hurt me now!'

But as to what he has found and where he found it—that remains a secret."

Tolstoi himself has given us a clue to the secret in his autobiographical sketches. From his *Confessions* we know that the secret was his faith in God, and the strange behaviour, which impressed Gorky and which Gorky has noted here, was a product of the struggles Tolstoi passed through in order to reach that faith.

Tolstoi was about fifty when he began to experience, as he tells us in his *Confessions*,

"Moments of perplexity, of a stoppage, as it were, of life, as if I did not know how I was to live, what I was to do, and I began to wander, and was a victim to low spirit. Later, these periods of perplexity began to return more and more frequently and invariably took the same form. These stoppages of life presented themselves to me with the same questions, 'Why' and 'What after?' The questions presented themselves to my mind with ever-increasing frequency, demanding an answer with still greater and greater insistence, and like dots grouped themselves into one black spot. . . . Life was meaningless. Every day of life, every step in it, brought me, as it were, nearer the precipice and I saw clearly that before me there was nothing but ruin. And to stop was impossible; and it was impossible to shut my eyes so as not to see that there was nothing before me but suffering and actual death, absolute annihilation. . . . Thus I was brought to feel that I could live no longer—some irresistible force was dragging me

onward to escape from life. I do not mean that I wanted to kill myself—The force that drew me away from life was stronger, fuller and more universal than any wish: it was a force like that of my previous attachment to life, only in a contrary direction. With all my force I struggled away from life and yet there was something I hoped for from it. The idea of suicide came as naturally to me as formerly that of bettering my life. . . . Such was the condition I had to come to, at a time when all the circumstances of my life were pre-eminently happy ones."

With unparalleled determination Tolstoi sought to overcome this inward crisis, wandered painfully and obstinately over the fields of knowledge to find out an explanation of the questions that tormented him. Knowledge failed to cure him of his despair, but increased it.

"I knew that from the knowledge which reason has given man, I could get nothing but the denial of life, and from faith nothing but the denial of reason, which last was even more impossible than the denial of life. By this knowledge founded on reason it was proved that life is an evil. . . . If I went by faith it resulted that, in order to understand the meaning of life, I should have to abandon reason, the very part of me that required a meaning in life. When I had come to the conclusion, I understood that it was useless to seek an answer to my question from knowledge founded on reason, and the answer given by this form of knowledge is only an indication that no answer can be obtained till the question is put differently—till the question be made to include the relation between the finite and the infinite, without which there can be no answer. . . .

What meaning is there not to be destroyed by death? The answer is, 'Union with an infinite God, paradise.'

In this way I was compelled to admit that besides the reasoning knowledge, which I once thought the only true knowledge, there was in every living man another kind of knowledge, an unreasoning one—faith—which gives a possibility of living."

During the time when his mind was occupied with the thoughts, Tolstoi's heart was oppressed by a "feeling of dread, of orphanhood, of isolation amid things all apart from me, and of hope in a help I knew not

from whom." This feeling Tolstoi describes as a searching after God :

"This search after a God was not an act of my reason but a feeling, and I say this advisedly, because it was opposed to my way of thinking ; it came from the heart."

Tolstoi had been an earth-bound man of the world, and had never before shown any great inclination towards metaphysics. To serious speculation he had not willingly turned ; he was driven to take recourse to it. From somewhere out in the dark he had received a sudden blow and clutched to save himself from falling. Caught in the vicious grip of a spiritual crisis, he desperately fought to free himself from it, and at last escaped into the foggy realm of faith and mysticism. What followed is well-known. The master-artist would "now compel

*Beauty, that spirit clear,
And every art wherein the few excel
Under a peasant smock to serve as duds !"*

—(H. Trench)

The worshipper of the living forms of nature would now glory in a mystic ethic !

Romain Rolland tells us in his reminiscences that between 1882 and 1884, for two years,—(he was then a student in Paris)—he had to go through a terrible inward turmoil :

"What a terrible trial it was ! Every moment, I feared a disaster ; though, seen from outside, the texture of life was the same. In my heart was the deepest despair—a fathomless hell ; dark demons were raging there—hidden from all eyes. I sank into a bottomless void."

The crisis had no visible cause and resolved itself in a significant manner. One day while reading Spinoza, the message of the great philosopher-saint flashed across his heart : "*Be one with the universe in full consciousness*"* and lo ! the joy of life returned to his death-ridden heart.

Our own Tagore too was not spared the trial. In the year 1913, some time before the first world-war started,—"*a shock of agony overtook him like a thunderstorm out of a clear, unclouded sky. The mental pain he experienced was almost equivalent to a death-agony. He had hardly expected to survive it.*" (C. F. Andrews) The first shock came in May, then it passed away. "But early in July", says Andrews, "the darkness again came upon his life, and seemed once more to overwhelm him. It appeared to have no external source, either in bad health or bad climate."

Let us see what Tagore himself has to say about his spiritual crisis. On May 17th, 1913, he writes from Ramgarh :

"I have been experiencing the feeling of a great expectation, although it has its elements of very great suffering. . . . To be born naked in the heart of the eternal truth ; to be able to feel with my entire being the life-throb of the universal heart—that is the cry of my soul."

On May 21st, he writes :

"I am struggling on my way through the wilderness . . . I know I must pass through death. God knows it is death-pang that is tearing open my heart. It is hard to part with the old self."

The next day, Tagore writes :

"The spiritual bath is not that of water, but of fire . . . Our soul is the last thing that we come to know ; for it is dark where the mother feeds the soul in secret. And we can see the sacred light in the intense glow of the fire of suffering . . . The fire is burning fiercely, exposing the hidden corners of my being with all their unsuspected accumulations of untruth and self-deception. Let the fire burn until it has nothing to feed upon. Let nothing be spared that awaits destruction."

On May 25th, he writes :

"My wrestlings with the shadows are over."

As Andrews tells us, they had to be resumed soon after.

In Tolstoi's case, as in the case of Tagore and Rolland, the crisis seemed to have developed suddenly, without any visible cause ;—it was a mysterious blow from the dark. In all three cases, the crisis was resolved when 'the finite' could be related to 'the infinite', when the individual's demand 'to feel the life-throb of the universal heart' was satisfied, when the isolated soul could feel 'one with the universe in full consciousness.' Like Rolland and Tagore, it was death that Tolstoi was asked to pass through. At the height of his crisis Tagore experienced 'the feeling of a great expectation', and Tolstoi too 'hoped for something' from the crisis—from the force that was dragging him onward to escape from life.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has advanced a very interesting theory regarding the spiritual crisis of Tagore. He says :

"It seems certain to me that the poet's highly sensitive nature had made him feel dimly beforehand the tragedy which was about to happen. In no other way can I account for his intense suffering."

But can we explain in the same manner the crisis that assailed Rolland or Tolstoi ? Obviously, we cannot. Mr. Andrews' theory, however, appears to contain an element of truth, as we shall see.

Speaking about 'the inner turmoil which shaped Tolstoi into a speculator, a thinker, a life-teacher', Stefan Zweig says :

"Probably it was a mere climacteric condition, fear of old age, fear of death, a neurasthenic depression which turned into a passing spiritual crisis."

But Zweig's supposition throws no light on spiritual crises in general. Rolland was quite young and healthy and had no reason to be afraid of death, when he was afflicted. How could this happen ?

Now we are in a position to look more deeply into the crisis of Tolstoi. It is the story of a watchful self, burdened with the untruths and self-deceptions it had accumulated through long years, suddenly finding itself drifting away from life elemental—call it universal, infinite or eternal, as you please. The self is asked to shake off its dead accretions and renew itself, for re-establishment of contact with the elemental forces alone can save the soul from death.

Tolstoi was an artist with 'all-seeing eyes', and, as an artist he was privileged to assimilate himself with the elemental forces, which in the then Russia manifested themselves in the masses ; as an artist he came keenly to feel what was going to happen in Russia,

clearly to see which way life—elemental life—was flowing. But Tolstoi was an aristocrat too ; the untruths and self-deceptions that were inevitable in the aristocratic life of his time had become a part of his self. Now, elemental forces demanded of him that he shake off this dead accumulations of his old self, that he stand naked in the heart of the eternal truth and pass through death into a new life. Class inhibitions would not allow him to cross the Rubicon and come out on the side of the new life. Terrified by what he saw before him whenever he would allow himself to be swept forward by the elemental forces, Tolstoi sought refuge in blind faith and mysticism. To avoid the sweeping

hand of the elemental forces he bent backward into the 'moral order',—of course, unconsciously.

All the three, whose spiritual crises we have discussed here, were artists. As artists, they were called upon to assimilate themselves with the forces of nature—elemental forces, and transmute them in their mind. It was a big task, achievable only by giants with an untrammelled spirit. To perform it, they had now and then to face the problem of renewing their selves, of shedding off old blind attachments, of passing through purgatory. Rolland and Tagore succeeded ; Tolstoi strove right unto death.

THE BENGAL FAMINE AND THE PROBLEMS IT RAISES

RAI BAHADUR BIJAYBIHARI MUKHARJI

THE Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission submitted its report which does not seem to have received the attention it deserves. The Commission with considerable amount of restraint has stated at page 107 of its report :

"It has been for us a sad task to enquire into the course and the cause of the Bengal Famine. We have been haunted by a deep sense of tragedy. A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society together with its organs failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed there was a moral and social breakdown as well as an administrative breakdown." (Italics mine)

The magnitude of this famine must convince any honest onlooker that it was possibly the greatest single tragedy in this tragic second world war. To have a proper perspective it may be noted that against a million and a half of deaths as stated by the Commission and which is generally held by the Indian nationalists as a great under-estimate, casualties in deaths during the war in Great Britain are reported to be less than two and a half lakhs. The following casualties may be compared :

U. K.	233,042
Canada	36,018
Australia	21,415
India	23,295
Bengal Famine (according to Famine Commission)	1,500,000

This will show that in Bengal which has been all along considered as the most fertile granary of India and of the East, people died through lack of food in one single year in numbers exceeding the number of casualties incurred by Great Britain in this most terrible of terrible wars in actual fighting. It should be also remembered that in Great Britain which produces only 40 per cent of its normal food requirements and had been prevented from importing outside-food by the vigorous submarine warfare that she had to combat with the most cruel and relentless enemy constantly threatening invasion, bombing and attacking almost every day some part or other, the Government and the people of the country so organized themselves that not a single person died from starvation. It is further reported that the organization was so effective that during the war period there had been actually an improvement in health. The question naturally arises as to what is this difference due to ? Why should Bengal, producing

almost its total food requirement and capable of producing more, had a million and a half dead through sheer want of food in a year (with many men left dying through malnutrition) while England producing less than half its food requirement, under constant threat of invasion by the Germans for years, could so organize the people as not to let a single Britisher die ? India has a Government which is certainly not a National Government. England has a Government which unquestionably is a National Government, where the parties combined to work for the national good. The administration of Bengal is carried on by a Governor over whose appointment Bengal has no voice and whose interests in Bengal must naturally be of a very transitory character. It has Ministers who have been appointed not by the common will of the people on the basis of a broad-based suffrage, on merits, on capacity, on competence or on unquestionable loyalty to the country but Ministers who are appointed through a constitution riddled with sectional or communal electorate which develops all the fissiparous sectarian tendencies in the nation aggravating them. It consists of men whose sectional prejudices have been developed to the maximum pitch with individual profit secured and kept alive by a widespread system of political patronage through the mechanism of a constitutional form unheard of and unknown in the history of political constitutions throughout the world at any period of human history. It was foisted on India by an authority outside India which holds the thread of the Indo-British administrative system. The moral stature of these Ministers as is natural in the circumstances has not reached a high level. The sectarian system ensures that the scum of the social organism should have a free scope for selfish ends, freer than any political society could ensure. England is governed by a Home Civil Service which consists of its own nationals with no exception. It is recruited from people who form the society and who naturally act and react to the forces in the society and whose interests are intermixed with the interests of the society and of the nation as a whole. Successive reforms and strenuous efforts of nationalists have raised the standard both of the integrity and the efficiency of the Civil Service of England. It can hardly be denied that the standard both of efficiency and of integrity of the Home Civil Service of England, whatever they might have been in the days of Lord North, are at a very high level today. Public opinion working through public bodies and a reasonably free Parliament keeps the officers

in their efficiency and integrity. Dereliction is immediately detected. We had in recent times a Labour Minister summarily ousted from office for suspected misuse of powers. It is not contended that the level reached is the highest and there is no room for improvement, but it can hardly be denied that a very high standard has actually been reached. Bengal, on the other hand, is ruled by three sets of officers in the main—the first includes the Imperial Services, the second the Provincial and other Subordinate Services and the third the Ministerial and the menial services. Throughout the nineteenth century up till now all sources of powers have been withdrawn to the hands of the Imperial Service men. It is they who interpret facts, it is they who evolve policies, and it is they who lay down principles, and get them carried out by the entire Indian Subordinate machinery of the second and the third classes. The Imperial Services again can fairly be divided into two categories—its British and its Indian members. The real powers are in the hands of a group of the former. The latter are *de jure* members of the voting group but are not *de facto* of that category. They make strenuous efforts to imitate the former and in the end imbibe their worst defects. A ruling foreigner has limitations—national as well as circumstantial. An indigenous imitator is worse. He will be less than human if he does not share in the least his country's hopes and fears. He will be more than human if he abjures all hopes of official advancements which only denationalisation can secure. The unresolved contradictions of the situation raise confusions and the Indian officer is more often than not an interesting pathological study. With all these a psycho-analyst may sympathise but the public sees little of integrated ethics or of integrated thought in their outer behaviour. Hence the higher Public Servants form a class apart—aloof, therefore, ignorant; ineffective because they are ignorant; morally and spiritually sterile because they are ineffective; uncreative because they are sterile. They lack a moral purpose and only live for the day in the dull monotony of an uninteresting routine, interested only in questions of official preferments and in chances of life and of career. The effect of this on the problems of the people is disastrous. It is this somnolent group that is in charge of the administration. It interprets facts in its own way, develops theory on this interpretation, lays down policy on its own theory, and enforces the policy through the machinery of provincial, subordinate, ministerial and menial services. These last easily realise that in this institution initiative does not pay, intelligence does not pay, individuality does not pay and they must merge themselves in that unicellular organism that is called the State in this country if they have to secure if not immortality at least a survival, if not for eternity, only for the period of the official career where only one cell has a distinctive life—the Imperial Service—that cell alone leads and functions for the whole. The standardised "behaviour pattern" of these services is uniform and striking for the last two services. Till 1920 this system has been in vogue. Such members of the "human cattle farm" (to use John Stuart Mill's phrase) i.e., of the public of India only contact the machines as have some axes to grind. They are not intended to deliberate on its running or its efficient functioning. One of the mildest proposals of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in the first decade of this century to have "an advisory council" for the District administration was negatived by the Government of

India of the day. The sundry members of the public come to sneak out such favours as official patronage may secure. The life history of Muchiram Gur as painted by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee reproduces itself with amazing loyalty to traditions up to date. To that group come the members of the Bar, Professors, Zemindars, Patriots and Knights of the Garter in search of better and brighter prospects.

Since 1920 Bengal is supposed to have a popular ministry. This ministry as stated before is secured by a specially patented form of democracy with sectional representation euphemistically called the "Communal Electorate" which does honour to the authors of the scheme as a distinctive original contribution to the political philosophy or political technique for running the administration of a dependent country. That it succeeded in drawing the seams of social organism almost of each section any honest analysis of the part played by the bulk of the legislators and the ministers during the famine will demonstrate. The sample testing of the intellectual and the moral standard of groups of legislators and ministers would be an amazing revelation even to a Machiavelli should he with *Prince* come to life again for a tour of inspection of the world that he left.

In the circumstances of unhappy Bengal, the Governor comes without any direct knowledge previously acquired. He is completely ignorant of its people, of their habits, of their ways, of their problems and completely ignorant even of their language. To such a province—a province of over 60 millions of people with accumulated problems unattended for decades, accentuated by mal-administration, and confused by the immoral struggle with the growing nationalism of the last three decades—came Sir John Herbert. What his initial qualifications for the appointment were the Government of Winston Churchill alone could know. One read, however, the judgment of his fellow countryman Capt. C. Reed, after his appointment:

"Major John Herbert was a Junior Whip until the Chief Whip recommended that the Major should be given title and be sent overseas to take an extremely important Governorship . . . Besides the fact that he is a 'good fellow' I can find nothing in the past records to indicate what qualifications he possessed for being given such appointment."

After the Bengal famine, it is probably admitted that Sir John Herbert was not equal to the task to which he was appointed by the Conservative Cabinet. That intellectually he was below par can hardly be denied, that in unconstitutional tendencies he was above par his conduct throughout proves. That he meddled unnecessarily and in every sphere is proved by his many acts. That his meddlesomeness created constitutional confusion has been referred to by many. His moral stature has been publicly impugned but now that he is dead one may draw a veil.

The Civil Services, aloof and ignorant as indicated before, were equipped just to run a machine with a maximum routine and specially when they were responsible to none of the land but to an authority which is non-Indian and unsympathetic. It is alleged that there was panic too in the class that the people of Bengal had large sections which might prove fifth-columnists in case of a Japanese attack not unmixed with a conscious dread of reaction to the policy of fan-

ning fissiparous anti-national feeling which some at least had followed since their ignoble satrap Sir Bamfylde Fuller had started the conscious State policy of courting the "favourite wife"—a term of endearment by which to the disgrace of the Mahomedan community he used to refer to it—and that love so unnatural had at last conceived and gave birth to the Moslem League. Whatever might have been the psychology, the Civil Service demonstrated its complete incompetence, long recognised by the people but carefully kept hidden under a system where the Lion alone was left to paint himself for the edification of the world. That Indian Civil Service in the past, subject to the limitations of a non-national state, made signal contributions to bring India to the outer form of a modern state must be acknowledged. That to the distinctive efforts of some of the outstanding members thereof India has owed the blue-prints of a Modern State much better drawn than in any other part of Asia must be admitted. But the Indian Civil Service has heavily deteriorated for the last forty years. The growing nationalism accentuated by a despair which the Partition of Bengal had deepened (which Mr. Coupland in his analysis completely ignores) challenged its authority as not even the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 had done. In the struggle that has followed while finer types of British youths stayed back, those that came had their nerves frayed. In the process of fights their finer emotions withered away. The system of administration followed so far had the cracks and fissures accentuated by the struggle. The foundation of the faith of the people in the morality of the administration was badly shaken. The administrative machinery lost all moorings. It functioned in vacuo.

The ministers and the legislators were of moral and intellectual calibre far below par. They found the chances of their life. Communal Electorate is essentially immoral. It is immoral in conception. It is immoral in execution. It is immoral in function. Nothing but self-interest had been the guiding principle of their life—a sense of national wellbeing and the sense of social responsibility were emotions to which they were complete strangers. They had been encouraged to practise political patronage not only by the astute enemies but even by the political baby patriots of India. They were accustomed to distribute appointments by community which in reality meant distribution by kinship to certain individuals. They distributed contracts by community. They distributed agencies to buy up food produce from village by what they termed specially selected communal agents. Those that were in the trade were unacceptable from communal point of view.

To this administrative set-up of a Governor so equipped, of ministers so selected, of legislators controlling the ministers so elected, and above all the machinery run by the services with complete ignorance and still more incompetence, came the crisis of a threatened Japanese attack. It quailed before the magnitude of the task to which it was so unequal. It was conscious that by no stretch of imagination could it expect to have the trust and the faith of the people of this vast province. Each one of the individual and of the group who had power, vested in him, moved in an ego-centric mutually-exclusive circle away and out of touch with the people. Each did what he could in the circumstances, i.e., lived ostrich-like with its bill stuck deep in sands. Not one had the sense of responsibility to

the people who fed and kept him. The Cinderellas who came in for sentimental references when the white man's burden had to be preached—whether by Christian Missionary or Christian administrator—always kept miles away. The background of the situation was the heavy deterioration in ignorance and in incompetence of every aspect of the administration. It was the result of the system that had been followed for decades of complete indifference to the basic needs and the problems of those people.

"There was great difficulty in obtaining medical officers of satisfactory calibre to meet the emergency because medical education was never programmed to the needs of the people" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 125);

"There is a great shortage of nurses in India in normal times for it was no one's concern hitherto, to add to the number" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 125);

"Existing hospitals in Bengal were in general poorly equipped and there was a deficiency in the province of most medical supplies so that there was little to build on in the task of creating hospital accommodation" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 126);

"In Bengal the Public Health Services were insufficient to meet the normal needs of the population and the level of efficiency was low" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 132);

"In general the standard of efficiency reached by Civil Surgeons and subordinate medical personnel left much to be desired. Discipline and a sense of duty were defective and the morals low" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 135).

The Commission correctly recorded:

"In view of the state of medical and public health organisation in Bengal before the famine, it is scarcely surprising that they failed to rise to the occasion" (p. 136).

The more realistic picture, however, is given in Appendix I of the Famine Commission Report which shows the deplorable economic background of the vast population of a province that had been regarded in the past (as observed before) as the granary of India. The Commission wrote in the Appendix:

"Persons who derive all a major part of their income from the cultivation of land amount to 72 per cent and the number of families thus depending is 'eight millions'. Of these—a family counting of little over five members—

1) less than two millions hold more than 5 acres each and about one-third of the number hold more than 10 acres each;

2) about two millions hold between two to five acres;

3) all others, who constitute about one one-half of all the families depend wholly or mainly on the cultivation of land, are either landless or hold less than two acres each."

So the Commission said and which the world, outside the administration Mr. Amery topped, knew. This picture, dismal as it is, does not represent the whole truth. The fragmentations of the land allotment of the family, the lack of irrigation or drainage facilities, and deplorable rural credit, the complete lack of means for fertilizers, and the break-down in health through

malaria and other epidemics, show the accumulated debris of poverty and squalor of the people of a province where the administration was in official hands right through for over a century and a quarter. It could be shown by districts that none of their problems—essential for the very existence if not for the improvement of the people—had been tackled or solved. The inevitable effect of continued malnutrition is apparent in high mortality, low life expectations, poor physique, complete lack of energy.

"With a purchasing capacity of only about 2½ annas the average Indian is only about to meet his energy requirements with cheap carbo-hydrates like rice and cannot afford sufficient protective foods. Deficiencies in diet such as animal protein, calcium and vitamins A and C are widespread. The result is poor physique, high maternal and infantile mortality rates, and low expectation of life. . . . Malnutrition is one of the chief causes of the rapid exit of young human beings from the world so soon after their arrival in it." (Dr. John Grant's *Health of India*—1943, p. 8).

The figures above clearly demonstrate that more than half the people of the country had not enough land to grow that which might even in normal time provide their food for the year. Yet Mr. Leopold Amery never hesitated to tell the British Parliament that there were "millions of hoarders" in Bengal which had been responsible for the famine. On July 14, Mr. Amery told the House of Commons that the difficult food situation in India was due to the widespread tendency of the cultivators to withhold foodgrains from the market, to larger consumption per head as a result of increased family income and to hoarding". He later stated :

"Such answers as I gave to Parliament could only be based on official information supplied to me by the Government of India on the strength of that supplied by the Government of Bengal."

(Mr. Leopold Amery's speech at Sparkbrook, June 28, 1945)

It is true that Burma knocked off a part of supply but that was a small part—about 5 per cent for the whole of India (*vide*, Mr. Justice Braund's radio speech of April 11). It is true that part of the province had drought and part a storm and flood but even such incidents were not all uncommon. It is true that there was a threat of attack by Japan, so was England under more constant and more relentless attacks by Germany. The cumulative effect of all these might bring on hardships but surely could not have brought about the disaster that the Bengal Famine represented.

The Commission recorded (*Report*, p. 105) :

"Between the Government in office, and the various political parties, between the Government and the ministry, and between the administrative organisation of Government and the public there was lack of co-operation which stood in the way of a united and vigorous effort to prevent and relieve famine."

The Famine Commission was right but the Famine Commission did not dive deep and did not discover nor emphasise that this lack of cohesion, so essential to integrated thought and effective action, was congenital to the mechanism known as the Government of the country. It is this which marked the difference

between the effect of war in England which had a National State and this integration with that in Bengal which congenitally lacked that integration and when each centre of authority revolved round its own axis and often ran counter to each other with no responsibility to the people. There was no synthesising integrating authority or even ideology and motive. The national spur was lacking. The vain shackle institution called to-day the State in Bengal was an assemblage of selfish interests with responsibility to none. Two millions died because the whole local economy was disturbed by hordes of people animated by the spirit of "safety first and devil take the hindmost" spirit working with the authority of the Defence of India Rules and Denial Policy Schemes. All labour organisations even Governmental groups came to the market. Agents on the basis of communal favouritism unrestrained by any authority and strengthened by the powers of the Defence of India Act and Rules drew off the food that lay in the countryside with no thought for the people, their families and the children. They were no one's concern. The Government of India maintained constitutional aloofness. In vain the Anglo-Indian paper, the *Statesman*, wrote on August 8, 1943 :

"Surrounded by wheat and fat Punjabis remote from the war zone, the Government of India apparently little heeds Bengal's lamentable state. For that state Bengal in part is blameworthy. Few of any signs of innate greatness such as these tremendous days in world's history demands are discernible among provincial politicians who have manned her ministries. Most of their energies from the war's outset have evidently been bent on petty intrigue and acrimony and manoeuvre for the sports of office. Her permanent officials, whether British or Indian have shown unmistakable symptoms of infection by the pervasive provincial malaise; consequently they tend to lack imagination or grip."

Lord Linlithgow maintained a well-dignified aloofness from this vulgarly dance of death. With the dying he had no kinship. He demonstrated that it was one thing to know the affairs of India and Bengal as the dignified Chairman of a Royal Commission in India while it was an entirely different proposition to be called on to save Indians from death through sheer starvation. He never even came to Bengal.

The devastating effect of the steady deterioration in the economic and social life of the countryside was apparent to those who had been watching the countryside closely for the last forty years. The villages were being denuded of all that was best in human material who trekked to the cities. Ill-fed villagers, without education, with none left to educate or to guide them, easy victims to any disease from malaria to epidemics of cholera or small-pox through sheer malnutrition, had not a single organisation left in the rural areas to save them. The old village had either died out or migrated to towns. The throbbing village communities—which even in the third decade of the twentieth century had been seen in some form of life—had been fully broken up. The centres of economic life had shifted. The age-long village life had been completely broken up. The Duroga-cum-Naib controlled Union Boards which were superimposed centres of squabbles. Among them peripatetic circle officers moved listlessly with bagfuls of papers sent by higher placed dignitaries at Headquarters who parssed them on as a relief to their conscience to report on and which the circle officers

tossed back to soothe theirs with the scribbling of such notes as they might have time to jot down with equal alacrity. To these Union Boards had gone agents of various interests from the Chairman of District Board in quest of a share of the contract or in search of a vote for the more paying *Honorary work* of a membership for legislature down to the organisers of political parties or of those who "in the interests of patriotism" settled terms of business to share the sports of such *Honorary* office as they might be helped to secure. They gathered round to the favoured agents for securing the food-grains when they functioned as such or round the officials when they in their turn went to start 'relief' centres or 'rehabilitation' centres in the very area which they had helped to be denuded of food-grains or be crushed into degradation. To the utter disappointment of the province the Congress could be of little use in most areas. It is true that a considerable number had to be within prison-bar after 1942 but the Congress should demand of those, who had managed to live out, to give an account of their activities of relieving the poor. It is meet and proper that the premier national organisation should enquire into the conduct of those who had been outside prison-bar to give an account of their conduct at a time of calamity of such magnitude as Legislators, as Ministers, as members of Self-Governing bodies, and as public men outside. That profiteers and exploiters flourished was apparent. That dishonesty was widespread even the few startling cases of trials of higher officials would prove. When the Defence of India Act, the Rules framed thereunder and the ordinances which came in any number denied the citizen his rights and set up officials to interfere with most of his activities for daily life, his very existence had to be purchased. The common people had none to guide, none to look after, and none to be interested in them.

The Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan said :

"Near the dustbins of Calcutta half-starved women and children hunted in the filth for morsel of food. Their corpses were gathered up probably the next day from pavements. The social evils that followed need hardly to be recounted."

The Famine Commission wrote :

"Many suffered from mental disorientation showing a very marked degree of apathy and indifference to their surroundings" (p. 117).

Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission has submitted its report. It supplemented the report by a second volume which dealt with many long-term projects for improvement of the food position for the future. India had a bigger report from a Royal Commission presided over by an individual who subsequently occupied for seven long years the highest Executive office in India and was still the Head when the million and half died which did not even stir him to pay a short visit of inspection, enquiry, and of sympathy. The Government of Bengal probably conscious of the great magnitude of the tragedy set up an Administrative Committee under Sir A. Rowlands. It has since then produced schemes for post-War Reconstruction. But neither Sir John Woodhead's long-term remedies, nor Sir Rowlands' administrative proposals, nor the post-War Reconstruction Schemes will have any effect on the people till the entire system of the Governmental machinery is re-examined and overhauled. On the

other hand, these schemes, suggestions and proposals will lead to waste of public money and public energies, if this administrative set-up persists. They will only direct the attention to ineffective channels.

Bengal famine must be re-examined by a National Committee. The congenital defects in the entire constitution and in the administrative machinery must have to be more searchingly analysed and the defects removed before schemes are sought to be operated and public money spent thereon. It would be for the country to set up a Committee—

(a) to examine afresh the causes that contributed to the grim tragedy, fully utilising the materials in the report of Sir John Woodhead's Commission and collecting more ;

(b) to apportion the responsibilities for the death of the millions, and suggest punishments for the guilty ;

(c) to suggest remedies for a complete betterment of the conditions of the chronic poverty of the masses and plan out improvements, and devise ways and means to check up the execution of plans from the people's point of view with a definite schedule, and in the light of the needs of each district also check up the Reconstruction Schemes issued by the Government ;

(d) to overhaul the administrative machinery liquidate and reshape it to national purpose; the framework must be built up even if the complete transfer of powers is not yet achieved ;

(e) to discover the part played by the anti-social forces that through profiteering, black-marketing and dishonesty accentuated the deterioration of the situation, and betrayed complete lack of social responsibility ;

(f) to find out ways and means to compel the dishonest exploiters of the situation during war, to disgorge parts for social utilities by processes which might include levy above a certain sum, details could be worked out to hem in so-called war profits ;

(g) to discover the individuals in the national organisations and in public life who profited by exploiting the situation with a view to eliminate them definitely from participation in any sphere of national life except under a strict control forfeiting franchises of such citizen for life or for a period as the circumstance may determine, a people's tribunal should adjudge the guilt.

After the Famine of Orissa and Bihar in the middle of the last century (a comparatively small affair) Sir Stafford Northcote as Secretary of State for India spoke in the House of Commons (Aug. 2, 1867) thus :

"The catastrophe must always remain a monument of our failure, a humiliation to the people of this country, to the Government of this country and to those of our Indian officials of whom we have been perhaps a little too proud."

The problem has moved on to another plane to-day. It has an administrative and a national aspect of wider implications. The grimmest tragedy in human history such as the Bengal Famine of 1943 unquestionably demonstrates to the world in general and to the people of this country in particular the existence of a state of affairs which deserves the most searching analysis and enquiry. It will be a grave mistake to assume that it was due to only temporary causes or only to causes over which human power has no control. Both assumptions are definitely untrue.



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 MIND OF MAHATMA GANDHI: Compiled by R. K. Prabhu and U. R. Rao. With a foreword by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. March, 1945. Pp. xii + 191. Price Rs. 3.

The object of the compilers has been to present within the compass of a small volume the main outline of Gandhiji's philosophy by means of suitable quotations from his writings. The quotations have been arranged under 35 heads with titles such as *My Mahatmaship, Truth is God, My Inconsistencies, The Gospel of Satyagraha, Temples and Idolatry*, etc. These are followed by a short chronology of the Mahatma's life; while a brief glossary and references follow at the end of the book.

The compilers have taken several years to collect all the materials and have apparently exercised a great deal of care in making the extracts as brief and representative as possible. In this they have been fairly successful; but there are just a few remarks one feels inclined to make by way of suggestion. There seems to be some room for improvement with regard to the arrangement of chapters; while a few passages would perhaps have fitted better in places other than where we actually find them. Thus the paragraph at the head of page 52 does not so much illustrate Gandhiji's conception of the oneness of life as where he draws the line of distinction between non-killing and non-violence. A similar feeling was experienced on other pages too; but fortunately such occasions were few and far between.

There is, however, another question to which the reviewer would take the liberty of drawing more attention than is justified by the amount of space devoted in the book to economic questions in comparison with religious ones. But he feels called upon to do so on account of the importance of the subject, as well as due to the fact that little justice seems to be done to it by most contemporary students of Gandhism. This is with reference to the question of class-war, dealt with in Ch. 25 of the present book.

The selections made by the present compilers tend to emphasize one particular aspect of Gandhiji's views on class-conflict. This is where he wants the present possessors of capital, and of talents which have given rise to the accumulation of capital, to work on terms of equality with those whose only capital is labour. But there is another side of the same question dealt with in Gandhiji's writings. If the possessor of capital, and of talents does not voluntarily descend to that level, Labour is free to non-co-operate non-violently with him in order to convert him into the ideal of trusteeship. Under extreme cases, Gandhiji is even prepared to call in the aid of law to serve the interests of the poor. For in the state of Free India, he wishes only such interests to survive as actually subserve the interests of the poor.

Every other interest will be revised, or must subside if it is not capable of revision. This is what he said at the Round Table Conference in London in 1931.

In the future society of Gandhiji's conception, there will be economic equality; which means that every man should get what he needs for physical sustenance and for mental and moral development. There should preferably be equal wages for all forms of socially necessary labour. But if the best talents of men refuse to open up except under a system of unequal wages, he would permit that within certain limits; for he does not want society to be a loser otherwise. But then, if he had his own way, he would not allow any man to pass on the unused portion of his earnings to descendants by means of inheritance. "The only successor of a trustee should be the public" is an opinion he has expressed several times within recent years. This, coupled with his view that the means of production of the elementary necessities of life should be freely available to all, and so placed under "universal ownership" (See *Young India*, 1928, p. 381; *Harijan*, 1938, p. 366, also *Harijan*, 1940, p. 260), changes the entire face of his conception regarding property relations in the free society of the future.

The fact is that Gandhiji understands by the term class-war an attempt to destroy an institution through the destruction of its present upholders; but when we try to convert the men by non-violent non-co-operation and enlist their aid in rooting out the same institution, he does not look upon it as class conflict. Indeed he firmly stands by the right of every man to destroy every form of violence non-violently; and, as he says, violence is the essence of all forms of exploitation.

These are things which need more emphasis than has been assigned to them in Chs. 24, 25 and 28 of the book; although it must be admitted that economics and politics do not form its main burden. But where one has to deal with such questions, naturally the opinions gathered ought to be fully representative and up-to-date, as far as possible.

In spite of what has been said above, the reviewer feels happy to acknowledge that the selections do succeed in giving us a fairly representative idea about Gandhiji's views on various religious and social problems. Congratulations are, therefore, due to the compilers for the time and labour which they have devoted to the task.

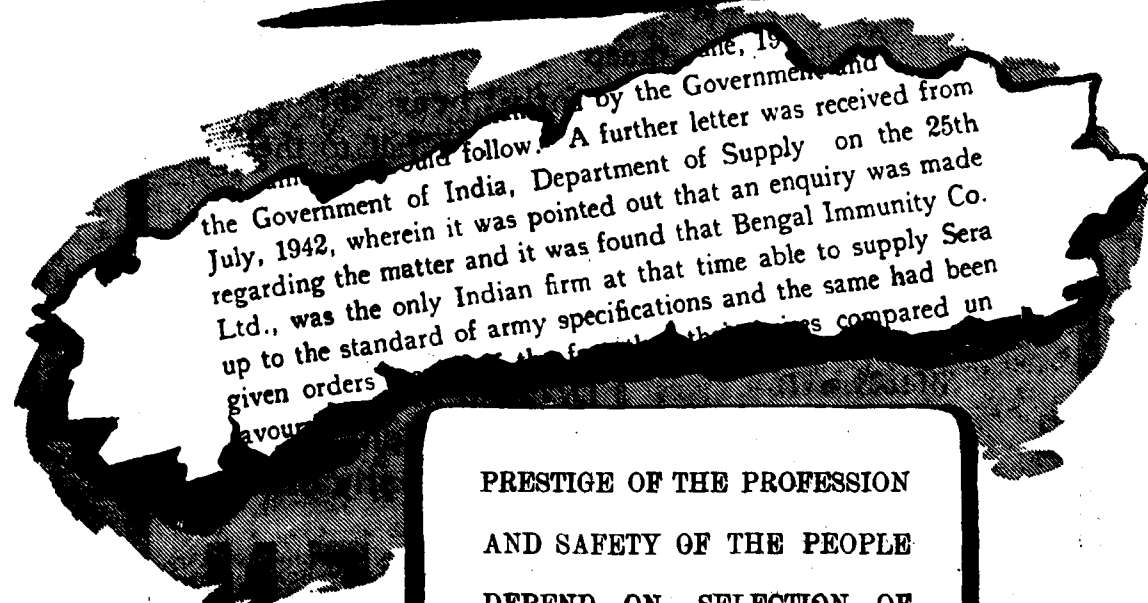
The printing and get-up do credit to the distinguished house of publishers.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDOLOGICAL STUDIES
1942: By George M. Moraes. *The Examiner Press, Bombay*. 1945. Pp. 188 and plates. Price Rs. 12-8.

In the years immediately preceding the last Great World-War, yeomen's service was rendered to the cause of Indological studies by the yearly publication of two

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most important bibliographies, viz., *Bibliographie Boud-dhique* issued by an international board of scholars, and *The Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* published by the Kern Institute in Holland. Unhappily the very useful career of both these publications was abruptly cut short just before the second World-War, to be more precise, in 1937 and 1939 respectively. It is, therefore, with genuine satisfaction that we welcome the appearance of this first volume of a new bibliography of Indological studies from the competent pen of Professor G. M. Moraes of St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Ranged under a remarkably heavy list of sectional headings, comprising as many as 1974 separate entries and interspersed frequently with summaries of contents and short extracts from reviews, the present work almost justifies the high claim advanced on its behalf by the author in his Preface: "It is not merely a publisher's list, but [is] a treatise giving an adequate idea of the year's progress in research. It is intended to assist the antiquarian as much as the student of Indian Constitutional History and Law, of Philosophy and modern Economics, of Religion and Indo-Anglian literature." An added interest is lent to this work by a number of papers prefacing the bibliography and illustrated with plates at its end, which describe the results of some recent archaeological expeditions undertaken by the writers in Gujarat and in the Pudukkottai State of Madras. It is aptly brought to a close by an excellent Index extending over 25 printed pages.

We may be permitted to make a few remarks in response to the author's appeal for scholarly co-operation in his Preface. In view of the extreme difficulty of classification, we think that in future issues the number of sectional headings (reaching in the present volume the formidable size of nearly forty for the main divisions alone), should be brought down to a reasonable figure. It may not be without interest to notice in this connection that the sections in the *Bibliographie Boud-dhique* were only eight in number, while those included under the head India in *The Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* numbered only ten. Next to the limitation of the sectional headings, we would urge greater accuracy specially in the printing of proper names. In the present volume we have such instances of misprints as N. N. Gosh (p. 2), Kiskindhakanda (p. 8), Sylvan Levi (p. 48), Ashtadasasahasrika (p. 64), Rayghat (p. 66), Sadana (p. 72), Gipinath Rao (p. 73), Somokuli kings (p. 76), tat-padanudhata (p. 77), and Skandhasvami Bhasya (p. 105). The present reviewer's name has been twice (pp. 99, 149) misspelt as M. N. Ghoshal. On p. 65 we have the meaningless sentence: "The inhabitants preferred the Buddhist faith to the Hinayana school." The slips in transliteration are too numerous to be noticed.

We await the publication of the next volume with the greatest interest.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIA'S STERLING POSITION AND THE WAR: By Bimalendu Dhar, M.A., B.L. Published by Co-operative Book Depot, College Street, Calcutta. 1944. Pages 165. Price Rs. 5.

Mr. B. Dhar has rendered a public service in explaining in this handy volume as to what are these "Sterling Balances" about which one reads so often in the newspapers. The man in the street is not at all clear about them and feels greatly puzzled. What exactly are "India's Sterling Balances?" How have they been accumulated? What is the total amount of these balances? How has India become from a debtor to a creditor country? What is this talk of scaling down these balances? Does Britain intend to honour its obligations and to make these balances available to India? To what extent will they be available to India for purposes of economic planning and industrialisation in the near future? Most of these questions are ex-

plained in a simple and clear manner in this book under review, which will be found very useful both by students of Economics in the colleges and by the general reader.

GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH

PIONEER WOMEN OF INDIA: By Padmini Sen Gupta. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Pages 196. Price Rs. 4-12.

This book contains colourful pen-pictures of some of the leading representatives of modern Indian womanhood. The authoress, who was for a time Editor of the *India Monthly Magazine*, knows some of these personalities intimately and writes about them in an unaffected and sympathetic style. Of others whom she knows only by reputation, she writes with a commendable restraint of imagination and factual accuracy.

Anandabai Joshi "caused sensation in America by lecturing in favour of child marriage." Toru Dutt is described: "Like a flower she blossomed awhile and left a fragrance that will never die." The home of Ramabai Ranade was a "refuge for the sick and poor, the lowly and sorrowful." Lady Dorab Tata is classed as a "woman's woman with a masculine intellect". When Susie Sorabji died, "even the streets mourned her death." Kamini Roy "lisped in numbers, for the numbers came." Swarna Kumari Devi is classed "on a par with the Bronte sisters". Srimathi Atchamamba "whipped Indian women into activity". Saroj Nalini Dutt "never tried to shock people with her modernism". And, of course, Maharani Sunity Devi was "a popular figure in London Society—a favourite of Queen Victoria." Rameshwari Nehru "brought before the public the horrors of child marriage." The Nightingale of India, Sarojini Naidu, is portrayed with a lyrical brush. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit is not only Motilal's daughter and Jawaharlal's sister, but also the first woman minister in India. In her case both beauty and brains went together. Enakshi Rama Rau was the first Indian woman to interest a European audience in Indian films, and Leila Sokhey (Menaka) "helped in restoring Indian dancing to its ancient glory." Philomena Thumbboo Chetty is described as "the greatest violin virtuoso of the East", and finally Leela Row is "unquestionably the first great internationally known Indian woman athlete."

There are other scintillating portraits in the gallery. There have undoubtedly been some omissions and their admirers may feel a little unhappy about the selection. The pen-pictures are, however, extremely delightful and informative too.

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

THE BLIND IN INDIA AND ABROAD: By Prof. S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), M.A. (Columbia), Lecturer, Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. 266. Price Rs. 3.

Prof. S. C. Roy hardly needs any introduction. By his academical achievements in India and abroad and his subsequent activities and devotion to the cause of the unfortunates whom either fate has denied sight or disease has deprived of the unique blessing of seeing, in the form of the All-India Lighthouse for the Blind, an institution to train and rehabilitate the blind (adults), he has endeared himself to his countrymen. The book under review is a collection of his speeches, articles, radio-talks, letters, etc., relating to the cause and various problems of the blind in India and abroad. Though of a sketchy nature, the contents of the book provide ample valuable information and inspiration to the sightless as well as to those engaged in the welfare work for the blind. Prof. Roy has rightly taken the public to task for its attitude towards the blind and has very ably pleaded, citing illustrious examples, that given proper opportunities for education and self-realisation the blind will prove as useful to the society

as the seeing people. Public and Government apathy towards the amelioration of the appalling conditions of the blind have also not escaped constructive and helpful criticism. On the whole we can call this volume a general survey of the conditions and problems of the blind in India, in contradistinction to that of the blind abroad. More detailed discussion and specialised information regarding the various aspects of the problems of the blind have been left over for the author's next book, which, we earnestly hope, will follow soon.

While the air is full of talk and plans for training the war-blinded soldiers to make them ready once again for the complex programme of readjustment in life, society and the world, why not have a rather comprehensive programme for all the blind. To talk in terms of *pre* and *post-war* blind is too fantastic and absurd. All the blind need to be trained to regain their physical and psychological equilibrium so that all may equally be happy in this world. Prof. Roy's book, we suggest, will serve as a useful guide and handbook for the pioneers in this field. We also commend this book to the lay public for useful general information and instruction.

M. S. SENGAR

I CAN NOT DIE : By Krishan Chandar. Translated from the original Urdu by Kwaja Ahmed Abbas. Published by Kutub, The Indo-Foreign Publishers. Pages 52. Price Rs. 2-4.

This is a long short story, one of the many called forth by Bengal famine, from the pen of Krishan Chandar, and was originally called Ann Data in Urdu. It deserves praise not only as a social document of great value but also as a rare specimen of the art of short story. It is divided into three parts, each containing a picture of the devastating famine from different points of view. The first part presents the story through the reactions of a foreign consul recorded in his home despatches. The second part depicts the death of sincere but sentimental idealism, and the third part presents the dead soul of a village musician, himself a victim to the grim human sacrifice. The story rings with bitter irony and sarcasm and is absorbing all through because of the masterly touches of characterisation and the novelty of technique.

SUNIL KUMAR BASU

SANSKRIT

ACYUTARAYABHYUDAYA OF RAJANATHA DINDIMA : Edited by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T. The Adyar Library Series No. 49. Adyar Library. 1945. Price Rs. 3-8.

This contains a critical edition of the second half of a Sanskrit epic poem complete in twelve cantos celebrating King Acyutaraya of Vijayanagar. The author of the poem, who composed the work towards the middle of the sixteenth century, belonged to a family of poets which originally lived on the banks of the Ganges (in Bengal?) and migrated to the south at the instance of Chola kings 'for the establishment of Siva temples and proper worship of Siva and his consort.' The edition is based on as many as ten manuscripts variants from which are recorded in the foot-notes. In a fairly long introduction the learned editor demonstrates the historical accuracy of the account given by the poet throughout the work. He also draws attention to the poetic merits displayed by the author in different places of the poem. But it is a pity that the inquisitiveness of the reader to compare the text is left unsatisfied with regard to the first half of the text which is not included in this fine critical edition, on the ground that it was published forty years back, though possibly not with the help of the manuscripts utilised in the present edition. In fact, an edition of the entire work in one

single volume would have been more useful and welcome. As regards Vidyanagar, the alternative name of Vijayanagar given by the present poet a reference may be made to an account of the origin of the town as found in the introductory portions of a Tantra digest called the Vidyarnava Tantra (*Indian Culture*, VI, pp. 107-9).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RAJMOHANER STRI : Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya : Translated by Sri Sajani Kanta Das. Eastern Publishers Syndicate, Ltd. 3-C, Ramanath Majumdar Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

It is a faithful translation of Bankim Chandra's first novel, which was written in English. Besides the intrinsic literary merit, its historical importance is very great. In plot-construction and the delineation of characters, there is the unmistakable stamp of genius of the master artist. One striking feature of this rendering is that the translator has followed the Bengali prose style of Bankim Chandra with considerable success, so that the reader at times forgets that he is not reading an original work of the great author.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

VAIDIK KAHANIYAN : By Baldeva Upadhyaya. Sharada Mandir, 21/17, Ganeshdikshit, Kashi, U.P. Pp. 150. Price Re. 1-12.

This is a sheaf of eleven stories, the atmosphere and environment of which are suffused with the truths and times of the Vedas. Apart from their conjuring up, before the reader, the vision and vista of light in which the spiritual stalwarts of ancient Aryavarta lived, they help him considerably in understanding the import of a number of well-known verses in the Samhita, the Brahmanas and the Upanishads. (The author has given chapter and verse of these to enable the reader to refer to the original, should he so desire). There is, therefore, an undying evergreen freshness in these "fables", as one is tempted to characterize the collection of tales, under review. Shri Baldevaji's style is simple, even though the subjects selected for treatment by him have an ethical as well as intellectual severity. The young and the old, consequently, can equally derive pleasure and profit from a perusal of *Vaidik Kahaniyan*.

G. M.

RUS MEN TIS MAHINE : By D. G. Tendulkar. Published by Kamatak Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1-4.

Mr. Tendulkar went to Russia in 1934 with a tourist visa for staying there only for six months. But he learnt Russian and loved the Russians and lived there for full thirty months. The book under review is a Hindi translation of his diary, originally written in English, during this time. Though of petit-bourgeois instruction and upbringing, the author is not wanting in his sense of perspective, insight and objectivity in interpreting Russian achievements. He has not burdened his book with propaganda stuff produced by the Government. He has instead lived with Russian peasants, workers, soldiers, women, students and has portrayed with delicate light and shade the intimate scenes of the daily life in the Soviets. He has tried to understand the living soul of Russia and has not failed to notice the social and economic transformations transcending all barriers of tradition. The book is profusely illustrated with the author's own photographs. The translation has not been quite satisfactory and, it is hoped, will be thoroughly revised in the subsequent editions.

M. S. SENGAR

KANNADA

SATYAGRAHA : "Its History and Technique" : By Mr. R. R. Diwakar, an eminent Congress worker and writer in Kannada. Published by the Adhyatma Karyalaya, Hubli. Pages 312. Price Rs. 3-8.

In this valuable book, which is unique of its kind in Kannada, Mr. Diwakar has ably handled the subject. He has himself devoted his whole life-time for the cause of Indian freedom under the non-violent banner of Mahatmaji, being one of the staunchest of the "satyagrahis". His deep study of, and mastery over, the subject are evident on every page of this work from cover to cover. Mr. Diwakar's work is not like that of a casual easy-chair writer of theoretical or academic interest alone but it is an authentic contribution of an avowed "satyagrahi", who has a life-time of actual and active experience behind him in the field of all kinds of Satyagraha movements and has won many laurels for him, including those in the recent 1942 movement. It is, so to say, an authentic narrative of the heroic exploits—in this case also non-violent and peaceful—by a Commander, on active service, who has emerged successful through many a scathing test.

Mr. Diwakar's exposition of the origin and definition of the term Satyagraha is at once learned and lucid. His treatment of its 'history' is both scholarly and realistic with an unerring knowledge of the facts and figures. He says, while tracing the origin of the term to Gandhiji when he was launching the famous South African Satyagraha Movement, that though a principle akin to Satyagraha might be traced to olden times, and, individual cases, it was not the same Satyagraha as it is understood, and, put into practice today, which is seeking to be an all-powerful, yet, peaceful and non-violent, universal force in quest and in the establishment of the Kingdom of Truth and Non-violence. And again Satyagraha is essentially different from "Passive Resistance and Non-resistance" as the former totally eschews of even the idea of violence and has constructive technique or system for its working. So the word Satyagraha which was first invented by Mahatmaji has now become a by-word in every hearth and home in India and abroad also.

And since then it has become a powerful, yet a peaceful weapon, in the hands of its non-violent followers. And further this weapon can be effectively used not only against armed and aggressive nations and tyrannical governments but also internally against aggressive or unjust groups or individuals—why even against one's friends and brothers if need be and if such occasions arise. Mr. Diwakar has delineated the history of this movement, right from the South African days up to the recent upheaval of 1942 movement to which he himself has contributed in no small a degree, very ably with facts and figures, and, faults and merits.

Lastly, he has concisely and convincingly discussed the Tantra i.e., the technique of Satyagraha, without a proper understanding of which the uninitiated and the unwary persons may commit blunders and mischiefs like Chouri Choura and Mulshi Petha, and hence defeat the very purpose of Satyagraha. In a word, in this Sacred Realm of Satyagraha with Truth as its God, its ultimate reality—Love reigns supreme with non-violence, sympathy, equality, honesty, persuasion, patience and suffering as his unflagging and never-failing ministers. The thieves like hatred, deceit, violence, dishonesty and such others have no entry here. Even that dreadful robber death has nothing to rob here! On the other hand, he occasionally adds to the glory of a martyr Satyagrahi. In short, this work of Mr. Diwakar is at once a Bible and an Encyclopedia for every Satyagrahi, written in a facile and forceful style and simple diction.

V. B. NAIK

MARATHI

KALKARTE SHIVRAMPANT PARANJPYE : By Vaman Krishna Paranjpye. Published by Prof. R. S. Deshpande, Saraswat Colony, Poona, No. 1. Price Rs. 6.

While narrating the story of the life of his grandfather, the late Mr. Shivram Mahadeo Paranjpye, Mr. Vaman Krishna Paranjpye has rightly designated him as *Kalkarte*. For among the many literary and political achievements of Paranjpye, his editing of the weekly newspaper *Kal* during the eventful years 1905-8 is the most outstanding. Testimony to this is to be found to the most telling effect in Sir Valentine Chirol's *Unrest in India* and the Rowlatt Committee's Report. In those days, *Kal* was not less popular than *Kesari* and Paranjpye not less popular than Tilak. He was the only advocate in Maharashtra of complete political independence like Messrs. Aurovinda Ghose and Bipin Chandra Pal in Bengal and he was the acknowledged inspirer of the band of patriots headed by Vinayak Savarkar in those days. The author has drawn a vivid description in his own words of the irony, sarcasm, banter and parenthesis that characterised his writings, which often were parables, as most of those writings are still under ban. The Kher Government in Bombay released only one-tenth of his proscribed literature. This book coming after 16 years of Mr. Paranjpye's death was a great need from the point of view of the younger generation and has come none too soon. It is very adequately illustrated with relevant photographs.

T. V. PARVATE

GUJARATI

JIVAN DARSHAN OF DIWAN BAHADUR AMBALALBHAI : By N. D. Parekh. Printed at the Khadaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 35 and 94. Price twelve annas.

Diwan Bahadur Ambalal was an outstanding personality in Gujarat in the latter part of his life, (1899 to 1914) i.e., after retiring from the Baroda State Service. Literature, Economics, Politics, Education, Social Reform, these and other matters claimed his attention and by his wholehearted devotion to these questions aided by his massive intellect and singular individuality, he has left an impress on Gujarat, which can never be wiped out. Independence of views and their lucid exposition won him a place for himself. The book is divided into two parts, the Preface by Dr. Hariprasad Desai, who had the advantage of coming in close personal contact with him, and who, in a nutshell, sets out the salient features of his career in a very interesting way, and the second part by Mr. Parekh who goes into greater details. Both writers are not blind to his faults and they have not been steered over. That is very creditable to them, as biographers are expected to be fair.

BEHARATIYA SHILPA AND STHAPATYA : By Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1940. Paper cover. Pp. 120. Illustrated.

All that is worth knowing about ancient and medieval Indian Architecture and Sculpture is described here in simple language, and in the spirit of a devotee. The beauty of the specimens of these two, Architecture and Sculpture, has been reproduced in the apt language of an admiring pilgrim, whether the specimens belong to Buddhists, Brahmins or Muslims. All parts of India, including Ahmedabad, have passed under the review of the writer, and he has done his work in such a way as exhilarates the reader and compels his admiration.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS.

An Iron Image With Feet of Clay

J. C. Kumarappa writes in *Gram Udyog Patrika* :

With all his good intentions and well meaning efforts Sir Ardeshir Dalal is realising that he is a mere cog in the Imperial Machinery. His speech, explaining the progress of his reconstruction plans at the last General Policy Committee Meeting, was a song of frustrated energy.

Referring to the scandalous protection enjoyed by British Capital in our country under the present constitution he bewails helplessly that "It is not possible for the industrial development of India to proceed unhindered so long as these constitutional provisions remain on the statute book."

Once this night-mare of British domination is disposed of, the prosperity of the people will be assured by their industry. The country will turn green as after a spring shower. What is holding them down is this terrible foreign yoke and exploitation.

After our experience of the use made of the Reserve Bank his talk of an Industrial Finance Corporation gives us the creeps. The fewer the organisations under British rule the better. Every institution they start in that line proves a halter on our industrial progress. The Reserve Bank had proved itself during this war to be a good sponge to soak up every drop of blood left in the country. To this has been added a Tariff Board!

Sir Ardeshir had been detailed out to plan the economic activity of a country of 400 millions. Even the little thought that he has given this subject will hardly touch one or two million. The masses have been left severely alone.

The only attempt in this programme to encourage people's activity has its motive in the demobilisation scheme of the forces.

Practical planning need not wait for the academicians to make up their minds. Such planning is as old as society.

It is pre-thought-out development of society to an accepted ideal whatever it be.

Any plans intended for the welfare of the people should have the economic activity of the masses as the centre. Their diet has to be balanced. Food-grains, vegetables, fruits, gur, milk and its products should have priority over all other production. Industrial and money crops must yield place to these. Plans should allow for the production of a copious supply of all other necessities of the people such as clothing, building materials, etc. Production should not be looked at as an end in itself. Distribution of wealth must naturally be an outcome of production. Cloth, sugar, oil, building-materials, etc. produced by a mill restricts distribution however much the quantity may be greater than the production by village and cottage industries. People must produce for themselves by processes easily accessible to them. This should be the centre of all plans. Then should radiate from this as being accessories to it all other organised industries. Steel rolling mills will supply the raw-materials needed by a village smith. Forests will be planned to supply the needed seasoned timber for the carpenter. The irrigation canals and

tanks will water the fields and village roads will be built with the bullock-cart as its patron to meet its needs. The plans will be people-centred and so will have their own ballast and equilibrium. The plan that Sir Ardeshir is thinking of puts the cart before the horse and is material-centred. He is planning for materials and not for the people. It is, therefore, too heavy like an iron image with clay feet. This will topple down any moment. Such a social order will have to be buttressed with violence as Russia and Germany have proved beyond dispute.

No plan is worth the sacrifices a planned economy entails unless it visualises life as a whole and provides for the development of all the faculties of man. Man is more than a mere animal to be contented with a well regulated dairy life of cattle to be fed, watered and grazed at regular times and sumptuously, we need much more than this and that cannot be provided by merely organising large-scale production of goods which Sir Ardeshir is striving hard for, even if he should succeed in his efforts.

The State

G. H. Bradley observes in *The New Review*:

The Oxford Dictionary gives the following definition of a State: 'organised political community with government recognised by the people, commonwealth, nation.' In the light of the above definition, it appears to me to be contradictory to speak of a 'Capitalist' State, using Capitalist in the sense of dominance by private interest: or of a 'Communist' State, using Communist in the Marxian sense of dominance by the proletariat.

As is clear from the definition, the State exists for one common good, i.e., for the good of the individual as such and for his collective good in the community. Therefore, any system which limits itself to or concentrates on one particular class or section of the community cannot claim the title of State: not in the English language anyway. Again, the State must be an organised political community; therefore to speak of progressing to a point in the history of the State when such organisation and the control it implies ceases to exist, is to destroy not only the State, but the community with it. A community cannot exist without the organisation and control which are implied in the term 'State'. Destroy the State and you destroy the community, and with it the wellbeing of the individual.

Many people visualise the State as existing under one of the two false conditions mentioned above, namely, Capitalism and Communism, with a cloudy notion of some vague system called 'democracy' fluctuating between the two.

Capitalism favours the placing of a maximum of property and ownership in the hands of a few for their own benefit and not for the benefit of the community.

The lower and working classes are reduced to a bare minimum necessary for their existence and the maintenance of a certain standard of production. Wealth and power are concentrated in the hands of a few, namely, the capitalists. Under this system the lot of the worker is well below the standards worthy of

his dignity as a man. Often his only chance of self-betterment lies in taking advantage of whatever measure of competition exists between the several capitalists, and trying to force a higher rate of remuneration by bargaining in much the same way as the auctioneer does. But frequently the capitalist can forestall labour in this matter by agreeing with his fellow capitalists not to outbid them in the labour market; and the working man is faced with accepting an unjust wage, or going out on strike and risking all that it entails.

Communism, on the other hand, aims at the destruction of the Capitalist system, which is laudable, but sets up another class, albeit larger, in its place.

Broadly speaking, the oppressor becomes the oppressed, and the oppressed becomes the oppressor. So that now we have a minority suffering under a majority (at least, that is the theory, practice appears to be somewhat different) where formerly it was the other way about. But herein lies a danger. The new power is not only the industrial power, but is the governing power as well. So that any revolt against the industrial system existing under the Communist regime, is a revolt against the government. That is why Russia dislikes Trade Unions as much as capitalists. So that under this system the worker is in much the same position, only slightly worse, than he was under the Capitalist scheme. Because his new ruler is a capitalist par excellence, equipped with an army, navy, and police force to see to it that he remains satisfied with what is given him. And more is taken away than is given, for private property, which was at least a right under the old Capitalism, is denied him under the new. 'And the last state of that man shall be worse than the first.'

But as neither of these systems can be reconciled with the definition of the State, they should not even be taken into consideration when a State is to be set up. It is obvious there are good points in both, that is why people have been blinded to their evils. The real solution lies in the 'media via', not in a compromise, but in a rational and right system that exists autonomously between them; for right usually stands between two evils.

That system consists in a correct and conscientious application of the definition of the State.

The State must exist for the good of all; minorities or majorities must not be oppressed nor saddled with unjust or immoral burdens.

The rights of the individual must be respected and fully safe-guarded in and by the State, and that right implies the right of private property, the right to a just and sufficient wage, and the right to rear and educate children. The State must take every precaution to safeguard the family, for that is the basis on which it rests. Any infringement of the rights of man, which is a denial of God's authority, is a destruction of the very right by which it exists.

Pakistan Means Continuation of British Rule

In the course of his address delivered at Sir Parshurambhau College, (as published in *The Indian Reader's Digest*) Dr. M. R. Jayakar says:

There is a school of thought which expresses the opinion that if Muslims want Pakistan let us get rid of them by giving it. Are they sure that this severance would appease Muslim League finally? The history of appeasement of the Muslims in the past does not

create the hope of a permanent and happy settlement. Gandhiji admitted a division of India as between two brothers, but the Muslim League leader rejected it with scorn. Are we sure that he will not demand a corridor between the north-east and north-west Pakistan to be always kept inviolate and inviolable necessarily by a British guarantee which will have to keep an army of occupation to keep the corridor free of access to Muslims. The Sapru Committee had a sub-committee consisting of Sir H. P. Mody, Dr. John Mathai and Mr. P. R. Sarkar. The first two made a report which makes it clear that Pakistan cannot afford the expense of post-war reconstruction or post-war defence and such post-war expenses will have to be met by Hindustan. If Hindustan does not give this help, Pakistan may claim it from the British or a foreign power.

If the British give it, they will demand guarantees and the old history of the East India Company will be repeated. If a foreign power gives it, it will be for a substantial hold on the affairs of the country. The scheme promises adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards. It is no use being deluded by this talk. If such safeguards can be successfully devised for 45 million non-Muslims in Pakistan, why can't they be devised for 90 million Muslims in India?

The 'word mandatory' is used, but who is to enforce the mandate in case of differences? If safeguards are broken, a treaty will not save them, because who is to enforce the treaty? If the British come in under guarantee, as the Muslim League leader some times suggests in his speeches, they will demand a guarantee and the history of the past is sure to be repeated. This is the worst feature of the scheme of Pakistan. Rightly examined, it will mean the perpetuation of British domination, whatever professions the sponsors of this scheme may be making today. At the bottom of his idea lies the notion of hostages and reprisals that Pakistan will hold the non-Muslims,

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especially the Hindus, as hostages for the treatment given to 20 million Muslims in Hindustan. It does not take much political foresight to realise that it means perpetual strife and tension and eventually war. It is clear that, whatever the sponsors may say, if the British have to give Pakistan, they will have to give it by force and maintain it by similar force.

The French Contribution to World Culture

Each one of the really great nations, each one really of the spiritually constituted human groups, has something to give to the human spirit considered as a whole. In his article in the *Aryan Path* Denis Saurat speaks of French prose as an "instrument of universality":

The originality of the French up to the fifteenth century is really in their religious architecture. The great achievement of the French after the fifteenth century is in literary prose.

The great Gothic cathedrals created by the French are the Western equivalents of Hindu architecture.

Behind this French contribution to world art was the spirit of the Middle Ages which reached its highest expression in France. The French are the only nation, except perhaps again the Hindus with Asoka, who ever had a saint as a successful king: Saint Louis, Louis the Ninth of the Capetian dynasty is the most splendid human flower of the Middle Ages and his reign represents the one success of Christianity in the political field. In him and in his time emerges the real characteristic of the French spirit—universality. Christianity in this period naively and sincerely believed itself to be the one universal faith and also the one universal system of logic and philosophy. The other nations or races were merely in the dark and had merely to be enlightened. The theology of Saint Thomas Aquinas is in the intellectual field what the reign of Louis the Ninth is in the political field. But, of all the splendours of that period, what is really left to us as a tangible fact is the splendour of the French cathedrals and the philosophy that they embody. Mostly also, it must be confessed, we look at the cathedrals as ignorant people, feeling their splendour but not understanding their meaning.

A more permanent triumph of the French, therefore, is in their second achievement: literary prose, which is an instrument of world culture, which the *élite* of all nations either have learnt to use or will learn to use as an education.

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The position of prose writing is somewhat peculiar in the world of the spirit. Real poetry is a direct infusion of the Spirit into human language and conditions, and it cannot be taught.

Prose should be, and good prose is, the clear and exact expression of man's desires. It is, therefore, more difficult for mankind to achieve good prose than to achieve good poetry: in poetry man works with God's help; in prose he is on his own. Yet how necessary it is for man to understand exactly what he wants when he is by himself, away from God, free! Man being a freed individual it is essential to him to come to a clear understanding of himself, with himself. Therefore, prose is an indispensable part of his equipment.

Appropriately, the first real constructive prose in Europe was translated from the Greek. And Amyot's *Lives of Plutarch* marks the grafting of the French tradition upon the Greek achievement. Boileau was to say a century later that there was one thing which passed in art both the ancients and the moderns and that was the French prose style of Pascal in "Les Lettres Provinciales." After Amyot's tuition of Greek art, one of the greatest minds that mankind has ever had, Pascal, put all the power of his creative spirit into the shaping of French prose. After him Moliere, Bossuet, La Bruyere and many other masters polished and refined the instrument. That they succeeded is proved by the fact that what is probably the greatest achievement of the European intellect, Leibniz's *Monadologie*, was written in French in 1714. That the greatest mind of Europe, a Saxon, German-speaking and Latin-writing, should achieve the most perfect expression of his most complicated and subtle thought in French is a culminating fact. And if there were none of the other innumerable reasons, it would be necessary for the world to learn French to have direct access to Leibniz's *Monadologie*. Since in no other language, in no translation, can his exact meaning be understood.

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It will be said: That is too high a model for the common cultured man,—that is true.

But the French instrument was so nearly perfect that it could then also be used by the common man.

Voltaire was the common man, as his protest against Leibniz in *Candide* well shows, and no man has any excuse for not understanding Voltaire. Anatole France is as universally accessible as Voltaire.

It must be pointed out that there is in the world at present no other universal prose—that is to say, no kind of prose that can be truly studied and, if not imitated, at least adapted, by any cultured man in any language in the world. English has an amazing collection of the works of great poets from the time of Chaucer until to-day. English also has an unbelievable accumulation of great prose from Francis Bacon again to the present. But, and this is the important point, each great English master of prose writes his own prose—writes his own English, and it is peculiar to him and you cannot learn to write English prose. Each new writer of prose in English, if he is to be good, is condemned to invent his own art: to create his own instrument. That is the price that the English have paid and are paying for the predominance of their poetry, which overshadows all their achievements, however, great, in prose. But in French literature you go to the poets only for amusement or pleasure or joy. The prose tradition is so continuous, so solid, that poetry has never been allowed to break into it and break it up. For the two solid centuries of their highest culture, the seventeenth and eighteenth, the French have practically no poetry (except as fragmentary illumination in prose writing). Then the forms of mind and thinking of the French were settled and remain now as they were. Therefore any man anywhere who wishes to learn how to write prose must study Pascal, La Bruyere, Voltaire, Stendhal and Anatole France.

Thus we come back to the cathedrals. But there was of course far too much of the world that the cathedral makers did not know about. And far too much of their own thought that the rest of the world could not understand. Their universality was a desire and a dream. So the French spirit turned to the other medium of speech and, as the world evolved and came nearer and nearer to understanding all its parts, in each of its parts, the French produced this new instrument of universality—French prose.

Reminiscences of an Artist

South Verandah: The Last Phase

The following is an extract from *Jorasankor Dharey* by Abanindranath Tagore translated into English form the original Bengali by Kanti Ghosh and published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

... Mother's time came and she left us for good. Then the call came for Dada, the eldest of us three, and he went away too.

The crowd began to melt away till there were no familiar faces to be seen in our South Verandah. Nor were heard any more the old familiar voices.

Myself was the only one left in that vast solitude—a lonely figure contemplating the ruin of all hopes, unable to shake off the burden of memory. Brother, friends, companions, pupils who used to come there in daily round—all had gone. And in the empty verandah I was left alone—to make toys, to tinker with dry twigs and broken wires—the only diversion left in a drab existence.



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Into that life came Phelabati. She came from nowhere. A speck of child-humanity with no claims to attention.

"Who may you be," I asked.

"I am Phela," she answered.

Only that and nothing more.

"Oh, are you? You are welcome, my girl."

My welcome was sincere. I was glad. When I am playing with thrown-away things, then comes my Phelabati—the rejected one. (Phela literally means "thrown-away".)

"But where are you from, Phelabati? Where do you live?"

"Over there—"

And her finger pointed to the crossing of the lane at no great distance.

"And whom have you got at home, Phela?"

"There's my mother. Her name is Kaumudi."

"And your father's—"

"Basanta."

I was wondering whether this little neighbour of mine was a real fragment of humanity or—a phantom.

"What may you be wanting here, Phela?" I asked uncertainly.

"Might I play in the verandah for a while?"

"Why not?"

She chose her corner and began playing with broken trifles—like myself.

"Will you have some sweets, Phela?" I ask by and by.

She nods assent. Radhu the maid turns up her nose but she brings the sweets nonetheless and some water in an earthen cup.

Phela eats the sweets, drinks the water and places the empty cup in a corner with gentle care and then resumes her play.

"How did you like the sandesh, Phela?"

"Your sweets are a bit sticky. What my mother gives me are much better—dry and crusty."

And that is that.

She comes daily. I offer her sweets and try to run up an intimacy. She sits in her own corner and I in mine and we both play—with thrown-away trifles.

I make toys out of them which fill the small cabinet by my side.

"Shall I dust them for you?" she asked one day.

She began dusting them every day and would caress them as if they were her living playmates.

"Would you like to have one of these, Phela?"

"No, what shall I do with them?"—was her indifferent reply. "I would rather have those small stone pebbles."

"Yes—"

"For my brother to play marbles with." She added promptly.

She would sometimes ask for old newspapers for her father to make paper-bags with for the shop-keepers and occasionally small empty tins for her mother to keep spices in.

Thus she came every day and I got used to her coming. She would approach with stealthy steps dropping from where I never knew.

I only knew she was the playmate of my lonely days. And I was content. She came unbidden, offered herself and asked for nothing in return. She was indeed Phela—a speck of being carelessly thrown into the world, ignored by all, rejected like the broken toys and the torn paper we were playing with. We gathered those trifles and played together—I, an old man and she, a child—in that South Verandah of ours.

She expressed a desire one day to see the inner apartments of the house.

"Would you have them shown to me?" she asked hesitatingly.

Radhu the maid took her to Parul my daughter-in-law who showed her round and feasted her well.

She had a good look-in. Saw everything with minute care, I was told.

That was her last entry in the South Verandah. And mine too.

I took to bed after that. And in my sick-bed heard that the house with its South Verandah, laden with the memory of generations, had passed into hands of Marwaris. I, being an invalid, had been allowed to stay on for a month longer!

2. India's Joan of Arc.



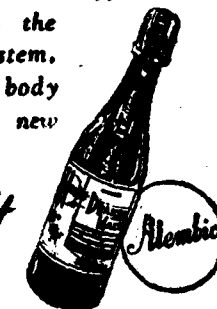
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of India, the Hindusthan Students Association, the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre of New York, the Watumull Foundation and the Committee of Friendly Relation among Foreign Students took care of the students immediately they got down from the boat and arranged their accommodation in the different hotels, Y.M.C.A.'s and the International House.

At a meeting of the newly arrived students held on the 3rd August in the Home Room of the International House, Probodh Mittra on behalf of the Indian students in America and Mr. Sundaram, the Educational Adviser to the Government of India welcomed the new arrivals. Dr. Tarak Nath Das of the New York City University and one of the most prominent oldest Indian resident of the United States, in an inspiring speech frequently interrupted by loud applause reminded the boys and girls of the vast responsibilities that are hanging ahead for them to face. He reminded them of India's appalling poverty and told them that India can not afford to pay for their high-priced western education, if they are not going to pay back to their motherland in hundred-folds what they are spending here for their education. This he emphasized must be in the shape of concrete service to the country by increasing the standard of national efficiency by removing social distinctions, false sense of prestige and her ultimate slavery. From his experience of work among the students all over the world Professor Das stressed upon the students the need of organizing among themselves, a strong and co-operative body as long as they remain in the United States as students. He said that each one of them are little ambassadors of India and whatever they do and tell the people of this country will go to form the opinion of America towards India.

While deploring the large onrush of unqualified or immatured students, he said that all those rich parents of India who are encouraging to send their wards to foreign countries for education even though they are immature, are doing a definite disservice to the country. They should know, he continued, that the money that they are spending or rather wasting in this way, which they think belongs to them, belongs really to those hungry and toiling millions of India who hardly get enough to keep themselves from starvation.

Swami Nikhilananda of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre of New York also invited the students to participate in a variety entertainment that was given by the centre on his behalf by welcoming this new batch of boys and girls from India.

The old and new students assembled in a general meeting convened by Probodh Mittra of Columbia University to consider plans and proposals for the re-organisation of the Hindusthan Students Association. Probodh Mittra (Columbia University, New York), Mrs. W. Safia Ahmed (Columbia), Mrs. Pritha Sellizi (Teachers' College, Columbia), Allen Currimbhoy (Columbia) and G. B. Pant (Harvard) were elected to form a central executive committee for the All-America Hindusthan Students Association. Probodh Mittra, the Convener of the Association was also elected the corresponding secretary for India and the outside world. It was decided that all those Indian students who wish to get any information or help in the way of their admission to any educational institution in the United States should write personally to him, care of Columbia University, New York, 27, N.Y., U.S.A. Also all those persons and organizations who want to get any information of the Indian students in America or wish to co-operate in their cause should communicate with him in the above address. Persons wishing to get information by air mail or cable must remit the cost in advance. It was decided also to hold regional conferences and conventions during vacations and to propagate Indian news, Indian culture and Indian arts in America.

On behalf of the Watumull Foundation a lunch was given in the Ceylon-India Restaurant to the Indian students. Prominent among those who spoke were Dr. Tarak Nath Das, Dr. V. Kokatnoor, Dr. Krishnalal Sridharani, Professor Schyler (Columbia), Mr. Overtone (Michigan) and Mr. Sundaram, the Education Adviser to the Government of India in Washington. Miss Josephine McLeod, the octogenarian old lady, and the only living western associate of Swami Vivekananda blessed the boys and girls. Mrs. Tarak Nath Das also gave some practical suggestions to the boys and girls for living in America.

The Indianization of China

Under the above caption in *China*, Chen Han-seng reviews the book entitled *A Short History of the Chinese People* by L. Carrington Goodrich, published by Harper & Bros., New York and London. In the course of the article he says:

Professor Goodrich's contribution relates to the period of A.D. 200 to 600, during which Buddhism came to its own in China. Readers should feel grateful to him for his emphasis on this period and his remarkable diligence in mustering the historical data. To acquire a good understanding of this period, however, readers should also read Hu Shih's lecture on "the Indianization of China," delivered at the tercentenary celebration of the founding of Harvard University. Hu Shih and Goodrich supplement each other on this subject, as the former has abstracted a set of sociological formula and the latter has collected data to support it, both are necessary in the study of history.

Buddhism gave to China all that India and the neighbouring lands which it had already won had to give. Thus, Hu Shih ably summarizes the Indianization of China as follows: "The ideas of the world as unreal, of life as painful and empty, of sex as unclean, of the family as an impediment to spiritual attainment, of celibacy and mendicancy as necessary to the Buddhist order, of almsgiving as a supreme form of merit, of love extended to all sentient beings, of vegetarianism, of rigid forms of words and spells as having miraculous power, these are only a few drops in that vast flux of Indian religious and cultural invasion in the third century." Hu Shih formulates the four successive stages of Indianization as wholesale adoption, official persecution, domestication and appropriation. These have been adequately described by Goodrich.

From the second to the seventh century, of these who served in China and helped in the translation of Buddhist texts, 76 came from India and Ceylon, 30 from Persia and other regions in western Asia, 16 from Khotan, Kucha and other regions in central Asia, and 2 from Java and Cambodia. This was of course only a fraction of the total Buddhist missionary population in China. The tide from peninsular and central Asia was overwhelming; and by the third century the Chinese people both in north and in south began to imbibe the spirit of Buddhism. In about 220 a temple capable of holding 3,000 people was completed in Hsueh, northern Kiangsu with a gilt statue of Buddha. The donor of the *stupa* distributed food for the multitude at the temple, and provided them with straw matting which covered half a mile on each side. An Indian in 250 made the first translation of the 250 articles in the monastic rules, evidently complying with the growing demand of Chinese congregations. By 519 the famous Buddhist Hui Chiao compiled the "Kao Seng Chuan", containing biographies of 500 monks, both Chinese and foreign.

A Chinese monk left in 259 for Khotan, where he remained until his death half a century later. He was the forerunner of some 168 known individuals who made such pilgrimages between 259 and 790. Of these, the most famous ones were Fa Hsien in 405, Hui Sheng in 518, Hsuan-tsang in 630, and I-Chiang in 690. During the period of 965 to 980 no less than 157 Chinese monks visited Gandhara, Magadha and Nepal.

How could there be such wholesale adoption of Buddhism? Hu Shih has not dealt with this point in his lecture, but Professor Goodrich has given it a correct explanation. "The growing anarchy of the third century must have brought about widespread destruction of libraries, schools and places of worship, and scant opportunity for men to be trained in literature, history, law and ritual. The civil examinations, the backbone of the Confucian system of correct government, partially collapsed." (p. 69) "The Chinese torn and embittered by the sectional warfare at home and probably also disgusted at the depths to which official morals had fallen, were ready to welcome a faith that brought comfort in a time of stress and seemed to answer every need." (p. 61) "One reason for the striking success of the Buddhist missionaries was probably the fact that they captured both the minds and the hearts of the Chinese without resort to force." (p. 62).

This ill-digested alien religion alienated the sympathy of the more nationalistic critics in the country, and anti-Buddhist persecution began in the fifth century. In 446 the Taoists proscribed Buddhism in the northern court of Wei; in 510 a high official of the Liang, by the name of Fan Chen, wrote an essay entitled "Destructibility of the Soul"; in early Tang the official feeling ran so high that the Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan-tsang had to leave the capital, Ch'ang-an, secretly for India in September 629; by 714 no one of "good family" was permitted to have any contact with

Buddhist or Taoist priests, and in that year 12,000 monks and nuns were secularized by the government decree.

Han Yu, a staunch Confucian scholar and essayist, spared no energy in condemning Buddhism. By the government decree of 845, undoubtedly under his influence, 4,600 temples and 40,000 shrines were destroyed and 260,500 monks and nuns secularized. Millions of acres of arable land which used to maintain the livelihood of Buddhist priests, were confiscated. Images of Buddha made of gold, silver, jade and other precious materials were handed over to the board of treasury. The bronze images were put into the charge of the superintendent of salt and iron, who smelt them for the minting of coins. The iron images were given into the charge of the prefectural magistrates, who cast them into agricultural implements. When the last and most severe persecution came in 955, some 30,340 monasteries were destroyed, only 2,700 of the most artistic ones were spared.

The fact that in 1021 there were no less than 397,645 monks and 61,240 nuns proves how well Buddhism in China has survived all persecutions. By this time China had already domesticated Buddhism. Taoism, with its philosophical naturalism and nihilism so close to a number of ideas of philosophical Buddhism, was instrumental for this domestication. In a period when the official religion—Confucianism—was in disrepute, the two parallel movements had much in common. They tended to enrich each other, and Buddhism, incomparably the richer, was the greater giver. It soon became a fashion to translate Buddhist terminology into words bodily taken from the sayings of the Taoist thinkers. As Hu Shih pointed out, such borrowed terms are never exact. *Nirvana*, for example, was not *wu-wei*, and an *arhat* was not a *shien-jen*. "But that was the best that could be done in the early stages of intellectual and philosophical borrowings."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Wavell Proposals

John Haynes Holmes writes in the Editorial Comments in *Unity*, August, 1945:

What is happening to the new government proposals in India is uncertain as I write. What began as a veritable spate of propaganda news, highly favorable, of course, to the plan offered by Lord Wavell, suddenly shut down into censored silence the moment Indians began to offer criticism. So I do not know what is going on—and I am not much interested either one way or the other. For the British offer is unimportant, and it makes little difference whether it is accepted or not. What it proposes is that the Viceroy's Executive Council be reconstituted so that all the offices save that of Commander-in-Chief be occupied by Indians, these Indians to be chosen by the Viceroy from "leaders of Indian political life", as named or nominated by Indian groups or parties. This sounds like something real—until it is remembered that the so-called power of the Council is anything but real. Under this suggested agreement, the Viceroy is to retain all his present constitutional prerogatives as set forth in the Government of India Act of 1919. This means, among other things, that the Viceroy can veto, at his discretion, all decisions of the Executive Council, and on the other hand, can himself initiate and certify by decree any action of his own. He remains responsible only to the Secretary of State for India in London. The Executive Council, in other words, however reconstituted, is still purely an advisory body, with no real power of its own. So why get excited—least of all imagine that the independence of India is at hand? The government of the country is as much in British hands as ever, especially in the extensive and populous native states which are not touched by this proposed reform. How little change there is in the situation is shown by the much-touted release of Indian leaders from prison—those heroic men and women who have been held in bondage, without indictment, trial or conviction, in defiance of the Chief Justice's ruling as to the illegality of the whole proceeding, since August, 1942. It is true that a few of the more prominent of these leaders, including Nehru and Azad, have been released. But the great majority of them, numbering thousands, are still behind the bars. Uma Shankar, writing in the *New Leader*, sees "no alternative to acceptance save inactivity or another civil disobedience campaign." But what if it is accepted? "The cause of Indian independence and freedom is not furthered by it. There will merely be a temporary truce to the struggle against imperialism."

England, Ireland and India

In an article entitled "England, Ireland and India" in *The Catholic World*, Francis McCullagh observes:

Mr. Attlee's greatest asset is his transparent honesty and humility, and before long these qualities may manifest themselves in a way that will swing the British public round to adoration of him. It will then be seen that though he may seem weak, he is not weak. On the questions of India and Ireland he will probably do more good in a day than Mr. Churchill has done in all his life.

In the numerous warnings which he addressed to Eire during the war, Mr. Churchill exhibited himself as a bellowing bully, and, as I shall show later, he had much to do with the partition of that helpless little

country after the last war. I will also show, that had he remained in power, he would probably have partitioned India as he partitioned Ireland. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, President of the Moslem League, was to be the Sir Edward Carson of the occasion, and the few thousand Indian Moslems enrolled in Mohammed Ali's fake organization were to carry out, after careful rehearsals, all the Hitleresque liturgy of Carson's "stern and unbending Covenanters," their solemn oath on the Koran, their ceremonial unfurling of the flag of the Prophet (green flag this time, curiously enough; not orange), their stage parades with real rifles and all the rest of their tomfooleries, while Mr. Churchill stood stiffly at the salute as the banners of Islam went past.

The Indian question must be tackled, however, for if it is not, it will force itself on the attention of the House as the Irish question forced itself on the House after the last war, and, as Mr. Churchill holds very strong views on India, it will probably be the occasion of the fiercest Parliamentary conflicts of modern times.

Mr. Churchill must have been thinking of India when he emphatically repudiated the Atlantic Charter, soon after signing it, by his famous declaration that he had not become the First Minister of His Majesty's Government in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. This meant that, so long as he was Premier, not an inch of British territory in the Far East would be handed over to the natives who had so long been clamoring for independence, and its importance was enormously increased by the applause with which it was received by the English people and by a large section of the American press.

A hundred other examples of this imperious temper could be given, but I have only space for one. The last time Mahatma Gandhi was in London he was lionized and, though *en deshabille*, as usual, despite the English weather, expected, it was said, to be invited to Buckingham Palace. On hearing this, Churchill who was not in office at the time and did not expect to be ever again in office, publicly expressed his indignation and disgust at the effrontery of "that naked fakir" daring even to think of an audience with the King of England.

All of which goes to show that Mr. Churchill, now seventy-one years of age and more hardened than ever in his imperialism and pride of race, would have been hardly the man to solve the Indian question.

Some thirty years ago when Mr. Asquith introduced his Home Rule Bill which would have placed the Ulster Orangeman on the same level as the Catholic

Irishman in a common legislature at Dublin, Churchill connived at an illegal conspiracy hatched by personages no less important in the realm than Sir Edward Carson; Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff; Field Marshal Lord Kitchener and scores of other officers belonging to the Irish Ascendancy clique, to defy and nullify that Bill by dividing North-East Ulster from the rest of Ireland. Is it not possible that, up to the time of the elections which have thrown them both out of power, he and Mr. Amery Secretary for India, were conniving in the same way at the present amazing defiance of the Moslem Carson, Mohammed Ali Jinnah? Such a gamble would appeal strongly to this descendant of Marlborough, whose whole political life has been a series of gambles.

What a pity he did not try a greater and a nobler gamble, one that would have made England less dependent on Stalin than it is now! He could have imitated the Americans who gave unconditional independence to the Filipinos with the result that the Filipinos fought bravely for them when they were attacked, helped them in every way when they were prisoners, ran an excellent underground service for them during the Japanese occupation, and finally helped them to eject the invaders. What a difference there is between the books written by Carlos Romulo and those written by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru!

This is not the first time that the British have shown a "craven fear of being great." Had they been large-minded enough to give George Washington a commission in their regular army when he asked for it, and treated their American colonies with less injustice, snobbery and distrust there might have been no Saratoga, no Yorktown, no Declaration of Independence, and no Republic of the United States.

By a generous offer to India, Burma and Malaya, Mr. Churchill could have, at one stroke, erased a reproach from the name of his country, raised himself to a pedestal as high as that occupied by Abraham Lincoln, and called into existence an army twice as large as Russia's, an army which would have been strong enough to drive the Japanese out of Burma, Malaya and China, and thus relieve the Americans of a heavy task and spare American mothers the agony of bewailing another million dead.

Indian Students in America

A Staff Correspondent of *America-India Feature and News Service* writes:

For the first time in the history of India, the biggest batch of Indian students arrived in New York on board the M.S. Gripsholm, on the evening of 2nd August, 1945. It carried about seventy students from different parts of India, Bombay alone contributing as many as 40 of them. These included also 13 girl students out of which two will carry on studies in technical subjects. Most of the other girl students will either study Sociology, Domestic Science or Psychology. Almost all the boy students will carry on technical studies. Quite a number of students will be studying Chemical Engineering, and a few will study Electrical Engineering or Aeronautical Engineering. A few are interested in Bio-physics, Bio-chemistry, Medicine and Surgery. As many as 30 students will be going to the Mid-western Universities, Michigan University alone will take as many as 15 boys and 5 girls. Out of the 25 students going to the various Eastern Universities, 10 will stay in New York studying either in the Columbia or the New York University and a few will go to Boston, Cornell, Ohio and Pittsburgh. Of the 10 students who will be going to the Western Universities, 5 will be studying in Minnesota alone.

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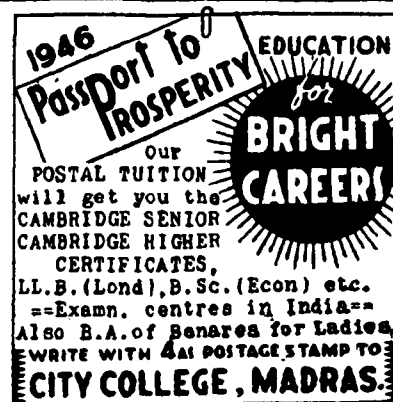
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realize that Neo-Confucianism, as expounded by Chu Hsi (1130-1200) and other Rational Philosophers, was simply an appropriation of Buddhist thought. Chu Hsi, the last and greatest teacher and scholar of the Neo-Confucianists was deeply affected by Buddhist and Taoist teachings during his formative years. He accepted the doctrine of the universality of all existence, the idea of universal reason and of salvation through reason and righteousness. "In every human mind there is the knowing faculty; and in everything there is the reason." He secularized much of the Buddhist ideals of Divine Reason and of suppression of human desire. "Death by starvation is a very important thing." Thus, that human and commonsense atmosphere so frequently felt in the writings of Confucius and Mencius, was done away with by these Rational Philosophers.

After 1158 Chu Hsi devoted himself largely to developing this Neo-Confucianism in voluminous writings. As these writings became required reading for every literate Chinese, after the 14th century, China was truly Indianized. Whereas Pre-Buddhist China believed in fate and predetermination and lived in a simple and natural humaneness, Post-Buddhist China aspires after the indestructible soul, believes in the karma, retribution and salvation, and attempts to live with a feeling of moral austerity and self-righteousness.

Because of the extensive Buddhist pilgrimages both in and out of China, throughout the centuries, Indian cosmology, mathematics, music and medicine have been introduced into China. Long, long before the Indian National Congress Medical Mission to China, medicine played a conspicuous part in Buddhist proselytism in China. Jivaka effected a number of miraculous cures. One of his disciples, an Indian, even had women patients in Loyang. (p. 88) Indian architecture was adopted with the construction of numerous stupas along with carvings similar to those preserved in Taxila and Peshawar. Needless to say, Buddhism has affected Chinese language and literature. From the polysyllabic Sanskrit some 6,000 to 7,000 monosyllabic Chinese terms have been formulated. "The story of the wanderings of Hsuan-tsang had such great appeal to the imagination of romanticists and playwrights that legends based on it have been told and acted countless times. At the hands of Buddhists and Taoists, the short story, heretofore (A.D. 650) concerned solely with fairies and magic, began to deal with everyday life and even with love,

and many of them were written in the vernacular". (p. 136) Professor Goodrich's contribution towards the understanding of the period of 200 to 600 is highly praiseworthy. After reading his book one is able to know how various ideas and institutions have travelled from India to China—from dice gaming, elephant chess, puppetry and polo, to Buddhism.



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Taoistic interpretations furnished the bridge of cultural transmission and made the new ideas of India more easily acceptable to the Chinese people. In fact the Indian priesthood gradually became the model for the Taoist, except for the Buddhist requirement of celibacy. Finally, the doctrines of the transmigration of the soul and of casual retribution through successive existence were accepted, and India's 33 heavens and 18 hells were taken over and given Chinese names and Chinese presiding deities.

Goodrich tells the story of a dispute between the Taoists and the Buddhists, which also illustrates how the process of domestication went on. "Popular belief held that after Lao-tzu (the founder of Taoism) supposedly left China he went among the barbarians in the west and became the Buddha. One Buddhist, finally deciding to spike this legend, wrote *The Record of Central Asia*, in which he maintained that Lao-tzu had come to Kashmir and paid homage to a statue of the Buddha. A Taoist who refused to accede to this assumption of priority rewrote this book about A.D. 300 under a different title: *The Conversion of the Barbarians*. According to it, Lao-tzu went to India and there became the teacher of Sakyamuni." (p. 67)

Buddhism in China later broke up into many sects, three of which have been most outstanding. These are the vulgar sect of Amidist, the scholastic sect of Tien-tai, and the philosophic sect of Dhyana. The Amidist is the only Buddhist sect that persists today among the common people in China. It is also called by the name of Lotus or The Pure Land. Founded by Hui Yuan (334-416) it has blended together all the Chinese, Indian, Nepalese and Iranian influences. It teaches reliance on faith rather than action, and faith is to be demonstrated by the constant invocation of the names of Amitabha. It was a significant fact that Hui Yuan was formerly a Taoist who continued to use Taoist figures of speech after his conversion. With the Amidist Indian psalmody was particularly well developed.

Tien-tai was eclipsed by the Dhyana, but it still exists. Founded by Chih Kai (538-527) and Hui Sau (d. in 577) it stresses the importance of studying the sacred canon. "The mind of Buddha is in everything, but instruction is imperative if one is to be aware of it and able to put it to serve." (p. 104). But this sect is not one-sided, for it also involves such diverse elements as ecstasy, ritualism and self-discipline.

In contrast to the scholastic sect of Tien-tai is the meditative sect of the Dhyana, which name has been translated into Chinese as *Ch'an* or *Zen*. Often it is called the Chinese Zennism. It was founded by Tao Sheng (397-434), under the influence of the famous Indian translator Kumarajiva (344-413) who had studied the Hinayana at Kashmir and the Mahayana at Kashgar and Kucha. Tao Sheng believed in "sudden enlightenment" and Hui Neng (d. in 713), the founder of Southern Zennism, further emphasized the idea of "Buddhahood within you."

"The whole Zen movement from 700 to 1100", said Hu Shih, "was a revolt against Buddhist verbalism and scholasticism, but it was also a movement to Sinoize Buddhism by sweeping away all its scholastic verbiage and giving special prominence to the idea of salvation through one's own intellectual liberation and insight." In the opinion of Goodrich, Zennism (Chinese for Dhyana) drew heavily from Taoist tenets and practices and probably represented the finest flowering of Indian culture in Chinese soil. (p. 67) At any rate, by 11th century the process of domestication was complete. Buddhism in China was nearer to primitive Buddhism than any Hinayana or Mahayana sects had ever been.

When our author states that the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) was notable for the fusion of Buddhist and Confucian thought and for Buddhism's gradual subsidence from its high place as the most inspiring influence in Chinese life (p. 155), he does not quite